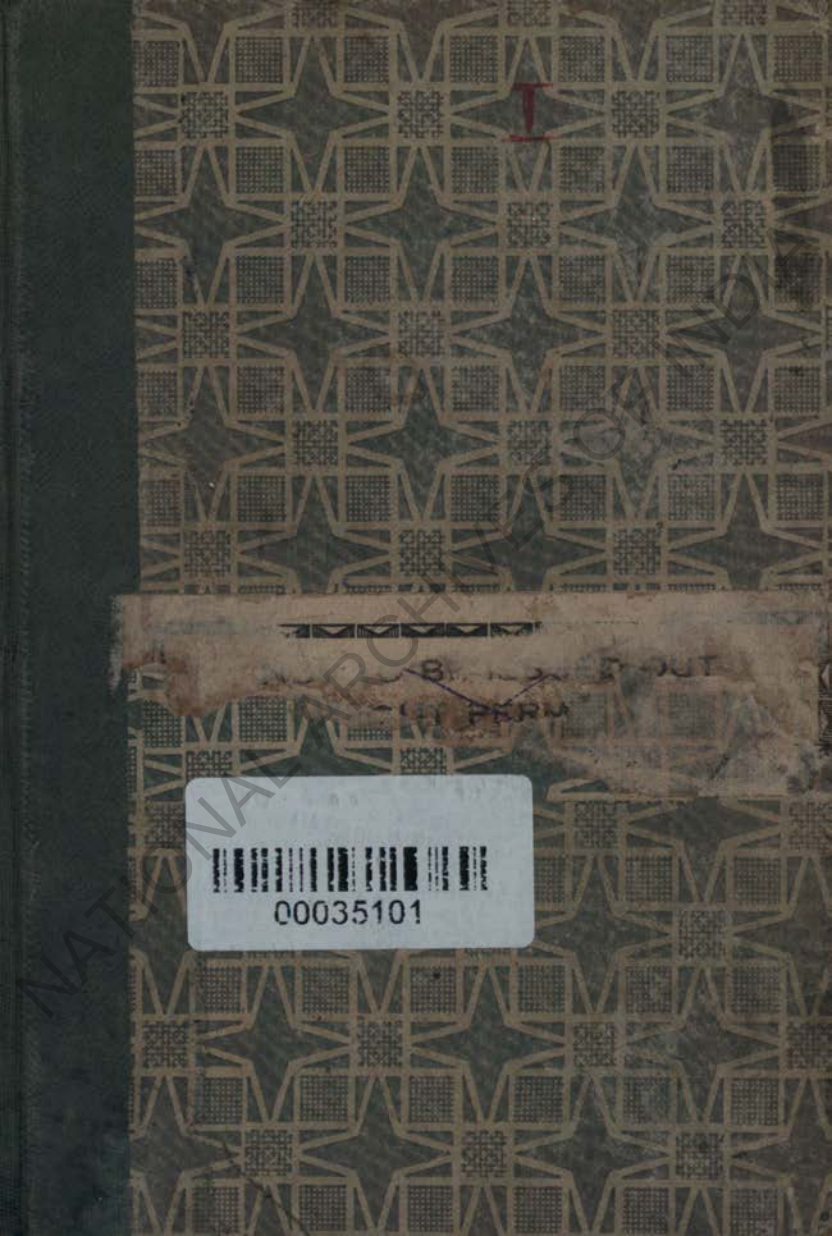
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JAMES CUNINGHAME GRANT DUFF

NATIONAL ARCHIVE OF INDIA

A HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS

BY

JAMES CUNINGHAME GRANT DUFF

CAPTAIN IN THE FIRST, OR GRENADIER, REGIMENT OF BOMBAY NATIVE INFANTRY AND LATE POLITICAL RESIDENT AT SATARA

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REVISED ANNOTATED EDITION
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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TO

THE HONOURABLE

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE,

GOVERNOR, &c. &c. OF BOMBAY,

IN TESTIMONY

OF RESPECT AND GRATITUDE,

OF ESTEEM FOR HIS PRIVATE, AND

OF ADMIRATION FOR HIS PUBLIC, CHARACTER,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MOST OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE BY THE EDITOR

A History of the Mahrattas, by James Grant Duff, despite its value to the student of Indian history, has for many years been difficult to procure, and the reprints of the original edition are also scarce. Only in the Calcutta edition of 1912 has any attempt been made at annotation of the text, and the notes which appear as appendices to the three volumes of that edition are meagre and inchoate. In preparing the footnotes to the present edition, I have endeavoured to confine them strictly to the illumination of Grant Duff's text, and to the record of new facts or circumstances which have become known since he wrote. With the same object I have included in the Introduction a note on the 'Origin of the Marāthās,' and a brief account of Marāthī literature, as neither of these subjects is dealt with by the author, and both are inseparably connected with the history of Mahārāshtra. The Introduction also includes a brief *memoir* of the author, a note on his work, and an alphabetical list of the authorities consulted in the preparation of the footnotes.

In regard to the spelling of proper-names and place-names I have decided to leave Grant Duff's spelling in the text unaltered, partly because in the majority of cases it approximates very closely to the sound of the words as pronounced in the vernacular, and partly because the wholesale transformation of his spelling according to the modern system seems to me to destroy to some degree the original character of his work. My plan throughout has been, in all footnotes to give the modern spelling, as followed in the latest edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, with Grant Duff's spelling in parentheses immediately after it, and in the Index either to give his spelling with the modern spelling in parentheses beside it, or in cases of marked difference to give both spellings with a cross-reference against Grant Duff's to the modern form of the word. Thus the footnote on 'Oolpar'

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gives 'Olpād (Oolpar),' while in the Index the paginal numbers will be found under 'Oolpar (Olpād).' On the other hand, in the case of 'Outar,' the Index gives 'Outar, see Avatār,' the paginal number being given under the latter and more correct modern spelling.

My footnotes, whether standing alone or in the form of addenda to those of Grant Duff, are throughout distinguished from his by enclosure within brackets, e.g. [ ]. It has not been considered worth while to reproduce the plates, woodcuts and maps appearing in the original edition of the work; but a modern map showing the south-western portion of the Indian continent has been included at the end of the second volume. The portrait of the author, which appears as a frontispiece to this volume, is a replica of a photograph of an oil-painting, which was kindly supplied by the author's grandson, Mr. A. C. Grant Duff.

In the preparation of this edition I have to acknowledge help from various sources. The late Dr. Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E., kindly read through the manuscript notes of two-thirds of the work, offered valuable comments and suggestions and supplied references to various authorities, and also lent me a copy of Mankar's translation of the *Sabhāsad Bakhar*—a very rare book of which only one other copy besides his own has been traced in this country. Dr. William Crooke, C.I.E., performed the same office in respect of the remaining annotations and the Introduction, lent me books from his own library, and supplied me with many notes, references and facts which without his assistance I might have overlooked or been unable to obtain. To Mr. R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I am indebted for the valuable ethnographical note on the Marāthās which is included in full in the section of the Introduction dealing with the origin of these people. The Reverend J. N. Farquhar obliged me by reading the note on Marāthī literature, and by lending me the proof-pages of his own work on the religious literature of India, which contain his views on the *Bhāgavat* origin of the *Bhakti* movement in Western India. Professor R. P. Paranjpye, Principal of the Fergusson College, Poona, was good enough to send me copies of the College Magazine containing Professor W. P. Patvardhan's Wilson Philological Lectures, upon which I have drawn freely for the résumé of Marāthī literature; Major

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J. G. Greig, C.I.E., Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, sent me details of the picture of the Pēshwā, Sindia and Nānā Farnavīs, which hangs in the hall of Ganeshkhind, Poona; Mr. R. P. Masani, Deputy Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, supplied me with extracts from a Bombay official record, which I could not procure here; while I have to thank Dr. J. Allan of the British Museum, the authorities in charge of the armouries at Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace, and General Sir Dighton Probyn, V.C., G.C.V.O., for assistance in an attempt to determine the present whereabouts of Sivājī's sword, Bhavānī.

S. M. EDWARDES.

EDITOR'S NOTE

I HAVE to thank the University of Calcutta for kindly presenting me with a copy of Professor S. Sen's *Siva Chhatrapati*. Unfortunately the book arrived too late to permit of my referring to it or quoting from it in the footnotes to the first volume of this edition. The student of Marāthā history would do well to consult Professor Sen's translation and his notes and appendices, particularly in reference to such matters as the murder of Afzal Khān and Sivājī's supposed relationship with the Udaipur family. The book was published by the University of Calcutta in 1920.

S. M. E.

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INTRODUCTION

CONTAINING

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I. Memoir of James Cuninghame Grant Duff

James Grant, known later as James Cuninghame Grant Duff, was the eldest son of John Grant, of Kincardine O'Neil, and his wife Margaret Miln Duff, heiress of the Duffs of Eden, Banffshire, and was born in the town of Banff on July 8, 1789. After his father's death in 1799, his mother moved to Aberdeen, and there, at the Marischal College, Grant received his education. He was designed for the East India Company's civil service; but impatient at the prospect of delay in obtaining an appointment, he accepted an infantry cadetship on the Bombay establishment in 1805, and arrived in India early in 1806. On his way to India he was wrecked off Cape St. Roque in Brazil, and had the misfortune to lose everything he possessed, including his family papers. He was present at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope by the expedition under Baird in 1806, where his patriotism was stirred by seeing three Highland regiments leap to their feet and advance to the strains of the 'Rothiemurchus rant.' On this occasion he had another hairbreadth escape from drowning, by the capsizing of a boat-load of soldiers, and only saved himself by the skill in swimming which he had acquired in his early days at Banff.[1]

[1] Extract from the *Book of the Duffs*, p. 498, by Taylor, 2 vols., 1914, kindly supplied by A. C. Grant Duff, Esq.

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After a period of study at the cadet establishment in Bombay, he obtained a commission as Ensign on April 23, 1807, and was posted to the 1st Battalion of the 1st Bombay Native Infantry (Bombay Grenadiers). In July, 1808, he took part with his regiment in the storming of Mālia, a fortified stronghold of free-booters in Kāthiāwār, where he displayed conspicuous gallantry. Two years later he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and became adjutant and interpreter of his regiment, in which, by reason of his knowledge and capacity, he exercised a greater influence than his seniority indicated. This preferment nearly involved him in a duel with a brother officer. While still a lieutenant he attracted the notice of Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Resident at the court of the Pēshwā in Poona, and became, together with Captain Pottinger, his assistant and devoted friend. Elphinstone had no mean opinion of his capabilities, and spoke of him in later years as 'a man of much ability and, what is more, much good sense.'

Grant was with Mountstuart Elphinstone at Poona in November 1817, when the final struggle with the Pēshwā took place, and is mentioned in Colonel Burr's dispatch, describing the engagement between his brigade and the Pēshwā's army at Kirkee, as having 'most handsomely volunteered his services' as an orderly-officer on the Colonel's staff, and as having 'particularly distinguished himself throughout the action.' From a letter, dated Bombay, April 24, 1822, from Mountstuart Elphinstone to Grant,[1] it is clear that the latter deserves the credit for launching the timely attack of Colonel Burr's brigade. In his history Grant (i.e. Grant Duff) speaks of a messenger being dispatched to warn Colonel Burr of the enemy's approach and to order him to attack the Pēshwā's army, when Burr himself was disposed to act on the defensive. 'As to the facts about Kirkee,' wrote Elphinstone in the letter above mentioned, 'the important thing is that Colonel Burr and I had talked the matter over most fully, and fixed most positively that if ever war broke out he was to begin by attacking the Mahrattas; and from this I never knew, till we were actively engaged, that he ever swerved. When we were going to cross the river, you proposed to me to desire Burr to advance. I forget in what

[1] Colebrooke, *Life of M. Elphinstone*, ii. 138.

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terms I sanctioned the request, but my impression was that it was perfectly settled Burr was to advance, and that the moment he knew war was begun he would do so. It turned out that I was quite mistaken, and that Burr would not have stirred without an order; and we are therefore indebted to you for what happened.' In the lengthy operations against the Pēshwā Bājī Rāo in 1817–18, which terminated in his submission and the annexation of the Deccan and Southern Marāthā country, Grant took an active part in both a civil and military capacity. He is mentioned in Mountstuart Elphinstone's diary under date December 7, 1817, as having fought gallantly with Russell, Pottinger, Tovey and others in a smart skirmish with the Pēshwā's troops near Pandharpur, and he was often consulted by Elphinstone on problems connected with the settlement of the country.

In 1818 Grant, who now held the rank of captain, was appointed Resident at Sātāra, his instructions being contained in a letter from Mountstuart Elphinstone, dated April 8, 1818. His remuneration was fixed at 2,000 rupees per mensem, with allowances aggregating 1,500 rupees per mensem in addition to the cost of his office establishment.[1] By a proclamation of April 11, 1818, Elphinstone invested Captain Grant with full powers for the arrangement of the affairs of the Sātāra State; and by a treaty of September 25, 1819, entered into with the Rājā Pratāp Singh, Grant was to administer the country in the name of the Rājā until 1822, and then transfer the entire administration to him and his state officials, who might be presumed to be fit by that time for the task. Grant carefully impressed upon the Rājā that intercourse with other princes, except such as were specifically mentioned in the treaty, would be punished with annexation of his territory, and he trained the young chief so successfully in habits of business that Pratāp Singh was given complete control in 1822.[2] Mountstuart Elphinstone described the Rājā in 1826 as 'the most civilized Marāthā I ever met with, has his country in excellent order and everything, to his roads and aqueducts, in a style that would do credit to a European. I was more struck with his private sitting-room than anything I saw at Sātāra. It contains a single table, covered with green velvet, at which the descendant of Shivaji sits in a

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1873, vol. xxxviii, pt. i.

[2] Heber's *Journal*, ii. 212.

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chair and writes letters, as well as a journal of his transactions, with his own hand. I do not know what his ancestor would think of so peaceful a descendant.'[1] For this result credit is mainly due to Grant, who not only instructed Pratāp Singh in the art of administration, but cultivated in him a taste for literary and general knowledge, and taught him the value of refinement of character.[2] During his period of office as Resident Grant concluded treaties with the Sātāra *jāgīrdārs* or feudatories, namely with the Pant Sachiv, the Pant Pratīnīdhī, and the chiefs of Daphle and Phaltan on April 22, 1820, and with the Rājā of Akalkot and Sheikh Waekar (i.e. the descendant of Sheikh Mīran of Wai) on July 3, 1820. The character of his administration is best described in the words of a Brahman writer of to-day, who is known throughout the Bombay Presidency as an ardent student of Marāthā history. 'In addition to judgment, energy and talent for business of no ordinary kind, he (Grant) possessed in an eminent degree the power of appreciating the character of the people and adopting measures to suit their peculiarities, which made him popular with the Rājā and his rayats alike. The name of "Grant Sāheb" is still familiar as a household word in the Sātāra district.'[3] Before he finally relinquished office Captain Grant obtained for the Rājā the restoration of the fort of Pratāpgarh, then in British possession, which contained the famous temple of Bhavānī, the family goddess of Sivājī and his descendants, and which the Rājā was particularly anxious on this account to include in his own possessions.[4]

By 1822 toil and anxiety had so told upon Captain Grant's health that he was compelled to return to Scotland in the following year, after handing over charge of his appointment to Colonel (afterwards General) Briggs. While on furlough in Scotland he completed his *History of the Mahrattas*, the materials for which he had long been collecting, and eventually published it in 1826. On May 12, 1827, he finally retired from the Company's service. On his mother's death in 1824 he had succeeded to the Eden

[1] Colebrooke, *Life*, ii. 188.

[2] For some details of Grant's policy see his report on Sātāra in Elphinstone's *Report on the Territories taken from the Pēshwā*, 1821.

[3] Rāo Bahādur D. B. Parasnis, *Mahableshwar*, pp. 40, 41.

[4] Parasnis, ibid., p. 41.

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estates, and had assumed, in consequence, the additional name of Duff, and having settled on the estate, occupied himself with agriculture, cattle-breeding and planting. The hedges which he planted are still a feature of the neighbourhood. In the year 1827 he married Jane Catherine, only daughter of Sir Whitelaw Ainslie, an eminent physician, and author of the *Materia Medica of India*. In 1850 his wife succeeded to an estate in Fifeshire which belonged to her mother's family, and Grant Duff then adopted the further name of Cuninghame. He died on September 23, 1858, aged sixty-nine years.

He left behind him a daughter and two sons, the elder of whom, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., was born in 1829. His christian names record the fact that Mountstuart Elphinstone was his godfather. He was Under-Secretary of State for India in Gladstone's first administration (1868–74), and a few months after the defeat of the Liberals in the latter year he visited India for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the country, for whose government he had been responsible in the House of Commons during the preceding six years. He subsequently published a record of his tour, which is full of information regarding the flora of India. In 1880–1 he was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and from 1881 to 1886 was Governor of Madras. He died in 1906. During the later years of his life he published his voluminous *Notes from a Diary*, a work useful to the student of social conditions in the Victorian Age.[1]

The younger son is Mr. Ainslie Douglas Ainslie, of Delgaty Castle, Turriff, Aberdeenshire, who assumed the surname of Ainslie in lieu of Grant Duff. Captain Grant Duff's daughter, Alice Jane (*ob.* 1891), married Gaspar Obrist, of Zurich, and had two sons, one of whom is married and has two daughters.

The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., had four sons and four daughters namely:

(1) Arthur Cuninghame Grant Duff, formerly Minister at Dresden and Coburg.

(2) Sir Evelyn Mountstuart Grant Duff, K.C.M.G., formerly Envoy at Berne.

(3) Adrian Grant Duff, C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Battalion

[1] R. P. Karkaria, *The Charm of Bombay*, p. 386.

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Black Watch. Killed in action, September 14, 1914. He married the Hon. Ursula Lubbock, daughter of the first Lord Avebury, and had one son and three daughters.

(4) Clara, who married in 1895 the Right Hon. F. Huth Jackson and has one son and three daughters.

(5) Hampden Grant Duff, Captain, R.N. (retired).

(6) Victoria Grant Duff, O.B.E.

(7) Lily, who married the Hon. Gerard Collier, second son of the second Lord Monkswell, and has three children.

(8) Iseult Grant Duff, formerly a missionary (C.M.S.) at Amritsar.

Mr. Ainslie Douglas Ainslie, the author's second son, has had three sons and one daughter, namely:

(1) Douglas, translator of works by Signor Benedetto Croce, the Italian philosopher.

(2) Percival (*ob.* 1895), who married Beatrice Brabazon Moore, and left one daughter, now Mrs. Tristram Beresford.

(3) Julian, who married (1) Florence Elphinstone, by whom he had two daughters, the elder of whom is married (Mrs. Ruthven Stewart), and (2) Juliet Molesworth, by whom he has one daughter.

(4) Edith Fanny (Rachel).

II. 'A History of the Mahrattas'

Both as a monument of careful research and as an authoritative account of the political rise and decline of the Marāthā power in India, Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* still commands unqualified praise. Details of the history of the 'imperial banditti' will be found in the works of Orme, Mill, Elphinstone, Wilks and others, or in the pages of Scott Waring, Blacker, Broughton, Thorn and Tone, to say nothing of the dispatches of Lord Wellesley.[1] But for a comprehensive survey of Marāthā political history and achievements, none of these writers were so favourably circumstanced as Captain Grant Duff, who served as a military and civil officer of the East India Company in the very heart of the Marāthā country, obtained access in his official capacity to important State documents and the correspondence of the Pēshwās, received charge of the Sātāra State records and

[1] See article on 'Marāthā Historical Literature,' by D. B. Parasnis in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xxii (1905–7), pp. 168 ff.

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other papers in the possession of the Rājā of Sātāra, the existence of which was unknown to the Pēshwā, and was also granted free access to the Company's records at Bombay and Surat, as well as to those of the Portuguese Government at Goa. Moreover, Grant Duff was enabled to extract a mass of information from Marāthī manuscripts, from Persian and other documents which were either presented to, or purchased by, him, and from family and temple archives, of the existence of which his personal acquaintance with Marāthā chieftains and people enabled him to obtain direct information.[1]

Two circumstances may be held to have contributed to the permanent value of Grant Duff's literary achievement; the first being his own personal experience of the people about whom he wrote and his natural impartiality, and the second, the advice and criticism of his friend and official chief, Mountstuart Elphinstone. As regards the former, the following extract from the *Calcutta Review*, vol. iv, p. 178, is pertinent to the subject.

'Grant Duff lived among them (the Marāthās) for years, understood their peculiar character, and without any pretension to commanding talent, seems to have combined the chief qualifications necessary to a good Political Agent. He was industrious, impartial and benevolent. He was not, moreover, a mere bookworm. He studied men and manners in the camp, the cabinet, and in the peasant's field, as well as in the dusty records of his office. He examined the past that he might understand the present. . . . He was eminently practical. His book is written with the candour and gentlemanliness of the accomplished soldier, combined with the kindliness to be expected from a disciple of Mountstuart Elphinstone. . . . The record of that portion of Mahratta history that came under Grant Duff's personal observation appears to us to possess the rare merit of thorough impartiality. Each topic and individual is treated manfully and courteously. Truth was his grand object. He sank no point by which it might be ascertained or illustrated; but while doing so, he uniformly treated his opponents with unassuming candour.'

[1] See Grant Duff's preface to original edition, reprinted at pp. lxxxvi–xcii, *post*, and introduction to Calcutta edition, 1912 (Cambray & Co.).

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As regards Mountstuart Elphinstone's guidance, the following extracts from letters which he wrote to Grant Duff in 1822 testify to the constant interest which he took in the preparation of the work:

'I got through your first three chapters sooner than I had hoped; I read them with great pleasure. You have acquired a much more calm, matured historical style than you had at first, and have absolutely none of the faults that I used to attribute to you. You will find my remarks chiefly censures, and chiefly in petty details; but to be useful, they must be censures. . . . I think, however, you should have introduced more of the manners of the Mahrattas, more to put the people and their leaders before the eyes of the reader, and to enable him to understand their motives and modes of action. This can only be done by a picture of the Mahrattas as they now stand, and it may be a question whether that does not come more naturally when you reach the present period; but, on the whole I think that, as you are writing for Europe, you should make people acquainted with your actors before you begin your play.'

A month later he wrote:

'I send you my notes on Rājā Rām. The materials are admirably got together, and most of the transactions of the time set in full light, but there is a want of arrangement and of filling up, which may easily be supplied at your leisure. Your difficulty, and yet what none but you could accomplish, was to get at facts and to combine them with judgment so as to make a consistent and rational history out of a mass of gossiping *Bukkurs* and gasconading *Tawareekhs* (chronicles).'[1]

Elphinstone also helped Grant Duff with information about documents relating to Marāthā history. Colebrooke records the fact that one of Elphinstone's letters contained 'a long list of public documents to be found in the records of Poona, Hyderābād, Calcutta, etc., besides other materials, native and European'[2]; while in a letter to Colonel Close, dated May 5, 1822, Elphinstone wrote:

'Grant will have written to you about materials for his

[1] Colebrooke, *Life*, ii. 136 ff. [2] Ibid., 138.

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Mahratta history. By the by, I am not so sure of that, for I believe you hardly know him ; but it will be an excellent history. Sivajee, Sumbajee and Ram Raja now stand in full light, as simple and intelligible as Hyder and Tippoo. Grant does not ask for information about Sindia, Holkar, &c. &c., but he must want it ; and you might get Bukkurs, Persian Memoirs, &c., that would greatly assist him. Copies of Sindia's principal treaties would be good things.' [1]

In a later letter to his friend Strachey he speaks of

' Captain Grant the Resident, formerly adjutant of the Grenadier battalion, and now historian of the Mahratta Empire, for which he has collected inimitable materials.'

With a man of Mountstuart Elphinstone's genius as its literary sponsor and critic, it is not surprising that Grant Duff's work ' takes its place in the very first rank of historical compositions.'

In a paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on January 19, 1905,[2] Rao Bahādur D. B. Parasnis remarks that Pratāp Singh, the Rājā of Sātāra, had Grant Duff's work translated into Marāthī, but that the translation had never been printed. He adds that he had obtained a copy of the translation, which he intended to present to the Society. The Rājā had been urged to make the translation by General Briggs, who wrote to him as follows on August 20, 1827 :

' I trust your Highness has received his (Grant Duff's) *History of the Marāthā Empire*, which your Highness should procure to be translated by degrees into the Marāthī language, after which it might be struck off by lithography (*chhāpp*) at Bombay, which would obtain as great a name for your Highness in the East as your friend Captain Grant Duff has established for himself in Europe by compiling his excellent history.'

As to the conditions under which Grant Duff wrote his history, and the details of its publication in 1826 by Messrs. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green of Paternoster Row, we have information in a letter written by Grant Duff from ' Eden, by Banff,' on January 30, 1846, to Mr. H. E. Goldsmid of the Bombay

[1] Colebrooke, *Life*, ii. 140. [2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xxii, pp. 168 ff.

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Civil Service.[1] The latter, when on furlough in 1845–6, wrote to Grant Duff urging him to publish a second edition of his work, and received the reply of January 30, 1846, from which the following extract is taken.

After referring to the fact that his *History of the Mahrattas* was out of print, and that a proposal which he had made to the publishers for a second edition had met with little encouragement, Grant Duff proceeds as follows :

'It (i.e. *The History of the Mahrattas*) ought, and perhaps would have been undertaken by Mr. Elphinstone, had he not so soon then removed from the Deccan to Bombay. I began to collect materials at his (Mr. E.'s) and Sir Thomas Munro's suggestion, lest we should lose the only chance of recovering the records of a very extraordinary power, the history of which was only known in a very superficial manner. As I went on collecting, I was obliged to unite the fragments in order to ascertain what was wanted, and I soon found myself obliged to employ agents, not merely within the confines of Mahārāshtra, but all over India.

'I wrote the greater part of the work when otherwise working twelve and fourteen hours daily without intermission (and of what sort you know), whilst some of the gentlemen with me, who had their full share of public business, particularly Mr. W. R. Morris, still in the Service, most zealously assisted in translating the mass of materials which were selected from a still larger mass, read over without discovering a single fact upon which we could depend. To account for some apparently very careless passages, I must tell you that I was subject to very serious headaches, which at last became very agonizing, returning every fifth day, and lasting from six to sixteen hours at a time, requiring me to work with wet cloths girt about my head, and I always could do best and most as the fit went off, so that I very often was induced to write on, upon these occasions, requiring no sleep until next night.

[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (1871–4), art. xi, p. 120, contains a note by James Taylor, Honorary Secretary of the Society, read August 8, 1872, describing how he obtained from Mr. Goldsmid in 1854 a copy of the letter which Grant Duff wrote to the latter in 1846. Mr. Goldsmid carried out with Captain Wingate the great revenue survey of the Deccan and Southern Marāthā Country. He died in Cairo at the beginning of 1855.

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'I was, as might have been expected, driven home; but it was some time before I had health or inclination to get through the task I had undertaken. At last I sent the MS. to the late Mr. Murray. It was read and approved of by the person to whom he submitted it. I waited upon the potentate of Albemarle Street, who told me he would publish the work if I would alter the title. I said "it was a history of the Mahrattas, and only of the Mahrattas." "Who knows anything about the Mahrattas?" "That's the reason," said I, "the book has been written; no one does know much about them." "Well," replied Murray, "and who cares to know? If you call it the Downfall of the Moguls, and the Rise of the English, or something of that kind it may do, but *A History of the Mahrattas*—that will never sell!" I was not in the least discouraged, although I too well knew that what Mr. Murray said was true, and amongst other drawbacks, although India is now beginning to excite a little more interest in England, no one can write or speak of India as of Europe—the feeling which cheers and impels the writer or the orator by an indescribable .....[1] sympathy is wanting, and hence the tiresome task which the narration of events purely Indian imposes. Of course I do not mean such narratives as Orme's *Carnatic*, which is more exciting than it could have been made by the fancy of De Foe. I got the MS. laid before Sir James Mackintosh, who most kindly, without stopping to finish it, walked from Cadogan Place to Paternoster Row (before the days of omnibuses), and at his recommendation Longman & Co. immediately wrote to me offering to publish it. It went through the press in six weeks, and many errors corrected by me escaped the vigilance of the compositor; the reason was the MS. was too distinctly copied; had it been in such an abominably indistinct hand as mine, one of their best men would have been selected, but because distinct I got one of the less experienced.

'The late Mr. Rees was the partner with whom I chiefly communicated. No publisher in London at that time understood the business so thoroughly. When calculating the sale, I was surprised when he put down a very small proportion for India. The reason he said was "people in India don't buy—

[1] Word illegible in the original.

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they read, but borrow—and it would be long before the Mahratta History would be bought as an *outfit* book." Murray was so far quite right—people require to know something before they desire to know more.

'The publishers took the risk. The book cost me upwards of £2,000 before it went to press. The Court of Directors took forty copies—which they would have done equally, had it been a *Mahratta Vocabulary*—and as a general rule, is liberal; but, although I collected all those materials, certainly valuable to Government, and gave them an original and most valuable map, they never even acknowledged the receipt of the latter. They never inquired, and I certainly never stated, that I lost upwards of £1,700 by what I had done, and indeed excepting a very few, I do not suppose any director or aspirant of that period even opened the Mahratta History after they became directors—a matter of no consequence, excepting as discouraging to such servants of the Company as may engage in extraordinary labour, and whom most certainly it is their province at least . . . . .[1] in order to stimulate others in a like course.

'It is not unusual to send copies of new books to the principal reviews, and even to make interest, to ensure a favourable notice; but I begged Mr. Rees in this case to do nothing of the kind, as time, and time only, could prove whether the matter was correct—and that must be tried by Indian authority hereafter. I had in the first instance the favourable opinion of the best authorities of the period as regarded my facts, and the praise even of a favourable critique was therefore but a mere puff—of use principally to the booksellers. Mr. Rees, however, quite agreed with me.

'These details, if not useful, may be amusing to you.'

Grant Duff, as will be seen from the concluding paragraph of this letter, left the final verdict on his work to posterity, which has fully endorsed the praise bestowed upon it by Mountstuart Elphinstone. Every leading authority on Indian history, both in the nineteenth and present centuries, has acknowledged the debt which he owes to Grant Duff's careful presentment of Marāthā affairs. That minor mistakes should be discoverable here and there, that the dates of some transactions should now

[1] Word illegible in the original.

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require revision, or that information as to persons, places and miscellaneous matters supplied by the author should have become capable of further illumination or more critical discussion, is only natural on a consideration of the considerable addition to our knowledge of the past history of the Deccan and Hindustan provided by the researches of historians, archæologists and students of popular manners and beliefs during the last sixty years. But such amendments, resulting from the discoveries of later inquirers, both in India and Europe, in no wise detract from the general value of Grant Duff's work. Moreover, in several directions the researches of later authorities only serve to confirm the accuracy of Grant Duff's opinions and conclusions. The case of the unjustifiable murder of Chandra Rāo More (pp. 116-18, vol. i, of text) exemplifies this proposition. An attempt has been made by two modern students of Marāthā history to show that Sivājī was not privy to the assassination of the unfortunate Rājā of Jāvli and his kinsmen, and that Grant Duff's account of the matter is based on insufficient data. To substantiate their view they depend upon 'more authentic and reliable documents that have lately been discovered,' and in the last resort adopt the view that as Sivājī was not actually present at the moment of Chandra Rāo More's death, he could not be declared guilty of murder under the modern penal law.[1] A complete answer to this unfortunate attempt to supersede the authoritative verdict of Grant Duff has been given by a critical authority on Mughal and Marāthā history, Professor Jadunāth Sarkar of the Indian Educational Service, on pages 54–55 of his recent (1919) publication, *Shivaji and His Times*. This careful historian, whose strictures on the credibility of the various Marāthī *bakhars* or chronicles should deter others from blindly accepting any Marāthī account of Sivājī's career, excepting possibly that by Krishnājī Anant Sabhāsad, remarks on page 7 of his preface to the above-mentioned publication that,

'So many false legends about Shivaji are current in our country, and the Shivaji myth is developing so fast (attended

[1] Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Marāthā People*, pp. 150–1; Kincaid's letter, dated June 10, 1919, in *Times Literary Supplement*; Parasnis, *Itihasa Sangraha*, Sfuta Lekh i. 26–29 and ii. 11, and *Mahābleshwar*, pp. 17–21.

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at times with the fabrication of documents), that I have considered it necessary in the interests of historical truth to give every fact, however small, about him that has been ascertained on unimpeachable evidence, and to discuss the probabilities of the others.'

The net result of his careful examination of the evidence bearing upon Sivājī's career is a delineation of the Marāthā chieftain's character, qualities and achievements, which corresponds in many respects very closely with the estimate formed by Grant Duff nearly a century ago.

III. The Origin of the Marāthās

The origin of the terms 'Mahārāshtra' and 'Marāthā' or 'Mahratta' is still the subject of speculation, nor is it yet clearly determined whether the name of the Marāthā people is derived from Mahārāshtra, the country in which they dwelt, or whether on the other hand the latter has derived its title from the leading tribes which inhabited it in early ages. The explanation given in Molesworth's Marāthī dictionary that Mahārāshtra signifies 'the great country' is based upon Brahman etymology,[1] and is not now accepted as correct. Unacceptable also is the derivation, originally given by the Mahārs themselves, from 'Mahār-rāshtra,' 'the country of the Mahārs'—the degraded tribe or class which serves the villages of the Deccan as watchmen, guides and scavengers.[2] The accepted derivation of Gujarāt from Gujar-rāshtra, 'the country of the Gujars,' and of Sorath from Saurāshtra, 'the country of the Sauras,' does not assist in solving the problem. As will be seen from the succeeding paragraphs, Mr. R. E. Enthoven is inclined to think that Mahārāshtra preceded the word Marāthā in point of time, and that the latter is a derivative signifying merely the people who lived in Mahārāshtra and spoke Mahārāshtri, or rather its popular vernacular form, Marāthī.

Other authorities, however, point out that Rock Edict V of the Mauryan emperor, Asoka, records the dispatch of Buddhist missionaries in the third century B.C. to the Rāshtrikas, who are probably correctly identified as the inhabitants of the Deccan.

[1] Wilson, *Indian Caste*, ii. 48.

[2] Wilson, ibid.

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Again, in a rock-hewn cell at Bedsa, Poona District, is an inscription of the first century A.D. which has been deciphered as follows:

'The religious gift of Mahābhoja's daughter Sāmadinikā, the Mahādēvī Mahārathini, and wife of Apadevanaka.'[1]

It is correctly argued by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar that 'Mahā' in the word Mahārathini is an honorific affix, as it undoubtedly is in the word Mahā-bhoja. Corroborative evidence is supplied by another early inscription in a cave at Nānāghāt, Poona District, which records that Sātakarni, ruler of the Deccan and third prince of the indigenous Āndhra or Sātavāhana dynasty, had a queen named Nāganikā, who was 'the daughter of the Mahārathi Tranakayiro of the Angiya family.'[2] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 640) styled the kingdom of the early Chālukya dynasty of the Deccan *Mo-ho-lo-cha*, which is the Chinese transliteration of Ma-hā-rā-tha. In A.D. 753 a prince of the indigenous dynasty of Rāshtrakutas or Rattas overthrew the reigning Chālukya, a foreigner of Hūna-Gurjara descent, and thus obtained the mastery of the Deccan which his successors held for nearly two and a quarter centuries. Later still, from the middle of the eleventh until the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, a dynasty of Rathas or Rattas held sway in the Southern Marāthā country. Albiruni mentions (*c.* A.D. 1030) 'Mahrat-dessa' (i.e. Mahratta dēsh, Mahratta country); Friar Jordanus refers (*c.* A.D. 1328) to 'the Kingdom of Maratha'; while Holwell (*Hist. Events*, &c., i. 105), writing in A.D. 1765, speaks of the 'Maharattors,' and states that the name is compounded of 'Rattor' and 'Maahah.'[3]

There is some ground for the view that the name of the people is derived from certain (Mahā) Rāshtrikas or Mahārathis who occupied a political position of importance in ancient times, and that the name of the country may have been an altered form of their tribal or official appellation.[4] The point is, however, not free from doubt; and future research may

[1] *I.G. Bom.*, i. 507.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, xlvii, March, 1918.
[3] See Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke, 1903, s.v. Mahratta.
[4] For information about the (Mahā) Rāshtrikas and Mahārathis, see D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Dekkan of the Sātavāhana Period' in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xlviii, pp. 77 ff.

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possibly show that the Rāshtrikas of the Mauryan epoch and the 'Mahārathis' of the inscriptions were so called merely because they lived in a country known as Mahārāshtra and spoke Mahārāshtri.

The problem of the origin of the people who are known as Marāthās has been obscured by the varying use of that term. Grant Duff, for example, applies the term to individuals like Tānājī Mālūsrē, and to groups like the Hetkaris who were certainly not Marāthās in the strict caste-sense of that word, as it is used to-day. His use of the term, however, as well as such expressions as Marāthā Brahmans, by which some writers have denoted the Konkanasth or Chitpāvan sect, can be justified if one accepts the view that the word Marāthā, as suggested above, meant originally nothing more than a person dwelling in Mahārāshtra or using Marāthī as his home tongue. The gradual development of a Marāthā caste out of the old tribal elements of Mahārāshtra during the last two centuries or more necessitates an attempt to determine, so far as may be possible, the origin of the people who now describe themselves as Marāthās and claim communal representation as a distinct caste or community under the new franchise arrangements contemplated by the Government of India Bill of 1919.

Sir Herbert Risley [1] suggested a few years ago that the Marāthās are the descendants of Saka or Scythian invaders of India, who after occupying the grazing country of the western Panjab, and finding their progress eastward blocked by the Indo-Aryans, turned southwards and mingled with the Dravidian or aboriginal population of the Deccan. The modern Marāthās were thus of Scytho-Dravidian origin. The theory was based partly upon anthropometric data of a decidedly unconvincing character, and partly upon the proficiency of the Marāthā as a light cavalryman —a trait which Risley too readily accepted as evidence of their supposed Scythian ancestry. Dr. W. Crooke [2] has successfully exploded Risley's suggestion, pointing out that skill in horsemanship is equally a characteristic of the Rājpūts and of the despised Jāts, and that the Marāthās' success as cavalrymen 'was mainly the result of local conditions in the Deccan, where the indigenous pony, an admirable beast, had been improved by the introduc-

[1] Risley, *People of India*, p. 59.
[2] *Rājpūts and Mahrattas*, *J. R. Anth. I.*, vol. xl, 1910.

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tion of Arab blood from the Persian Gulf. This trade flourished in the days of Marco Polo, and probably dates from a very early period.'

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, another member of the Indian Civil Service, who has for some years been in charge of the Ethnographical Survey of the Bombay Presidency, has kindly supplied the following note, reproduced *verbatim*, indicating the inferences and conclusions to be drawn from the researches of the Survey up to the present date.

'In the course of the Ethnographical Survey of Bombay some new light is being thrown on the nature and origin of the various groups known commonly as Marāthās. Pending the completion of the work of the Survey, the following remarks should be taken as provisional, though they roughly embody the results of the Survey up to date.

'It has been usual to aim at classifying the almost numberless amorphous social groups, which have been formed in India by varying influences, as either caste, tribe or sect. In caste the formative influence is taken to be occupation; in tribe, common descent; in sect, religion.

'In the process of evolution a religious group or sect may develop into a congeries of occupational groups or castes, as we find in the case of the Lingāyats, a religious community found in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, peculiar for the worship and wearing of the *linga*.[1] A tribe may similarly evolve caste-divisions. Marāthās are neither a caste nor a sect. They are more correctly a tribe in origin, which has developed caste divisions.[2]

'In common parlance the term Marāthā is used with varying meanings. Residents in the Deccan, the ancient Mahārāshtra, speaking the language of the Bombay Deccan, Marāthī, would be referred to when in other parts of India as Marāthās or Arers. The term "Mahārathini" is applied to a princess mentioned in the cave-inscriptions of the first century A.D.; but we hear little of Marāthās, as such, until the rise of Sivājī in the seventeenth century brought them into political prominence. At that time Sivājī and his followers were referred to by contemporary writers as Marāthās or Sivājīs, this designation probably

[1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. Lingayat.
[2] Census of India, 1901, Bombay, vol. ix, ch. viii.

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covering Dhangars, Rāmoshīs, and Kolīs (Māvalīs), who joined in the Marāthā crusades across India. At the present day, Marāthā in its most limited sense means a member of the superior Marāthā land-owning or fighting class, of which His Highness the Mahārāja of Kolhāpur, a direct descendant of Sivājī, is a leading example. Used in this sense the term denotes a class that claims Kshattriya rank, does not allow widow-remarriage, and will not intermarry with the very numerous occupational divisions known as Kunbīs, Sutārs, Lohārs, Parīts, &c. It is worthy of note that a member of the ordinary cultivating caste in the Bombay Deccan will ordinarily describe himself as a Marāthā. Pressed as to what kind of Marāthā he is, he will explain that he is a Kunbī, i.e. cultivator, thereby indicating a distinction, based on occupation, with its inferior social status, between his class and the land-owning and fighting class already referred to, which for lack of a better term may be described as Marāthās proper. The claims of the latter to Kshattriya rank based on alleged Rājpūt descent are of very doubtful validity; and it is probable that they and the Kunbīs do not differ greatly in racial origin. When the Kunbīs are more closely examined, it appears that on the one hand a Kunbī may, if successful, rise to the superior Marāthā status, while on the other hand there is by no means an insuperable barrier between Kunbīs and the tribe of Kolīs, an undoubtedly aboriginal tribe of the Western Ghāts. A Kolī taking to settled cultivation in the plains may become a Marāthā Kunbī. Proof of such a development in certain villages of the Poona district was furnished to me during the census of 1901. From this it is not unnatural to assume that there is to be found in Marāthās of all grades a greater admixture of aboriginal tribal elements than it has been usual in the past to admit.

'Certain aspects of the social organization of Marāthās of all occupational divisions, when examined in the light of the evidence available from the records of the Ethnographical Survey seem to lend support to this assumption. Thus, we find that in the extreme south of the Presidency, where Aryan influence on social customs is naturally less marked than in the north, a vigorous totemistic organization survives in the case of most tribes and castes. These are divided into sections known as *balis* that have a common object of worship in a tree, plant,

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animal, implement, &c. This object they will in no circumstances injure. Further, no intermarriage is allowed between members of a group with a common object of worship. Instances of such totems are: the elephant, elk, wolf, pig, tortoise, hog-deer, the coco-nut, pepper-vine, turmeric, the mango-tree, the tamarind, an axe, a white ant-heap, &c. Certain trees are of specially common occurrence in this connexion, notably the *Kadamba* (*Nauclea cadamba*), the *Rui* (*Calotropis gigantea*) and the *Shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*).

'As we pass northwards into the Deccan, the totemistic grouping is found to survive in a less vigorous form, as exemplified by the *devaks* of the Marāthā and Marāthā occupational groups. This *devak*, which seems in origin to correspond to the *bali*, is usually a plant or group of five plants, worshipped at the time of marriage or when entering a new house. Those who have the same *devak* do not usually intermarry. It is true that Marāthās of the upper class, i.e. Marāthās proper, claim to belong to one of eighty-four families or *kuls*, and that in their case the *kul* is more important as regulating intermarriage than the obsolescent or obsolete *devak*. Yet the survival of these *devaks* is of no little significance. It seems to lend support to the theory that there are among the Marāthās of all degrees traces of a kindred social organization to that of the Kolīs and other aboriginal units.

'The transitional stage at which groups possess both *kuls* similar to those which regulate marriage among Marāthās proper and totemistic sections such as we have discovered in the south of the Presidency, is to be observed in such castes as the Marāthā Parīts or washermen. These are divided into *kuls* bearing the well-known Marāthā *kul* names of Pawār, Gaikwād, Sūrvē, Dalvē, Kālē, Sālunkē, and Kadam. But to these *kuls* are attached *devaks* as follows:

Pawār	. .	The sunflower
Sūrvē	. .	The champa tree
Kālē	. . .	The tamarind
Kadam	. .	The mango

and marriages are strictly forbidden between families with the same *devak*.

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'It is interesting to note that in an early stage of the process of transition from *devak* to *kul*, the *devaks* are frequently found to be grouped into five-fold totems or *pānch-pālvi*. Since in these five-fold totems the trees, implements, &c., are clearly recognizable as those found in more primitive castes as regular totems, it would appear that the multiple *devak* is a stage in the decay of the more primitive system.[1]

'It is possible that fuller developments of the results of the Ethnographical Survey may tend to show that Marāthās are merely a heterogeneous population largely aboriginal in origin, living in Mahārāshtra and using the Marāthī language.[2] There is probably little racial distinction between Marāthās proper, Marāthā Kunbīs, and the numerous other occupational groups in the Deccan, that describe themselves as Marāthās, such as Marāthā Sutārs, Marāthā Kumbhārs, Marāthā Lohārs, Marāthā Parīts, &c. &c.[3] Among the Parīts the term Marāthā is held to be equivalent to Kunbī Parīt.[4] These numerous occupational groups are very similar in physical type to the Kunbīs. Language, residence and social organization are common to all of them. Occupation and the resulting social status form the existing lines of cleavage.'

The two main deductions to be drawn from Mr. Enthoven's note are (*a*) that the modern Marāthās of the upper class are in origin identical with the great agricultural Kunbī tribe, and are now differentiated from them merely by the accident of social status, and (*b*) that in both the Marāthā and the Kunbī there is a distinct aboriginal strain, which facilitates the absorption into the Kunbī ranks of clearly aboriginal people like the Kolīs, and which justifies the conjecture that the Marāthās, whether of high or low status, are descended without any appreciable foreign admixture from the primeval tribes of the Deccan and Southern Marāthā country. The first deduction has also been arrived at by Dr. W. Crooke in his paper on 'Rājpūts and Mahrattas,'[5]

[1] *B.E.S.*, Monograph 32.

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, xlviii. 80, connects Marāthās with Rāshtrikas through Mahā-Rāstrikas on the analogy of Mahā-Bhojas from Bhojas. But the term Mahārāshtra seems to be the earlier in origin.

[3] In Khāndesh the Marāthā Sutārs admit descent from Marāthā Kunbīs, *B.E.S.*, Monograph 175.

[4] *B.E.S.*, Monograph 32.

[5] *J. R. Anth. I.*, vol. xl, 1910.

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in which he draws an analogy between the position of the Marāthās and Kunbīs and that of the Rājpūts, Jāts and Gujars in northern India. He points out that the claim of the upper-class Marāthās to a Rājpūt origin is unfounded; that in modern times some families may have absorbed Rājpūt blood; but that the claim is really the natural result of a rise in social status.[1] 'The Rājpūts, Jāts and Gujars,' remarks Dr. Crooke, 'are ethnically akin; their position depends upon status, the Rājpūts having become the aristocratical body, while the Jāts and Gujars have remained agriculturists and cattle-raisers.' In precisely the same way a rise in social status, resulting from the 'kingdom-seizing' raids of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or from later economic causes, has resulted in a spurious distinction being drawn between the upper-class Marāthā and the lowly Kunbī cultivator, to whom he is shown by scientific investigation to be ethnically akin. This view finds curious corroboration among the Marāthās themselves. In a Memorandum of July 31, 1919, submitted by the All-India Mahratta League to the Parliamentary Joint Committee appointed to consider the Indian Constitutional Reforms Bill of 1919, it is definitely stated (pp. 8, 9) that 'There is no difference whatsoever between a Mahratta and a Kunbī. . . . Since days long ago in the antiquarian history of this country they are related by blood to each other. . . . The terms "Mahratta" and "Kunbī" are synonymous; the educated and well-to-do portion of the community styles itself (as) Mahrattas, while the ignorant and the rural passes under the name Kunbī, though the former is akin to the latter as members of the same caste.'[2]

The second deduction that the Marāthās represent, or are mainly descended from, the aborigines of Mahārāshtra, seems to

[1] The salient example is Sivājī himself, who for political reasons hid the truth of his Kunbī origin in a tale of descent from the great Rājpūt house of Udaipur. See Prof. J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 267 ff.

[2] Elphinstone (*History of India*) arrived at the same conclusion. 'The chiefs (Mahratta) in those days were men of families who had for generations filled the old Hindu offices of heads of villages or functionaries of districts, and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. They were all Sūdras, of the same caste with their people, though some tried to raise their consequence by claiming an infusion of Rājpūt blood' (*O.H.I.*, 431).

draw some indirect support from certain features of their history and customs. In 1798 Colonel Tone, who commanded a regiment of the Pēshwā's army (see note on p. 275, vol. ii, *post*), wrote that the three great tribes which compose the Marāthā caste are the Kunbī or farmer, the Dhangar or shepherd, and the Gaulī or cowherd, and that this accounted for the great simplicity of manners and rusticity which in his day distinguished both the rich and poor Marāthās.[1] 'In the Central Provinces,' writes Russell, 'the names of the exogamous septs among the Kunbī sub-castes confirm the hypothesis that the Kunbīs are largely recruited from the pre-Aryan or aboriginal tribes.'[2]

Again, one of the salient traits of the upper-class Marāthās of historic times was their profound attachment to the small estates or villages in the Deccan, in which they had originally held the hereditary office of *pātel* or village headman; and this attachment persisted long after they had carved out for themselves principalities and states in other parts of India. The Bhoslē of Nāgpur adopted a personal title from the village of Deor in Sātāra District; the Rājā of Sātāra, after he had become a mere puppet of the Pēshwās, clung to the *watan* lands which he had inherited from Sivājī. Sindia preferred to be styled Pātel in the revenue accounts of the villages he acquired in Nimār; while Holkar and the Powārs of Dhār struggled desperately after the British conquest to recover the *pātelki* rights in Deccan villages which had belonged to their ancestors. Lastly we read that Rāghuji Bhoslē, the first Rājā of Nāgpur, used to celebrate his *Dasahra* on the ninth instead of the tenth day, as is usual among the martial classes, in order to emphasize the fact that he was originally an agriculturist of Mahārāshtra, and only incidentally a warrior.[3] It seems impossible to regard this trait as arising merely from land-hunger or political considerations. Was it not rather the manifestation of a natural instinct, of an innate conviction that they were the real autochthones of Mahārāshtra, and that their connexion with the very soil of the Deccan dated back to misty ages long before the rise of Saka viceroys, Chālukya overlords and Muhammadan Sultāns?

[1] Waring, *History of the Mahrattas* (1810), p. 104; Russell, *T. and C.C.P.*, s.v. Maratha, p. 200.

[2] Russell, *T. and C.C.P.*, s.v. Kunbī, p. 21.

[3] Elliott, *Hoshangabad Settlement Report*, quoted in Russell, ibid.

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Finally, let us glance at the two chief deities of the Marāthā people, Khandoba and Bhavānī. Khandoba, whose name is supposed to be derived from *Khande-aba*, i.e. 'sword-father,' in allusion to the sword which he is usually depicted as carrying unsheathed in his right hand, is the tutelary deity of the Deccan, just as Bhāirav, whom he resembles in several particulars, is the tutelary guardian of the village.[1] His chief temples are at Jejuri in Poona District, and at Pāl in Sātāra District; the officiating priests are Guravs, a widely distributed class of temple ministrants. It is noteworthy that in most temples of Khandoba the *pujaris* or officiating priests are not invariably Brahmans; in the Thāna District they belong to the lower castes; and of three temples in Bombay, only one has a Brahman officiant, the duties in the other two being performed respectively by a Kamāthi and a Murlī, i.e. a woman dedicated to the god.[2] This fact of itself would indicate that the cult of Khandoba is ancient and primarily non-Brahmanic. Khandoba's peculiar connexion with the Marāthās is shown by the fact that a large portion of the temple buildings at Jejuri are gifts from the important Marāthā families of Powār, Holkar and Vinchurkar; that Shāhjī, the father of Sivājī, visited the temple in 1662 at an important moment of his life; and that it was to Jejuri that Tārā Bāi Mohite made the Pēshwā repair and swear a solemn promise in 1755. Khandoba combines the position of a household god with that of guardian deity of Mahārāshtra, for he is the chief household god of all the various Hindu castes and tribes in the Poona District; and so widely-acknowledged is his position that pilgrimages are made to his temple not only by Marāthās from other districts like Khāndesh and Berār, but also by the Kolīs or aboriginal fishing-tribe of the Konkan, while new settlers in the Deccan, whether from northern India, Gujarāt or the Carnatic, are declared to join early in paying him reverence.[3]

Khandoba or Khande Rāo, as he is frequently called, is a

[1] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. i, 290 f.

[2] Enthoven, *Folk Lore of the Konkan*, i.; *B.G.*, xviii, pt. iii, 132 ff.; K. Raghunathji, *Hindu Temples of Bombay* (1900), Nos. 335, 362 and 375.

[3] *B.G.*, xvi. 72. The Kolīs prior to 1885 subscribed the cost of plating with brass a representation of a tortoise in front of the Jejuri temple courtyard.

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strangely composite figure. He is usually represented on horseback, attended by a dog, with a naked sword in his right hand, and his left arm, which carries a shield, supporting his wife Mālsirās or Mālsubāī. He is shown with four arms, the two additional arms holding the trident (*trisūl*) and the drum (*damaru*). His images are usually made of metal, rarely of wood or stone.[1]

He is now regarded as an incarnation of Siva, under the names Malhāri or Mārtand. According to the *Kshetra Khand* of the *Brahma Purān*, Siva assumed the form of Mārtand Bhāirav and accompanied by two female attendants, dogs, and a vast array of *bhūts* (ghosts), defeated and slew two demons, Mani and Mal, who had harassed the seven Rishis. The name Malhāri enshrines the story of his defeat of Mal, on which occasion Khandoba rode a yellow horse, fought under a yellow flag, and slew yellow demons. After his victory Siva remained on the hill of battle at the Rishis' request in the form of a *svayāmbhu lingam*. Hence Khandoba is worshipped at Jejuri under the form of the *lingam* (phallus), the peculiar emblem of Siva. The story may perhaps be taken to indicate the method by which the aboriginal Khandoba was absorbed into the neo-Brahmanic pantheon, in precisely the same way as tales were manufactured in order to prove the identity of aboriginal goddesses like Kālī, Chāndika and Chamūnda with the Brahmanic Mahādēvī, consort of Siva. The name Mārtand, which is a synonym of the sun, coupled with the yellow horse and yellow flag, may enshrine a reminiscence of sun-worship, superimposed upon or blended, like the worship of Siva, with the cult of an aboriginal guardian or protector.

Secondly, Khandoba is a vegetable deity. Under the name of *bhandar* he is identical with, and resident in, turmeric powder. The Vāghes, or males dedicated to him, carry turmeric in tiger-skin bags, which they apply to the foreheads of Khandoba's devotees.[2] Marāthās swear their most binding oath upon the *Bel-bhandar*, i.e. the leaves of the *Bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) and turmeric; and it was thus that Sumar Singh, the murderer of the Pēshwā Narāyan Rāo, was made to take oath by

[1] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. i. 290. For the drum (*damaru*), an aboriginal fetish, see Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.*, i. 28.

[2] Mackintosh, *Account of the Ramoossies* (1833), p. 24.

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Ānandībāi, the jealous aunt of the prince and wife of Raghunāth Rāo.[1]

Thirdly, Khandoba is an animal god, for he is identified with the dog who runs beside his horse; and Marāthās, when calling a dog, usually cry '*Khandi, Khandi.*'[2] Mountstuart Elphinstone, describing a visit to Khandoba's temple at Jejuri, wrote, 'Candee Rao is a great god among the Mahrattas and particularly among the soldiers. He is the god of Holkar's family, and this temple was built by the first Mulhar Rao. We were followed by many beggars. . . . Among others was a boy who instead of asking for charity barked like a dog. He said he was Candee Rao's dog, and had been longer in the kennel than any of the present pack. A woman made a child under her arm bark in the same way, and asked charity for him, because, as she said, she was bringing up a dog.'[3] These dog-servants of Khandoba are still to be found at the temple of Malhāri (Khandoba) at Gudguddapur in Dhārwār District.[4] In this matter of the dog, Khandoba approximates very closely to Bhāiron (Bhāirav), who in Bombay is a *grāmadēvata* or village-guardian, and is always accompanied by a black dog. Indeed, once we descend into the Konkan, away from the sphere of influence of Jejuri, we find Khandoba degenerating into a mere village-godling, and scarcely distinguishable from the equally aboriginal Bhāirav.[5]

Fourthly, Khandoba, though the recognized god of the Marāthās, is pre-eminently the god of the Rāmosīs and Dhangars. The former declare that Khandoba, before he attained divinity, was a Lingāyat Vānī. Mackintosh describes how the Rāmosīs, before setting out to commit robbery or dacoity, always made a vow to Khandoba that if the expedition was successful they would make him a suitable offering. On their way home with the loot the Rāmosīs invariably dispatched one of their band to offer one, two or five rupees to the god.[6] Oomiah Nāik (Uma Nāyak), the famous Rāmosī freebooter, who was hunted down

[1] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. i. 290; Gupte, *Hindu Holidays*, &c., 21.
[2] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. iii. 132 ff.
[3] Colebrooke, *Life of M. Elphinstone*, i. 286.
[4] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. iii. 132 ff.
[5] Enthoven, *Konkan Folk Lore*, 21. See also *P.R. and F.L.* (i. 107 ff.), by W. Crooke, who tells me that in his opinion Bhāiron was originally an earth-god, guardian of fertility, &c.
[6] Mackintosh, *Account of the Ramoossies*, 26, 28.

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by Bombay troops and hanged in 1832, gave to the Jejuri temple a large portion of the sum obtained by looting the Government treasury at Bhāmburda in February 1824.[1] One of Uma's associates was a Vāghe (male devotee of Khandoba) named Khandu; and when in 1828 Uma was summoned to a formal interview with the British officer in command of the cavalry operating against him, he borrowed for the occasion the *āṭtābgīrs*, horns and other insignia from the temple at Jejuri.[2] It is well known that the Rāmosīs recognize the binding power of an oath taken on the turmeric (*bhandar*), the vegetable abode of Khandoba[3]; and the war-cry of their marauding gangs in old days was '*El-kōt, El-kōt*,' which is a synonym of Khandoba, signifying '70 million' (from Kanarese *yelu kōt*)—an allusion to the number of the demon hosts of Mani slain by the god in the form of Mārtand. By the Dhangars also Khandoba is specially revered, and is represented in his usual equestrian form, not only with Mālsubāī his wife in front, but also with his mistress Bānāi, a Dhangar woman, behind him. Khandoba's love for Bānāi (*Bān* (arrow) and *āi* (mother) = quiver ?) forms the theme of a Dhangar tale, which appears to enshrine some reminiscence of marriage by capture.[4] The great temple at Jejuri contains minor shrines of Hegadi, a Dhangar, and Pradhān, a Lingāyat Vānī, who are supposed to have been Khandoba's ministers, and Hegadi, according to Dhangar belief, was the brother of Khandoba's mistress, Bānāi. The shrines of Mālsubāī and Bānāi are situated respectively at the top and bottom of the hill occupied by the Jejuri temple; the god, it is said, having been forced to put his mistress' shrine at the foot of the hill in order to appease the jealousy of Mālsubāī.[5] It is not easy to determine what facts, if any, underlie these details of the Khandoba cult. Prima facie the tale looks like an attempt to co-ordinate the ancient connexion between the Dhangars and their tribal god with the reverence paid to him by later sectaries of a higher social status. It is sufficient for

[1] Ibid., 132. [2] Ibid., 155, 157.

[3] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. i. 290.

[4] Note that the Gaolis, or milkmen and cattle-graziers, also claim a special connexion with Khandoba through the maiden Pālāi, to whom Khandoba appeared at Pāl in Sātāra and was married.

[5] *B.G.*, xviii. 132 ff.; Gupte, *Hindu Holidays*, &c., 21.

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the present theme to point to the close relationship between this early tutelary deity and the ancient tribe of Dhangars or graziers, who offer stone sheep to Bānāi, the god's mistress, in the hope that their flocks and herds will multiply.[1] One might hazard the conjecture that Bānāi herself is the primeval earth-goddess, whose sexual commerce with a male god of fertility was regarded as imperative for the welfare and safety of her devotees.

Fifthly, Khandoba is a god of fertility. Both his temples at Jejuri and Pāl are directly associated with the ancient custom of religious prostitution or sanctified harlotry. Children of both sexes are dedicated to him by lower-class Marāthās, in pursuance usually of vows made with the object of obtaining offspring. If a Kunbī has no children, or if his children are short-lived, he will make a vow to Khandoba that if the latter blesses him with a child, he will set it apart to worship and attend upon the god.[2] Male children thus dedicated are called *Vāghes* or *Vaghyas* (i.e. 'tigers'), and the females *Murlīs* (i.e. 'flutes'). Both the Vāghes and Murlīs comprise Marāthā, Dhangar and Mahār sub-divisions, of which the two former eat together.[3] Married women also become Murlīs, and leave their husbands and children on the plea that they have made a vow to the god, or that they have been warned in a dream to become wives of Khandoba. The Murlīs, who earn their living by prostitution, are regarded with considerable respect by middle and lower-class Hindus; those who remain at the temple give their earnings to the god and perform various minor duties at the shrine; while others wander about the Deccan with a troupe of Vāghes, singing songs (*lāvanis*), often of a very erotic character, in honour of Khandoba, and supporting themselves by begging and prostitution. Murlīs and their attendant musicians frequently visit Bombay city,

[1] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. i. 132.

[2] In 1903, when I was sub-divisional magistrate at Poona, the police prosecuted before me a man and an old woman for dedicating an eight-year-old girl to Khandoba. The accused were Mahārs. The evidence showed that the child had been attacked by plague, then epidemic in Poona, and that after trying various remedies her uncle and grandmother vowed to Khandoba that if he spared her life, she should be dedicated to him. The child recovered, and was duly married to the god, thus becoming the victim of an offence under the Indian Penal Code.

[3] *B.E.S.*, Monograph 75.

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among the lower classes of which they enjoy considerable popularity; but on several occasions the indecent character of their performances has necessitated the intervention of the police. The words used at the dedication of a boy (Vāghe) and at the marriage of a girl (Murlī) to the god are '*El-kōt ghe*' (i.e. 'Take, El-kōt'); 'Elkōt' being, as I have remarked above, the war-cry of the Rāmosī robber-bands in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[1] The Vāghes, as they grow up, become temple ministrants and beggars, are regarded as Khandoba's disciples, and wander about the country with their tiger-skin bags of turmeric, singing songs in honour of the god. In old days, at a festival held at Jejuri on the bright 6th of *Mārga-Shirsha* (November-December), a Vāghe was obliged to run a sword through his thigh, and thus wounded perambulate the town, while the bloody sword was laid as an offering before the god. Further, at all fairs in Khandoba's honour, the ancient practice of hook-swinging was performed, chiefly by women, who were frequently members of the Rāmosī tribe.[2]

In Chapter IV of his *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Sir J. Frazer has dealt at length with the geographical distribution and origin of the system of sacred prostitution. All that need be said here is that this feature of the cult of the Marāthā god Khandoba, as also the custom of dedicating males to his service, has no parallel in northern India, and is obviously non-Aryan in character. To find any corresponding practices one has to examine the worship of ancient southern Indian earth-goddesses, like Yellamma, Māyaka, Firangāi and Ambābāi, to all of whom girls are dedicated by the well-known process of marriage to a dagger. The system is indeed a legacy of Dravidian culture, and may be assumed to have been established as one of the most serious features of their ritual among the aboriginal tribes which occupied the Deccan and Carnatic in early ages. The custom has shown extraordinary vitality. Aryan Brahmanism not only did not reject it, but lent it countenance by adopting Khandoba into the Brahmanic pantheon as an *avatār* of Siva, and by accepting

[1] The Vāghes' sacred cry is *Jāi Khande rāyacha Elkot*, i.e. 'Victory to Khandē Rāo.' Enthoven, *Konkan Folk Lore*, pp. 22, 23.

[2] Mackintosh, *Account of the Ramoossies*, 53; *Bom. Gaz.*, xviii, pt. iii. 132 f. For account of hook-swinging see Thurston, *E.N.S.I.*, pp. 487 ff

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the god as one of its regular household deities; Muhammadan rule in the Deccan exercised no effect upon it; and a century of undisturbed British suzerainty, with its sustained missionary and philanthropic endeavour, has failed to reduce appreciably the numbers of women who are set apart or elect to serve as the brides of Khandoba and the mistresses of men.

No less aboriginal in character is the figure of Bhavānī, Sivājī's family goddess. Like Khandoba, she is the patron deity of the Rāmosī tribe; for the Rāmosīs of Purandar always made vows to her shrine at Kōndanpur, near Singarh, whenever they were about to set forth plundering in the Konkan; and, like Khandoba, the goddess received a share of the Government treasure looted at Bhāmburda in 1824. She approximates in this matter to Kālī, who was the patron goddess of the Thugs. In the Deccan Bhavānī is one of the old *grāmadēvatas* or village-guardians; she can cause sickness and misfortune, but if pacified by the slaughter of a goat or cock will fend off troubles and give advice regarding the future.[1] Nor is her worship confined to the Marāthā Kunbīs and allied tribes; the upper-class Marāthās reverence her also. In the old palace of the Rājās of Sātāra the audience-hall, built by Rājā Shāhjī in 1844, is dedicated to Bhavānī, and in former days the Dasahra festivities always commenced with the slaughter of a buffalo at Bhavānī's shrine.[2] Sivājī himself, as Grant Duff and others have recorded, claimed to be inspired on important occasions by the goddess; he built her a new shrine at Pratāpgarh; he named his trusty sword after her. Her famous shrine at Tuljāpur in the modern Hyderābād State is believed to be the scene of her victory over the buffalo-demon[3]; and the brass images of Bhavānī, still procurable in the Deccan, represent her in the form *Mahīshāsūra-mārdini*, i.e. 'the slayer of the buffalo demon.'[4] Bhavānī is without doubt one of the ancient *Mātas*, *Mātris* or mother-goddesses of the Dravidian or pre-Aryan population of India, who could only be placated by bloody sacrifices, in which in

[1] *B.G.*, xviii, pt. i. 289.
[2] *B.G.*, xix. 565, 567.
[3] See Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.*, ii. 236, 237, for buffalo-worship.
[4] I have three of these images in my possession. A similar image is represented on plates 34 and 35 of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, London, 1810.

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ancient times human beings, as well as buffaloes or goats, figured as the victims. She belongs to the same order of ideas and the same level of civilization as Kālī, Bhāiravi, and Chāndika, who were originally local earth and jungle goddesses, and were transformed by the contact of later Aryan ideas into manifestations of Mahādēvī, the Sakti or personified energy of the great god Siva.[1] Like other leading deities, Bhavānī of Tuljāpur has her own special *vāhan* or steed in the shape of the tiger. Crooke has suggested that these animal steeds may be relics of totemism, which was undoubtedly prevalent in India in past ages, or may be deities of the aboriginal tribes imported in later times into Brahmanic Hinduism.[2] Whatever be the origin of these 'vehicles,' Bhavānī herself is clearly one of the pre-Aryan mother-goddesses, whose energies are usually recruited in two ways, viz. by the rites of the sacred marriage and by the blood-sacrifice, often specially of male victims.[3]

To sum up therefore, it is permissible to hold that the inferences deducible from the data hitherto collected by the Ethnographical Survey regarding the origin of the Marāthās, both of the upper and lower classes, find some corroboration in the deep and instinctive attachment of the Marāthās to their ancestral village *hakks* (rights), and in the character of their two most widely honoured deities. The more exalted position now occupied by Bhavānī as the result of the catholic labours of the heralds' college of Brahmanism cannot disguise the fact that she was originally one of the savage mother-goddesses worshipped by the older tribes of the hills and forests of India. Khandoba likewise, the patron of jungle-robbers and of old nomadic tribes of sheep and cattle graziers, combining in himself ancient plant-worship and non-Brahmanic animal-worship, and associated at his chief shrines with a custom of male-dedication and sanctified harlotry which finds its only parallel in the cults of obviously pre-Aryan figures like Yellamma, the universal mother, and of the ancient goddesses of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt, seems to deride the hypothesis that his devoted wor-

[1] Barth, *Religions of India*; Macnicol, *Indian Theism*; Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.*

[2] Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.*

[3] Crooke, *The Cults of the Mother Goddesses in India*, read before the British Association, 1919.

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shippers can justifiably lay claim to Scythian, Rājpūt or indeed any strain of foreign blood. Although his cult has been to some extent overlaid by later accretions arising out of the Brahmanic practice of absorbing the local gods of the older tribes into post-Vedic Hinduism, Khandoba still remains primarily a non-Aryan spirit-scaring god of fertility, and maintains his pristine importance simply because his devotees, the upper and lower-class Marāthās and allied tribes and castes, are the direct descendants of the people who established his cult in prehistoric Mahārāshtra.

IV. Marāthī Literature

The late Mr. Justice Ranade, in his essay on the rise of the Marāthā power,[1] points out that the political revolution which united the people of Mahārāshtra against the Muhammadan Empire of Delhi synchronized with a religious, social and literary revival in the Deccan. This movement manifested itself in the partial emancipation of the Sūdras, the lowest of the four social orders mentioned in the Code of Manu, several of whom were elevated to the two higher orders of Kshattri and Vaish, in protests against the formal ritualism and caste-exclusiveness, introduced and fostered by Brahmanism, and in the appearance of *gurus*, saints and poets, drawn from the lower as well as the upper strata of society, who helped through the medium of the Marāthī language to foster the idea of nationality among the general mass of the people of Mahārāshtra. This feature of Marāthā history finds no place in Grant Duff's invaluable work, which is concerned wholly with the political history of the time; and even had he found leisure to deal with it, one may doubt whether literary research was sufficiently advanced at the opening of the nineteenth century to have rendered possible any estimate of the influence of vernacular literature upon the progress of the Marāthā people.

The Marāthī language is now admitted to be the daughter of the Prākrit 'Mahārāshtri,' Prākrit signifying the 'natural, unartificial' vernacular dialect as opposed to the Sanskrit or 'purified' literary language. The influence of Mahārāshtri

[1] Ranade, *Rise of the Marāthā Power*, pp. 9, 10.

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was centred in Berār (Vidarbha), which in early days was the seat of a powerful kingdom, whose rulers encouraged the growth of literature, both in Sanskrit and the vernacular tongue. Mahārāshtri was connected with another early Prākrit, Magadhi, and under the name of Saurāshtri it was once the language of Gujarāt, before that country was overwhelmed by invasion from other parts of India, where Saurasēni was spoken. Receiving culture at an early period, Mahārāshtri became in its native land the vehicle of charming lyrics, and was carried by its popularity over the whole of Hindustan, where it was employed by the writers of epic poetry, and also by Jain religious writers of a later age. As literary culture commenced to exercise its influence upon Mahārāshtri and other Prākrits, the popular vernaculars which formed the original basis of these polished literary dialects were styled *Apabhramsa*, i.e. 'corrupt,' 'decayed.' As in the case of the Prākrits these *Apabhramsas* also began in their turn to receive polish and to be employed in literature. Marāthī, the home language of the Marāthā people, is the direct descendant of the *Apabhramsa* of Mahārāshtri (*I.G.* (1908)).

As to when Marāthī developed into its present form from the original Prākrit, no definite evidence is at present forthcoming. 'If we are to accept the conjectures of those that have bestowed some thought on the question,' writes Professor W. B. Patvardhan,[1] 'and have laboured to unearth old documents and relics, we may take it that Marāthī assumed its own form somewhere between the third and seventh centuries (A.D.). If we read the few plates in Marāthī proper, we are struck with the crudeness of style and language, and also of the grammatical forms. The whole space between the third and the tenth century is a gulf in the history of the Marāthī language and literature which has yet to be bridged. Materials to span it probably lie buried in the literary débris of Mahārāshtra, and are waiting for some patient toiler to secure them from total extinction.' He suggests that the development of Marāthī took place during the supremacy in the Deccan of the Rāshtrakutas (A.D. 753–973 (?)), who were an indigenous dynasty, and that it may have assumed the form and proportions of a literary language under another indigenous dynasty, the Yādavas (Jādavs) of Dēvgiri, one of whose most

[1] *Wilson Philological Lectures*, 1917, by Professor W. B. Patvardhan, B.A. (Cal.)

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prominent representatives, Rāmchandra or Rāmdēv (A.D. 1271–1309), is mentioned at the end of the *Jnānēshvari* in terms which indicate that he had extended his royal patronage to Jnānēshvar (Jnāndēv or Jnānoba), the author of that work.

The two chief figures of Marāthī literature, who are held to have flourished prior to the rise of the *Bhakti* school,[1] are Mukundrāj and Jnānēshvar. The date of the former is uncertain. Professor Patvardhan, while admitting that he may have flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century, and may have been, like the latter, a protégé of the Yādava house of Dēvgiri, points out that the language and idiom of his works and certain internal evidence supplied by the *Vivekasindhu* suggest that he belongs to a much later date than Jnānēshvar. On the other hand the entire absence of Arabic, Persian and Urdu words in his writings supports the belief that he lived prior to the Muhammadan invasion of the Deccan. Dr. J. N. Farquhar, however, states that Mahīpati treats Mukundrāj as a contemporary of Tukārām, and that this point has been established by the Rev. J. E. Abbott, an American missionary of New Jersey, who has made a special study of the lives of the Marāthī poets. Though the precise date is uncertain, it is quite possible that Mukundrāj flourished during the first half of the seventeenth century. A Deshasth Brahman by caste and a devotee of Siva, whose cult was then dominant, Mukundrāj was the author of three philosophical, religious works, written in the *Ovi* metre,[2] viz. the *Paramāmrita*, the *Vivekasindhu*, and the *Mulastambha*, of which the two former simply present in the garb of Marāthī poetry the Advaita philosophy of Shankarāchārya (c. 788–850), with its doctrines of the identity of the individual soul with the universal soul and of *Māya* or cosmical illusion. The *Mulastambha* ('Primary Pillar') is a panegyric of the god Siva.

[1] For further information regarding *Bhakti*, see Grierson's article on 'Bhakti-Marga' at pp. 2,539 ff. of Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (1909), and R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, &c. (1913), pp. 87 ff.

[2] The standard *Ovi* metre 'consists of three full lines of fourteen units each, each unit quantitatively equal to a short syllable—and a fourth line of seven units.' It was a metrical instrument that could respond to any cadence, warlike or martial, brisk or grave.' (Prof. Patvardhan, *Wilson Philological Lecture II*, 1917.)

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Jnānēshvar is declared by tradition to have been born in A.D. 1271 at Apegāon, and lived most of his life at Alandi in Poona District, where his tomb and temple still exist and attract thousands of people annually to a great fair held in his honour. He was the son of a Deshasth Brahman, named Vithalpant, who had become a *Sanyāsī*, but subsequently reverted to the life of a *Grihasta* or householder, thereby incurring the displeasure of the Brahmans of Apegāon, who excommunicated him and his family. Vithalpant had two other sons, Nivrittināth and Sopāndēv, born respectively in 1268 and 1274, and a daughter, Muktabāi, born in 1277. Many legends have grown up around the name of Jnānēshvar, which testify to his divine powers and saintliness; and while his sister Muktabāī was popularly regarded as an incarnation of the goddess of learning, he and his two brothers were declared to be an incarnation of the Hindu *Trimūrti* or 'Triad of gods,' viz. Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu. Among the various literary works attributed to Jnānēshvar, by far the most important is the *Jnānēshvarī* or *Jnānadēvī*, which is an elaborate commentary in the *Ovi* metre on the *Bhagavad Gīta*; and if the traditional date of his birth be accepted Jnānēshvar must, according to Professor Patvardhan, have composed this great expositional poem of about 10,000 verses at the age of sixteen. While concerned primarily with the expounding of the 'Song Celestial' for the benefit of the ordinary Marāthā of his age, the author of the *Jnānēshvarī* takes as his underlying theme the value of service and love of God, or, briefly, of *Bhakti* or devotion, and must on this account be considered the direct forerunner of the *Bhakti* school of Marāthī poetry. Dr. Farquhar describes him as 'the coryphæus of the whole *Bhakti* movement of the Marāthā country,' and as 'a true *Bhakta*, honouring Siva as well as Vishnu, and following Sankara in philosophy.' Remembering that Jnānēshvar was a faithful devotee of Siva and had deeply imbibed the Vedānta philosophy of Shankarāchārya, Professor Patvardhan reasonably suggests that his emotional advocacy of the purely Vaishnava doctrine of *Bhakti* may have been due to the inspiration of the celebrated Vaishnava philosopher and teacher, Rāmānuja (*c.* A.D. 1100–1150), who is regarded as the leading opponent of the views of Shankarāchārya. The influence of the latter is clearly discernible in another work of Jnānēshvar, the *Amritānubhava*, a treatise on self-knowledge,

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which for this reason is believed by Professor Patvardhan to have been produced earlier than the *Jnānēshvarī*. Dr. Farquhar, however, accepts the suggestion of Dr. Laddu of the Sanskrit College, Benares, that Jnānēshvar was a *Bhāgavat* and that the whole *Bhakti* movement of Mahārāshtra sprang from this *Bhāgavat* origin. The *Bhāgavat* cult rests upon a passage in the *Harivāmsa*, which reflects the worship of the two gods, Siva and Vishnu, as equal or as one. An inscription of A.D. 528–9 proves that the *Bhāgavat* community was in existence at that date, while at a later date (*c.* 800–900) the *Skanda Upanishād* was written to prove the identity of Vishnu and Siva. There seems good ground for holding that the *Bhāgavat* sect, with its doctrine of the identity of the two gods, was numerous in southern India from A.D. 550 to 900, and that the great *Bhāgavata Purān*, with its doctrine of *Bhakti*, was the literary creation of the sect. In all probability Jnānēshvar was under the influence of the *Bhāgavat* Vishnuswāmi, who was his senior by only thirty or at most forty years.[1] In conclusion let it suffice to point out that Professor Patvardhan gives clear reasons for holding that the *ābhangas* or trochaic odes usually attributed to Jnānēshvar were probably written by another poet of the same name, *after* the cult of Vithoba had been firmly established and Pandharpur had become one of the popular *tīrths*, or places of pilgrimage, in Mahārāshtra.[2] Nivrittināth, Sopāndēv and Muktabāī also composed verses which are of little importance compared with the deservedly popular works of their famous brother.

From Jnānēshvar we pass to Nāmadēva (Nāmdēv or Nāma), who is the earliest representative of a new school of Marāthī poetry known generally as the *Bhakti* school. Romantic glorification of *Bhakti* or Spiritual Devotion is the theme of Nāmdēv and his successors, who strove to break down the barriers which for ages had debarred the populace from all access to any more knowledge than a man's particular *guru* or spiritual guide could or would communicate. Of Nāmadēva's actual life and circum-

[1] The problem is discussed in Dr. J. N. Farquhar's *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, the proofs of which he kindly allowed me to peruse, and from which I have taken these statements.

[2] *Wilson Philological Lecture III*, 1917, by Professor W. B. Patvardhan.

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stances no authentic record remains, but passages in his *ābhangas* indicate that he was born about A.D. 1270, his father being by caste a Shimpī or tailor, that he was a Saiva, and that he led a lawless life as a youth, but later, being filled with remorse at the sight of the sufferings which his misconduct had caused, he foreswore evil and embraced the service of God. Dr. Farquhar holds that Nāmadēva flourished about a century later than A.D. 1270, basing the suggestion upon Sir R. Bhandarkar's *Vaisnavism, Saivism,* &c., page 92, and upon other considerations. He probably flourished about 1420 A.D.[1] Nāmadēva used the *ābhanga* measure,[2] a modification of the *ovi* metre, and wrote with such passion and intensity that he inspired a whole congregation of minor poets, including his wife, mother, his maidservant Janabāī, whose extant poems almost equal her master's in fervour, his sons, his daughter, and his sister. Nor was his example emulated only by his family. Among others whom his genius likewise inspired were Samvatya of the Mālī or gardener caste, Naraharī of the Sonār or goldsmith cāste, Gora who was a Kumbhār or potter, and lastly Chōka Mēla, who belonged to the degraded Mahār population and must have been wholly illiterate. 'That he (Chōka Mēla), too, burst into striking poetry is evidence that Nāmdēv's influence acted as a strong force in awakening the devotional imagination of Mahārāshtra,' levelling all differences of caste and class, and establishing 'a spiritual democracy where all had equal rights and all could eat together, drink together, dance together and sing together.'[3] Nāmadēva, as Dr. Farquhar points out, was influential in the Punjab as well as in the Marāthā country, as is proved by his hymns in the *Granth* and by a shrine dedicated to his memory and still in use at Ghuman in the Gurdaspur District. Besides the *ābhangas*, which are very popular with the peasantry of Mahārāshtra and which usually end with the words *Nāma mhane*, 'Nāma said,'[4] Nāmadēva composed a good

[1] A number of Nāmadēva's hymns appear in the Sīkh *Granth*. See Macauliffe's *Religion of the Sikhs*, vi.

[2] The *ābhanga* is a trochaic ode, the verses consisting of four, three or two feet; every two lines rhyming with one another; and consisting usually of from four to thirty lines.

[3] *Wilson Philological Lecture IV*, 1917.

[4] This feature is also found in Tukārām's verses, which similarly contain the words *Tukā mhane*, i.e. 'Tukā said.'

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deal of other poetry, chiefly epics based upon Purānic myths and poetical lives of the saints; but his devotional *ābhangas*, framed in the measure which was later perfected by Tukārām and vibrating with an intensely human note of appeal, constitute the chief source of his fame and popularity. In his verse the influence of Islam first appears in the Deccan. He and those who followed him criticized idolatry with some severity, but continued the use of idols.

The disappearance from the stage of Nāmadēva marks the close of a period in the history of Marāthī literature. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries no work of importance was produced, and the literary legacy of the period is trivial. The reason is foreshadowed in the *ābhangas* of Nāmadēva, which contain references to foreign incursion and to a Pādshāh, who is obviously a Moslem ruler. The Muhammadan invasions of the Deccan had commenced, rendering life unsettled and generating frequent occasions of rapine and disorder. Now for the first time, in such literary remains as have survived, foreign words, both Persian and Urdu, are introduced into the language of Mahārāshtra; while in the domain of religion the presence of foreign invaders results in a reconciliation between the two warring sects of Saivas and Vaishnavas, which is symbolized in the installation of an image of Vithoba (Vishnu) in the temple of Pandhari on the Bhīma river (Pandharpur in Sholāpur District), and its association with the *lingam* of Siva. Dr. J. N. Farquhar mentions that 'in the chief temple of Pandharpur, Vitthal (i.e. Vithoba) wears a curious sort of crown, which the priests say is Siva's *linga*; so that the image, standing for both gods, is truly Bhāgavata.' [1]

Throughout these centuries of Muhammadan invasion and predominance the general mass of the people remained inert and indifferent to the changes around them. Professor Patvardhan holds that the philosophical doctrines of the earlier writers taught them to regard the changes and disorders of this epoch with resignation. It is more likely that the mass of the people awaited the call of a leader, whom they could follow blindly, before grappling with the foreign invader. Their

[1] Dr. J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*. The *Bhāgavat* origin of the *Bhakti* movement is dealt with at some length by Dr. Farquhar.

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attitude of docile indifference was not shared at any rate by some of the younger and more enthusiastic Marāthās, whose ancestors had been petty chieftains and had bequeathed to them traditions of daring and adventure. They realized that in the unsettled condition of the country principalities might be secured and fortunes be made by bold enterprise; and these ideas coupled with the hatred aroused by the ill-treatment occasionally practised by the foreigner inclined them to listen eagerly to anyone who could expound the old Purānic tales of warfare, the myths of mighty warriors, and stories of divine intervention on behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed.[1]

By the commencement of the sixteenth century Mahārāshtra was ready to welcome a literature which would recall the past achievements of heroes and at the same time fan the embers of her martial ardour; and thus, after an almost complete silence of two centuries, there appeared in satisfaction of the popular need such works as the Marāthī versions of the *Mahābhārata*, the *ābhangas* of Tukārām, the *Dasa Bōdha* of Rāmdās, the Purānic excerpts of Vāman Pandit, and Dāsopant's commentary on the *Bhagavad Gīta*.

The earliest and most remarkable figure of this new period of Marāthī literature was the poet and reformer Eknāth, a Deshasth Brahman, who was born in A.D. 1528, or, according to others, in 1548, and died in 1608. Of the ridicule and persecution which he suffered at the hands of the Brahmans of Paithan and Benares many tales are told. On several occasions he was outcasted, and once his poems were publicly sunk in the river Godāvari.[2] But Eknāth paid no heed to the censures of a privileged priesthood, and preached boldly against the caste-system and other social disabilities which have no sanction in the *Shāstras*. His literary output was immense, the most celebrated of his works being a Marāthī rendering of the *Bhāgavat Purān*, containing about 20,000 verses in the *ovi* metre, which he completed at Paithan in 1573. It was for daring to render this famous Sanskrit work in Marāthī, the language of the Sūdras, that he was arraigned before the Brahman pandits of Benares, whose fervent advocacy of Sanskrit as the only suitable literary language was only equalled by their outspoken contempt for the

[1] *Wilson Philological Lecture V*, 1917.

[2] Acworth, *Ballads of the Marāthās* (1894), Introduction.

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vernacular tongue. But Eknāth triumphed over his accusers, and his Marāthī *Bhāgavat*, with its doctrine of personal service of Harī or God as the only road to salvation, is a lasting memorial of his struggle on behalf of the language of the common people of Mahārāshtra. His *ābhangas*, some of which reflect severely upon idolatry, and recall passages in the Old Testament, are not considered to possess as much merit as his translations from the *Bhāgavat*. But the influence of Eknāth, whether in the sphere of didactic, lyric or epic poetry, was immense. It is to his influence that Marāthī literature owes Dāsopant's, and possibly also Vāman's, commentaries on the *Bhagavad Gīta* and Tukārām's lyrical *ābhangas*, while as regards epic poetry his disciple Gāoba was able adequately to complete, in a style worthy of his master, the *Bhavārtha Rāmāyana*, of which Eknāth, at the time of his death,[1] had composed only forty-four cantos.[2] In philosophy Eknāth was a monist, like Mukundrāj and Jnānēshvar.

Among the more noteworthy of Eknāth's successors was his grandson Muktēshvar, who was born in 1608 and was the first great poet to write purely for the sake of literature. His compositions, based upon old Hindu myths and stories of divine incarnations, are mostly epic poems, among them being the *Rāmāyana*, written in the *shlōk* metre, which is remarkable for its narrative and descriptive power, the *Mahābhārata* in the *ovi* metre, of which only four or five books are extant, the *Gajendra-Mōksha*, *Hanumāntākhyana*, *Arjuna-Kāma-Pūrtī*, *Vishvamitra Bhōjana*, *Harischandrākhyana*, and a rendering of the *Bhagavad Gīta*. Muktēshvar was one of the first Marāthī poets to employ Sanskrit metres, although much of his work is in the old *ovi* metre, which had hitherto shared with the *ābhanga* and *dindi* measures the chief popularity among vernacular writers. Besides the works just mentioned, Muktēshvar composed two poems of a different character, the *Ekanātha Charitra* and the *Murkāchi Lakshane*, 'Characteristics of a Fool.' The latter throws valuable light upon the social conditions of the poet's age.

Contemporary with Muktēshvar was Tukārām (1608–49), who represents the zenith of the *Bhakti* school of devotional poetry.

[1] The date of Eknāth's death is uncertain, but is stated to have occurred in A.D. 1608 (Acworth's *Marāthā Ballads*, p. xxvi). Another of his notable epic poems was the *Rukmini Svayamvar*.

[2] *Wilson Philological Lecture V*, 1917.

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He was born at Dehu village, Poona District, and was the son of a Vānī (trader), whose family for several generations had associated itself closely with the worship of Vithoba of Pandharpur, in whose honour Tukārām composed many of his verses. His compositions are marked by a high level of religious exaltation, and the style of his *ābhangas*, which are supposed to number more than 8,000, is simple and often full of pathos. He has been described as 'the Kabīr of the Marāthās,' and no other poet has contributed so many familiar quotations to the common speech of Mahārāshtra.[1] Yet Tukārām could on occasion display a mastery of invective, and in his crusade against the empty ritual and barren ceremonial of Brahman priestcraft chastised with unsparing ridicule both Brahman and Gosāin. The following verses exemplify his attitude towards the Gosāin whose only tangible mark of asceticism is discoverable in the colour of his garments.[2]

Brother, we have become a Gosāin and abandoned everything.
Pātel—build us here a chapel, bring *bhāng* and tobacco in plenty,
Provide daily food for me, and send a sister to serve me,
Tukā said that such devotion resembled the mask worn at the Shimga (annual Saturnalia).'

The story goes that Sivājī once sent some of his councillors to Tukārām to beg him to come to court; but Tukārām sent him a few stanzas instead.

To Tukārām a number of minor poets owed their inspiration, among them being Rāmēshvar Bhat, Sēna Nhāvī, Narāyan Bava, Kanhoba, Prēma Bāī and two Muhammadans, Sheikh Muhammad and Sheikh Sultān. The traditional story of his life, and the popular legends which have grown around his name, are enshrined in two later works, the *Bhakti Līlāmrita* and the *Bhakti Vijāya*, of which the former was composed by Mahīpati in 1774. In this work Dr. Murray Mitchell professed to discern traces of the influence of Christian thought and ideas, and suggests that Tukārām's biographer may have been acquainted with Father Guimaraens' Purān on the Life of Christ, which was

[1] Acworth, *Ballads of the Marāthās* (1894), Introduction.
[2] Essay on the vernacular literature of the Marāthās, *J B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. i (1841–4).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

written in the Konkani dialect of Marāthī and published in Lisbon in 1659.[1]

Another notable figure of this epoch was Sivājī's *guru* or spiritual guide, Rāmdās Swāmi (1608–81), who is credited with the authorship of a considerable body of Marāthī verse. Less fluent, less pathetic than Tukārām, Rāmdās is remarkable for the analytical power and practical wisdom displayed in his poetry. His poems, composed in both the *shlok* and *ovi* metres, are important by reason of the political or philosophical lessons which they may be held to embody; and his stray verses, entitled, 'Admonitions to the Mind,' written for the benefit of Sivājī, are almost worthy to rank with Solomon's Proverbs.[2] His name is perpetuated in the small sect of Rāmdāsis, whose headquarters are at Parli (Sajjangarh) in Sātāra District. The sect uses a secret *mantra* of its own, and contains many Sādhus or professional ascetics. Rāmdās was the centre of a group of poets, of whom the most notable were Rangnāth Swāmi of Paithan, Rangnāth of Nigadi and Vāman Pandit of Kolhāpur.

Two years before Rāmdās' death in 1681, was born at Nazre, near Pandharpur, the famous Srīdhar, a Deshasth Brahman, who is perhaps the most popular of all Marāthā poets. 'In every town and village in the Deccan and Konkan,' writes Acworth, 'especially during the rains, the pious Marāthā will be found enjoying with his family and friends the recitation of the *Pōthi* of Srīdhar, and enjoying it indeed. Except an occasional gentle laugh, or a sigh, or a tear, not a sound disturbs the rapt silence of the audience, unless when one of those passages of supreme pathos is reached, which affects the whole of the listeners simultaneously with an outburst of emotion which drowns the voice of the reader.' Srīdhar's chief poems are the *Rāmā Vijaya* and *Harī Vijaya*, composed in A.D. 1703; the *Pāndava Pratāp* in 1712, and the *Shiva Līlāmrita* completed in 1718. Acworth quotes on page xxviii of his introduction to *The Ballads of the Marāthās* certain observations of Srīdhar on the value of the Marāthī tongue, which 'offer a good illustration of his pleasing style, the sweetness of his diction, picturesqueness of ideas and images, and multiplicity of metaphor and simile.' Srīdhar's

[1] For alleged influence of Christian thought upon Marāthī literature, see N. Macnicol's *Indian Theism*, App. C.

[2] Acworth, *Ballads of the Marāthās*, Introduction, p. xxvi.

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influence is not directly religious, except in so far as the stories he reproduces have a religious character. He died in 1728, at the age of fifty.

Another Deshasth Brahman writer of the seventeenth century was Vāman Pandit, who was a Sanskrit scholar of repute, and in his early days wrote only in that language. Following the example of the pedants of that age he disdained the vernacular tongue of Mahārāshtra. But a change gradually came over him, and his later works which are numerous and include every variety of poetic composition were all written in Marāthī. His major works are the *Yatārtha Dīpika*—a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gīta*, the *Bhīshma Pratidnya*, *Sīta Svayamvar*, *Kālīya Mardan*, *Bhāma Vilās*, *Rasa Krīda* and *Bhārat Bava*, in most of which he displayed that ingenuity and felicity of rhyme which led to his being styled 'Vāman Yamakya,' i.e. 'Vāman the Rhymer.' He died in 1773.

One of the most voluminous writers of the eighteenth century was Moropant, a Karhāda Brahman, who was born in 1729 and died in 1794. He began work as a clerk or accountant. He composed poems in the *ārya* metre in honour of Vishnu and other gods, epics in imitation of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, and miscellaneous poems such as the *Kekāvali* or 'peacock's cry.' 'The greater part of his writings is disfigured by pedantry, and they are so overloaded with pure Sanskrit words that they are less pleasant reading than the simple verse of Tukārām or Srīdhar.'[1] His popularity with the Brahmans is due to the fact that he was a *Purānik* or expounder of the legends, and decidedly belonged to the class of pedantic Pandits referred to by Srīdhar.[2]

Contemporary with Moropant was Amratrāo, who wrote the *Dāmāji Pant Rasid*—a eulogy of the Pandharpur shrine, and various other stray poems in the *katav* or *katibandha* metre, 'in which most of the *Pawadas* or historical ballads of the Marāthās are composed.'[3] After him comes Mahīpati, a Brahman of Tārabād, near Paithan, who wrote four large works, the *Bhakti Vijaya*, *Santa Līlāmrita Sāra*, *Bhakti Lūlāmrita*, and *Kathasārāmrita*, which celebrate the lives and achievements of the devotees and saints of Mahārāshtra and also various shorter

[1] Acworth, *Ballads of the Marāthās*, Introduction, p. xxx.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p. xxxi.

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poems including the *Tukārāmcharitra* or 'Life of Tukārām.' The last conspicuous poet of the eighteenth century was Raghunāth Pandit, whose one surviving poem is the *Svayamvār*, describing the marriage of Nala and Damayanti. 'The episode,' writes Acworth, 'is taken from the Sanskrit, but the composition shows great originality and power.' The lesser poets of this period include Ananta Tanaya, Madhu Munēshvar, Shivadnia Kēsari, who are not well known; Dēvidās, author of a rhapsody entitled *Vyankatēsh-Stōtra*; Vishvanāth, author of *Nauka Krīdan*; Anant or Ānand Phandi, who wrote songs in praise of the Pēshwā Bājī Rāo II and Bāpu Gōkhalē; Narāyan, author of *Ānand Sāgar*; and several others.

In addition to the classical poety of Mahārāshtra, described above, Acworth draws attention to two other orders of poems in the Marāthī language, viz. the *Lāvanis* or love-songs, and the *Pavadas* or historical ballads. The former are frankly erotic, and have been justly described as both licentious and coarse. 'The greatest of the *Lāvani*-writers, Rām Jōshi, is however free from this imputation. He was the son of a well-to-do Deshasth Brahman of Sholāpur, was born in 1762 and died in 1802. He has written many hundreds of *Lāvanis*, and they are, with some exceptions, morally unobjectionable. He is said to have travelled from place to place, expounding sacred tales from the Purāns, and reciting his own verses and those of Moropant, whom, like other Brahmans, he held in high esteem. He has also written several interesting *Pādas* and some descriptive ballads in *Lāvani* style, one of which gives a beautiful and touching account of the great famine of 1803.'[1] This poem is included in a collection of Marāthī ballads published by Mr. Acworth and Pandit Shāligrām in 1891; while another of Rām Jōshi's poems, describing Jasvant Rāo Holkar's raid in Poona and Khāndesh in 1802, is included in Mr. Acworth's later collection of ballads, published in 1894. At the present day *lāvanis* are largely sung by Murlīs, i.e. women dedicated to the god Khandoba, who wander into the larger towns, accompanied by two or three musicians, and support themselves and their adherents by singing and prostitution. They also take part in the *tamāshas* or *lalitas*, which represent the modern form of old

[1] Acworth, *Ballads of the Marāthās*, Introduction, p. xxxi.

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village dramatic representations, played by the Gōndhalīs or wandering minstrels of the Deccan, and which were much in favour two centuries ago with the people of Mahārāshtra.[1]

A full description of the *Pavada* or historical ballad, which is not a written poem but has been handed down orally by the Gōndhalīs from generation to generation, will be found at pages xxxii to xxxviii of Acworth's *Ballads of the Marāthās*, published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. in 1894. Excellent examples of this form of wandering minstrelsy will be found in this valuable publication; and there is little to add to the author's account, except to remark that since he compiled the collection the gradual relinquishment by the Gōndhalīs of their time-honoured vocation, to which he drew attention, has become even more marked. The gradual spread of education, the march of industrial enterprise, and constant immigration into the capital of the Presidency, with its theatres, cinemas and other modern forms of amusement, have together tended to render obsolete the occupation and the songs of the vagrant minstrel-caste of Mahārāshtra.

Of prose literature prior to the nineteenth century there is little to be recorded, the chief works being the *Vetal Panchāishi*, the *Panchopākhyan* and *Sinhāsan Battīshi*, which are books of fable, and the *Bakhars* or accounts of Sivājī's life and times, the respective historical values of which have been explained by Professor Jadunāth Sarkar on pages 500, 501 of his recent (1919) publication—*Shivaji and His Times*.

With the establishment of the British government in the Deccan and Southern Marāthā country, a new era in Marāthī prose literature commenced. Missionary enterprise was not slow in publishing works in which religion and philanthropy played a leading part, and they were followed, as education on Western lines advanced, by works of a more secular character —historical, biographical, scientific and so forth. The introduction of typography and lithography, the establishment of printing-presses also, aided to swell the stream of Marāthī publications, and it is no exaggeration to say that examples of every type of work, from the novel or romance to the historical treatise or the handbook of science, are obtainable in the Marāthī language.

[1] Acworth, *Ballads of the Marāthās*, Introduction, p. xxxiv.

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At times there has been a certain reaction against the new type of literature arising from closer contact with Western thought and methods of education, and this has manifested itself in the reproduction of the older Marāthī literature, both religious and historical, and in the publication of commentaries and explanations thereof. But speaking generally, in the words of Professor Patvardhan, 'the impact with Western people, Western institutions and Western literatures, the growing acquaintance and association of the East and the West, have already produced salutary results, and the present-day literature of Mahārāshtra is certainly tending towards the Western type.' Like other Prākrits, Marāthī, as Professor J. Sarkar points out (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 15), had no literary prose till well into the eighteenth century, and the prose that was created by the official classes in their letters and chronicles was a barbarous jargon, composed mainly of Persian words and idioms. 'The Sanskritised, elegant and varied prose that is now used is a creation of the British period.'

In conclusion one may venture to remark that there is a tendency among some writers to over-estimate the influence upon the public mind of Mahārāshtra of the message of the Marāthī poets of the *Bhakti* school. They would have us believe that these poets welded the different and often mutually hostile groups composing the population of Mahārāshtra into one people, that they made the Marāthās a nation, and that they ennobled and humanized the moral character of the people so deeply that the latter relinquished the tendency to gain their ends by violent means, and adopted in the face of all the trials and chances of those unrestful years an attitude of humility and resignation. It cannot be gainsaid that the remarkable literary movement, which centres so largely about the god Vithoba and Pandharpur, bears many of the signs of true spiritual devotion, and that in its revolt against the empty ritual and thaumaturgic priestcraft of Brahmanism it embraced persons of various castes, and elevated to sainthood representatives of even the lowest classes in Mahārāshtra. Some of those associated more or less closely with the Pandharpur movement were women; 'a few were Muhammadan converts to Hinduism, nearly half of them were Brahmans, while there were representatives in the other half from among all the other castes—Marāthās, Kunbīs, tailors,

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gardeners, potters, goldsmiths, repentant prostitutes and slave-girls, and even the outcaste Mahārs.'[1] Nowhere perhaps did the great religious revival, associated in other parts of India with the names of Rāmānuja and Tulsīdās, exercise an influence so genuinely for good as in the case of the worship that gathered about Vithoba of Pandharpur[2] (Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, pp. 126–7).

Yet it is doubtful whether the poetry of the saints and writers of the *Bhakti* school ever reached, or made much impression upon, the general mass of the people of Mahārāshtra. Messrs. Acworth and Shāligrām have pointed out that Marāthī poetry is 'little known to the ryots and Māvalis of Mahārāshtra, and would not command their attention or admiration if it were known. . . . It is not to be supposed, however, that they are without a poetry of their own. With the Marāthās, the feelings of the commons have taken shape in the ballads, which are the genuine embodiment of national enthusiasm.' And this national ballad literature, as Professor Sarkar remarks, was the creation of the age of Sivājī and his successors.

Nor again was the success of the Marāthī poets, from Jnānadēv to Srīdhar, in overcoming the prejudices of caste anything more than partial and temporary. Far more efficacious than the devotional teaching of the poets in suppressing caste-exclusiveness and fostering a sense of 'nationhood' was the rise to power of the Sūdra, Sivājī, and his constant association with himself in the task of political and military administration of men who, in many instances, were not Brahmans. With Prabhus acting as his civil and military officials, with Marāthās and Bandhāris forming the bulk of his forces, with Kolīs or Rāmosīs acting as his comrades in hazardous enterprises, and with Mahārs and Māngs holding his hill-forts, the general mass of the people must have obtained a clearer and more practical idea of a common nationality and the limitations of an exclusive caste-system than they could ever have obtained, wholly illiterate as they

[1] Ranade, *Rise of the Marāthā Power*, p. 146.

[2] For a brief sketch of the *Bhāgavats* of Mahārāshtra to-day, see p. 301 of Dr. J. N. Farquhar's *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*. The chief centres of the sect are Pandharpur, Alandi and Dehu. No outcaste is admitted to the *Bhāgavat* Temples in the Deccan.

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were, from the public repetition of quotations from the *ābhangas* of Tukārām or Nāmdēv. And when Sivājī's descendants degenerated into a line of royal phantoms and the Pēshwās usurped all power, the ancient spirit of caste-exclusiveness reasserted itself with redoubled force, and the passionate cry of the Marāthī poet, 'Find, O find, some means or other, To bring God and man together,' was forgotten amid the caste-disputes and the class-intrigues of that era of Chitpāvan predominance. While accepting, therefore, all that admirers of the old Marāthī poetry claim for it as regards the truly reverent, spiritual and catholic character of its message, one cannot but point out that its influence at the time it was composed, upon the general population of Mahārāshtra cannot have been as great as is occasionally pretended, and that its power to mould the public mind did not survive the early days of Marāthā political dominance. 'There was no attempt,' says Professor J. Sarkar,[1] in reference to the character of the Marāthā State, 'at well-thought-out, organized communal improvement, spread of education, or unification of the people, either under Shivaji or under the Pēshwās. The cohesion of the people in the Marāthā State was not organic, but artificial, accidental, and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen.'

[1] *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 485–6.

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V. Editions of Grant Duff's Work

The following editions of Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* have been published.

I. London, 1826, 3 vols., 8vo.

A
History
of
The Mahrattas
by
James Grant Duff, Esq.
Captain in the First, or Grenadier, Regiment
of Bombay, Native Infantry, and Late
Political Resident at Satara.

In three volumes.
London:
printed for
Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green,
Paternoster Row.
1826.

[Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode, New Street Square; Dedication to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor &c. &c. of Bombay. Preface dated London, May 30, 1826, and Contents, pp. vii–xxxii. Frontispiece, 'Mausoleum of Ibrahim Adil Khan at Beejapoor,' drawn by Lieutenant W. W. Dowell, Bombay Army, engraved by Edward Finden. On page xxxii are illustrations of Sivājī's sword and scabbard, and a *Vāghnak* (tiger's claw), with the following note beneath them: 'The above is a representation of Bhowanee, the famous Sword of Sivajee; and of a Wagnuck, the instrument with which he murdered the General of the Beejapoor Army. The Vignette at the top of the index at the end of Vol. III represents the Sikka Kutar, or grand state seal of the Mahratta Empire: both the sword and the seal were taken from the originals at Sātāra.' Text pp. 1–571. Facing page 1 is 'A Map of India showing the ancient divisions of the Deccan.'

Vol. II, pp. 1–483. Frontispiece, a picture of 'Raigurh,'

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drawn by Lieutenant Athill, Bombay Engineers, engraved by Edward Finden. Contents, pp. v–xix. Inserted between p. xix and p. 1 of text a folded map of 'Mahārāshtra, reduced from a map of six inches to a degree, compiled principally from Original and recent Surveys by Captain Henry Adams of the Bombay Army for Captain Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.*'

Vol. III. Contents, pp. v–xx; text, 1–501; index, 503–37. Frontispiece, picture of Sātāra, drawn by Mrs. Colonel Shuldham, Bombay, engraved by Edward Finden. Below index, on p. 537, a woodcut representing a Marāthā cavalryman mounted.]

II. (*a*) In the letter mentioned above from Grant Duff to E. H. Goldsmid, dated January 30, 1846, the author writes: 'As to a second edition, about ten years ago (i.e. 1836), in consequence of repeated suggestions on the subject—for I had individually no pleasure in recurring to it—I wrote to the publishers, Longman & Co.; but their reply was not so encouraging as to induce me to begin re-casting many ill-written passages, which I sometimes thought of, but had always some more immediate object of interest or business.

'I am aware that it cannot be purchased even of booksellers; but even if the publishers now wished it, I should be much more inclined—though I could not now be bothered rewriting it—to publish a second edition, on testimonials such as yours than from any other consideration whatever.'

It appears from these extracts that the author himself did not undertake the publication of a second edition.

(*b*) On page iii of the preface to the edition published in 1912 by Cambray & Co., Calcutta, it is stated that 'The History was translated into Mahratti by Captain (afterwards General Sir David) Capon (Bombay, 1830).' No copy of this Marāthī edition has been traced.

(*c*) A second edition is stated, on page iii of the preface to the Calcutta edition of 1912, to have been published at Bombay in 1863. The preface of the third edition, reprinted in the fourth edition of 1876, leads one to infer that the second edition was in three volumes, printed at Bombay, and probably published by the *Times of India.* This is partly corroborated by item No. 243 in a catalogue of books for sale by Francis Edwards, High Street, Marylebone (March 1915, No. 349), in which the work is described as 'Bombay Reprint, 3 vols., 8vo.,

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cloth, 1863, £1 5*s*.'[1] I have failed to obtain a copy of this edition for scrutiny.

III. Bombay, 1873, 1 vol., 8vo.

History
of
The Mahrattas
by
James Grant Duff, Esq.
Captain in the 1st Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry &
late Political Resident at Satara.
Third Edition.
Complete in one volume.
Bombay:
Published at the *Times of India* Office.
London:
121 & 200 Fleet Street.
1873.

[This edition is collated as follows: Dedication, 1 leaf; contents, pp. v–xxvi; preface, xxvii–xxxi; preface to present edition, pp. xxxiii–xxxv; text, pp. 1–686; index, pp. 687–710. The preface to this third edition, which is reprinted in the fourth edition and is undated, expresses a hope 'that the work being now presented in one volume, and at a much lower price than any previous edition, will secure for it a far wider circle of readers than it ever before obtained. The preface also includes 'the chief portion of a letter from the author, written in his retirement, in reply to a note, urging the publication of a new edition from his friend, Mr. E. H. Goldsmid, the eminent Bombay Civilian . . . &c.,' and expresses the indebtedness of the publishers for the use of this letter 'to Mr. James Taylor, Honorary Secretary to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, whose "Note on Grant Duff's History," comprising the extract we now give, appears in No. xxviii of the Society's Transactions, now passing through the press.' This edition is also rare.]

[1] Dr. Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E., kindly brought this entry to my notice.

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IV. Bombay, 1878, 2 vols., 8vo.

History
of
The Mahrattas
(title as in edition of 1873)
Fourth Edition.
Complete in two volumes.
Bombay:
Published at the *Times of India* Office.
London:
121 Fleet Street, E.C.
1878.

[Vol. I. Original dedication as in 1826 and 1873 editions; author's preface, pp. v–xi; preface to third edition reprint, pp. xiii–xvii (see remarks under 1873 edition, above); contents, pp. v–xxviii; text, 1–718.

Vol. II. Contents, pp. v–xxv; text, pp. 1–620. Chapter I of this volume is the same as Chapter IX of Vol. II of the 1826 edition. The index, pp. 621–61, is a reproduction, so far as the headings are concerned, of the index of the 1826 edition. This reprint is also scarce.]

V. Calcutta, 1912, 3 vols., 8vo.

A
History
(title as in edition of 1826)
With copious notes.
In three volumes.
Calcutta:
Published by — R. Cambray and Co.
Law Booksellers & Publishers,
9 Hastings Street.
1912.

[Vol. I. Dedication of this edition 'to His Excellency Brevet-Colonel the Honourable Sir George Sydenham Clarke, &c., Governor of Bombay'; introduction by the annotator, B. A. Gupte; preface to present edition, including a brief memoir of author, pp. i–iv, dated Calcutta, July 1, 1912; preface to

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original edition, pp. a–f; contents, pp. i–xii; text, pp. 1–466; appendix, pp. i–xvi, at end of volume, containing scattered notes signed B. A. Gupte. Frontispiece to this volume, portrait of Captain James C. Grant Duff, stated at the end of the preface (p. iv) to have been obtained from his grandson, Mr. E. M. Grant Duff, H.B.M.'s Consul-General for Hungary.

Vol. II. After contents (pp. v–xix) comes a very poor reproduction of the engraving of Raigarh in Vol. II of original edition of 1826, without acknowledgement of source; text, pp. 1–483; appendix at end of volume, pp. i–xvi, containing scattered notes signed as above.

Vol. III. After contents, text, pp. 1–501; index, pp. 503–34; appendix, pp. i–iv.

This is a very poor reprint. Misprints are so numerous as to justify the belief that the proof-sheets were never revised; the notes in the appendices are very inadequate, and in most cases bear no direct relation to the text.]

Copies of the 1st (1826), 3rd (1873) and 5th (1912) editions are in the library of the British Museum; the London Library contains the 3rd (1873) edition; and the Indian Institute at Oxford is reported to contain Vol. I of the 4th (1878) edition. The Bodleian Library has the original (1826) edition. The latter institution, it may be noted, contains also (2591 d. 20 (6) D) *A catalogue of J. Grant Duff's Library to be sold along with that of J. Adam on July* 6, 1888. *London*, 1888. 8*vo.*

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION

THE want of a complete history of the rise, progress, and decline of our immediate predecessors in conquest, the Mahrattas, has been long felt by all persons conversant with the affairs of India; in so much, that it is very generally acknowledged, we cannot fully understand the means by which our own vast empire in that quarter was acquired, until this desideratum be supplied.

The difficulty of obtaining the requisite materials has hitherto deterred most of our countrymen from venturing on a subject where the indefatigable Orme has left his Fragments as a monument of his research, accompanied by an attestation of the labour which they cost him. The subsequent attempt of Mr. Scott Waring proved not only the difficulties of which Mr. Orme's experience had warned us, but, that at a period comparatively recent, those who had the best opportunities of collecting information respecting the Mahrattas, were still very deficient in a knowledge of their history. Circumstances placed me in situations which at once removed many of the obstacles which those gentlemen encountered, and threw materials within my reach which had been previously inaccessible: nevertheless, the labour and the expense, requisite for completing these volumes, can only be appreciated by those who assisted me in the design, or who have been engaged in similar pursuits in India.

On the subversion of the government of the Peishwas the most important of their state papers, and of their public and secret correspondence, were made over to me by Mr. Elphinstone, when he was acting under the orders of the Marquis of Hastings as sole commissioner for the settlement of the conquered territory in the Deccan. Captain Henry Dundas Robertson, collector and magistrate of Poona, with Mr. Elphinstone's sanction, allowed confidential agents employed by me, to have access to the mass

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of papers which were found in the apartments of the Peishwa's palaces. The Mahratta revenue state accounts were examined and extracted for me by the late Lieutenant John Macleod when first assistant to Mr. Chaplin who succeeded Mr. Elphinstone as commissioner for the conquered territory. The records of the Satara government were under my own immediate charge, and many original papers of historical importance, the existence of which was unknown to the Peishwas, were confided to me by the Raja. Mr. Elphinstone, when governor of Bombay, gave me free access to the records of that government; I had read the whole both public and secret up to 1795, and had extracted what formed many large volumes of matter relative to my subject, when Mr. Warden the chief secretary, who had from the first afforded every facility to my progress, lent me a compilation from the records, made by himself, which shortened my subsequent labours and afforded materials amply sufficient, as far as regarded English history, for the years that remained. Mr. Romer, political agent at Surat, not only read, and at his own expense extracted the whole of the records of the old Surat factory, but also sent me an important manuscript history in the Persian language which when referred to, as an authority, is acknowledged in its proper place. The viceroy of Goa most liberally furnished me with extracts from the records of the Portuguese government and the Court of Directors allowed me to have partial access to those in the East India House for some particulars from the Bengal correspondence, and for authenticating a variety of facts, originally obtained from Mahratta authorities, but of which there is no trace in the secretary's office at Bombay. The gentlemen of the India House were on every occasion most obliging: the very old records, under Dr. Wilkins, which I could not have read without great trouble, were made perfectly easy by the intelligence and kindness of Mr. Armstrong, one of the gentlemen in the office of Mr. Platt.

In regard to native authorities, besides the important papers already mentioned, records of temples and private repositories were searched at my request; family legends, imperial and royal deeds, public and private correspondence, and state papers in possession of the descendants of men once high in authority; lawsuits and law decisions; and manuscripts of every description in Persian and Mahratta, which had any reference to my subject

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were procured from all quarters, cost what they might. Upwards of one hundred of these manuscripts, some of them histories at least as voluminous as my whole work, were translated purposely for it. My intimate personal acquaintance with many of the Mahratta chiefs, and with several of the great Bramin families in the country, some of the members of which were actors in the events which I have attempted to record, afforded advantages which few Europeans could have enjoyed, especially as a great deal of the information was obtained during the last revolution in Maharashtra, when numerous old papers, which at any other period would not have been so readily produced, were brought forward for the purpose of substantiating just claims, or setting up unfounded pretensions. Latterly, however, I have to acknowledge many instances of disinterested liberality both from Bramins and Mahrattas, who of their own accord presented me with many valuable documents, and frequently communicated their opinions with much kindness and candour.

Next to Mr. Elphinstone, to whom I am indebted, not only for the situation which procured me most of these advantages, but for an encouragement, without which I might never have ventured to prosecute this work, I am chiefly obliged to my friends, Captain Henry Adams, revenue-surveyor to the Raja of Satara, and Mr. William Richard Morris of the Bombay civil service, then acting as my first assistant. These gentlemen translated many hundreds of deeds and letters, numerous treaties, several voluminous histories; and, for years together, were ever ready, at all hours after the transaction of public business, to give up their time in furtherance of my object. Captain Adams is the compiler, in many parts the surveyor of the Map of Maharashtra, which accompanies these volumes.[1] I regret the necessity for its reduction from a scale of six inches to a degree to that of its present comparatively incomplete size; still, however, the situations and distances of the places laid down, will, I believe, be found more correct than those of any map of that country hitherto published; and I am equally bound to acknowledge my obligations for the information I obtained, as if it had been offered to the public in its more perfect form. The original materials for Captain Adams's map, were procured from his own surveys,

[1] Omitted from the present edition.

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from those of the late Captain Challen of Bombay, and of the late Captain Garling of Madras; which last were sent to me by Lieutenant Frederick Burr of the Nizam's service, filled up in many places from his own routes. Captain James Cruickshank, revenue-surveyor in Guzerat, with permission from the Bombay government, furnished me with such information as the records of the office of the late surveyor-general Reynolds afford, and with Sir John Malcolm's map of Malwa, which, although then unpublished, that officer readily allowed me to use. Finally, the Court of Directors granted me permission to publish the information thus collected.

There were several drawings and some likenesses of natives, by European artists, procured for the purpose of accompanying the history. Two of the drawings from the ruins of Beejapoor, by Lieutenant W. W. Dowell, of the Bombay establishment, the same gentleman to whom I am indebted for the frontispiece to the first volume, were executed with admirable fidelity and precision, and would have been highly ornamental, if not illustrative; but as it was found that such minute engravings must have added greatly to the expense of the publication, which it was of importance to render moderate, I have been obliged to omit them.

A great part of this work was written in India; and as the chapters were prepared, I submitted them to all those gentlemen on the spot, who, from their situations or pursuits, seemed most likely to be able to corroborate facts, or to correct errors. It would be too long a list, nor can it be expected that I should enumerate all those who were so kind as to read portions of the manuscript, both in India and in England; but my thanks are due to Mr. William Erskine, of Edinburgh; to Lieutenant-Colonels Shuldham and Vans Kennedy, of Bombay; to Sir James Mackintosh; to Mr. Mill; to Mr. Jenkins; to Lieutenant-Colonel Briggs; and to Lieutenant John MacLeod, whose premature fate, in being cut off by fever, at Bushire, where he had been appointed political resident, may be justly regarded as a loss to his country.

I have thus endeavoured to express my acknowledgments to all who favoured me with their advice or opinion, or who, in the slightest degree, assisted or contributed to these volumes: my particular obligations are commonly repeated in notes, where

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each subject is mentioned; but if I have omitted, in any one instance, to express what is justly due either to European or to Native, I can only say the omission is not intentional, and proceeds from no desire to appropriate to myself one iota of merit to which another can fairly lay claim.

I am very sensible that I appear before the public at great disadvantages, as, indeed, every one must do, who having quitted school at sixteen, has been constantly occupied nearly nine-tenths of the next twenty-one years of his life in the most active duties of the civil or military services of India; for, however well such a life may fit us for acquiring some kinds of information, it is in other respects ill-calculated for preparing us for the task of historians; yet unless some of the members of our service undertake such works, whence are the materials for the future historian to be derived, or how is England to become acquainted with India? Whilst I solicit indulgence, however, to such defects as arise from this cause, it is also due to myself to apprise the reader, that independent of want of skill in the author, there are difficulties incidental to the present subject, besides harsh names and intricate details, with which even a proficient in the art of writing must have been embarrassed. The rise of the Mahrattas was chiefly attributable to the confusion of other states, and it was generally an object of their policy to render everything as intricate as possible, and to destroy records of rightful possession. As their armies overran the country, their history becomes blended with that of every other state in India, and may seem to partake of the disorder which they spread. As the only method, therefore, of preserving regularity, I have sometimes been obliged, when the confusion becomes extreme, rather to observe the chronological series of events than to follow out the connexion of the subjects; a mode which will appear in some parts, especially of the first volume, to partake more of the form of annals than I could have wished; but persons who are better judges of composition than I pretend to be found, upon examination, that the remedy might have obliged me either to generalize too much, or, what would have been still worse, to amplify unnecessarily. I have also afforded some explanations for the benefit of European readers, which those of India may deem superfluous; and on the other hand I have mentioned some names and circumstances, which I am

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certain, will hereafter prove useful to persons in the Mahratta country, but which others may think might have been advantageously omitted.

There being differences of opinion as to whether the writer of history should always draw his own conclusions, or leave the reader to reflect for himself, I may expect censure or approbation according to the taste of parties. I have never spared my sentiments when it became my duty to offer them; but I have certainly rather endeavoured to supply facts than to obtrude my own commentaries; and though I am well aware that, to gain confidence with the one half of the world, one has only to assume it, I trust that I shall not have the less credit with the other for frankly acknowledging a distrust in myself.

It will also be apparent, that though I have spared no pains to verify my facts, I have seldom thought it necessary to contradict previous mis-statements; for so many inaccuracies have been published on many points of Mahratta history, that it seemed far better simply to refer to my authorities, where strong and undeniable, than to enter on a field of endless controversy. At the same time I have endeavoured to give every opinion its due consideration; and, wherever it seemed of importance to state conflicting sentiments, I have not failed to lay them candidly before the reader, that he might rather exercise his own judgment than trust implicitly to mine. Still, however, in such a work many errors must exist; of these, I can only say, I shall feel obliged to any person who, after due consideration and inquiry, will have the goodness, publicly or privately, to point them out.

In regard to orthography, where Indian names have already become familiar to the English reader, I have seldom altered their usual spelling, however unlike the manner in which they are pronounced by the natives [1]; but in other instances I have, with

[1] The instances which immediately occur to me, where I have deviated, from this rule, are *outar*, an incarnation, for what is more generally written *avatar*; *wukeel* for *vakeel*; *Bhonslay*, the *n* sounded like the French *n* in *son*, for *Bhosla*, or *Bouncello*; and Toongbuddra for Tumbooddra. Toongbuddra is correctly written, because I have occasion to mention the Toong distinct from the Buddra, and my ear had become so accustomed to the other words, that I wrote them as I was in the daily habit of hearing them pronounced, without being able to avoid doing so.

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some exceptions, nearly followed the system of Dr. Gilchrist: thus,

A, .	as in Hall.	N, .	as in Not.
B, Bh, .	,, Bud, Abhor.	O, Oo, .	,, Hole, Cool.
C, Ch, .	,, Cart, Church.	P, Ph, .	,, Put, Loophole.
D, Dh, .	,, Dad, Adhere.	Q, .	,, Liquor.
E, Ee, .	,, There, Been.	R, .	,, Ram.
F, .	,, Fill.	S, Sh, .	,, Sin, Sheen.
G, Gh, .	,, Gun, Doghole	T, Th. .	,, Tent, Nuthook
H, .	,, How.	U, .	,, But.
I, .	,, Sin.	V, .	,, Vend.
J, .	,, Juge.	W, .	,, Were.
K, Kh, .	,, King, Milkhouse.	Y, .	,, Youth.
L, .	,, Lamb.	Z, .	,, Zany.
M, .	,, Man.		

N.B.—*ao*, *ou*, and *ow*, are all to be sounded like *ou* in house.

London, May 30, 1826.

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A
HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE GEOGRAPHY, CHIEF FEATURES, CLIMATE, PEOPLE, RELIGION, LEARNING, EARLY HISTORY, AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE MAHRATTA COUNTRY.

ACCORDING to Hindoo geographers, the Deccan, or country south of the Nerbuddah, and Mahanuddee rivers, consists of a considerable number of parts; but there are five principal divisions, named Drawed,[1] Carnatic,[2] Andur,[3] or Telingana,

[1] [Dravida (Drawed) was the ancient name of the extreme southern portion of the Indian peninsula, in which the Tamil language was spoken. Excluding the modern Mysore State and the Malabar coast, it comprised the present Madras Presidency, including Travancore, from Cape Comorin in the south to the Krishna (Kistna) river in the north. Kumarila Bhatta (A.D. 700) called the language of Southern India *Āndhra-dravida-bhāsha*, i.e. the Telugu-Tamil language (see (*O.H.I.*, p. 13).]

[2] [The Karnatak (Carnatic) is from Sansk. *Karnāṭaka*; Tamil, *kar*, 'black,' *nādu*, 'country.' The various uses of the word, and of Kanara, are discussed in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, pp. 152, 164. Throughout early Hindu literature Mysore is called Karnāta, or Karnātaka. 'But the Muhammadans included in the name their conquests below the Ghāts as well: and the English, going a step further, erroneously restricted it to the low country. Hence Carnatic and Canara now designate, in European works of geography, regions which never bore these names; while Mysore, the proper Karnātaka or Carnatic, is not so called' (Rice, *Mysore*, vol. i, p. 1 n.). In the map accompanying the first edition of Grant Duff's work the Carnatic is shown as including all the country on the western side of the peninsula from a point north of Dhārwār to Seringapatam in the south. See *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i, 194-6.]

[3] [The Āndhra (Andur) country, so named from the ancient Āndhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty which ruled over it, was situated in the deltas of the Krishna and Godāvarī rivers and extended eastwards from the boundary of Mahārāshtra to the Bay of Bengal. The Āndhras were a Telugu-speaking people, whence the country was known in later years as Telingana, or Telugu-land (*O.H.I.*, p. 119). D. R. Bhandarkar points out that the ancient capital of the Āndhra kingdom was situated on the Telavaha river, which he identifies with the modern

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Gondwaneh,[1] and Maharashtra. All well-informed Hindoos talk familiarly of these divisions, but they disagree materially as to their extent. Colonel Wilks, in the absence of more direct evidence, has adopted the best practical rule of ascertaining their boundaries, by tracing them according to the space over which each particular language is now spoken.

The portion termed Drawed extends from Cape Comorin to the north of Madras: in this tract the Tamul[2] is the vernacular tongue. The ancient Carnatic is comprehended in the great table land between Malabar and the coast now known by the name of Coromandel: the Ghauts, or chain of hills on both sides, form its boundary to the east and west; but it extends in an angle between Telingana and Maharashtra, as far north as the Manjera river; from which point it forms the western boundary

Tel, or Telingiri. Both these rivers are near one another and flow near the boundaries of the modern Madras Presidency, and the Central Provinces. The original Āndhra or Telingana country probably comprised portions of both these modern provinces (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xlvii, March 1918, p. 71).]

[1] The mountainous tract called Gondwaneh is inhabited by a savage race of people, who, as they are not Hindoos, are supposed never to have been conquered. [Gondwana (Gondwaneh) of historical times was roughly equivalent to the northern portion of the modern Central Provinces, including the Sātpurā plateau and a section of the Nāgpur plain and Narbadā valley to the south and west; and was so called from the fact that Gond dynasties possessed the land between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. (See note on Gonds, vol. ii, p. 68 *post.*) The name is also applied by geologists to the old continent which is supposed to have formerly connected India with Africa and which broke up about the time when the chalk was forming in Europe. Peninsular India, or the Deccan, in its widest signification, represents the remains of that assumed vanished continent, and is geologically quite distinct from the Indo-Gangetic plain and the Himalayan region. The rocks of which the Deccan is formed are among the oldest in the world, and show no trace of ever having been submerged, after a very early geological period. (See *I.G.*, 1907, vol. i, p. 197.)]

[2] Malabar, Toolava, and Gohurasht, three divisions of the Malabar coast, though not expressly comprised in the limits of Drawed and Carnatic, are, from the similarity of their languages, considered as attached to these divisions respectively; viz. Malabar or Kerala to Drawed, and Toolava and Gohurasht to Carnatic. [Gohurasht is properly Govarāshtra, an old name of the S. Konkan, from which Goa derives its name. Tulava (Toolava) is the tract on the western coast in which Tulu is spoken. The Tamil land of early ages was much more extensive than the area in which Tamil is now spoken It included the Kanarese, Malayālam, and Tulu-speaking countries.]

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of the former, and the south-eastern boundary of the latter. Telingana, commencing southwards about Pulicat, or the northern extremity of Drawed, extends to Sicacole[1] in Orissa; which last, together with Gondwaneh, occupies the space between Telingana and the Mahanuddee. The fifth division, which forms the western boundary of Gondwaneh and Telingana, it will be necessary to define with more precision.

Maharashtra is the native country of the people whose history it is now proposed to trace. Different limits are assigned to this great portion of the Deccan. According to the *Tutwa*, one of the books of the *Jotush Shaster*, or Hindoo Astronomy, Maharashtra extends no farther than the Chandore range of hills, where Kolwun, Buglana, and Candeish are represented as its northern boundary, and all beyond those countries is indiscriminately termed *Vendhiadree*.[2]

The tract between Chandore and Eroor Manjera, on the Kistna, is certainly the most decidedly Mahratta, and in it there is the least variation in the language; but following the rule adverted to, in its more extended sense, Maharashtra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora mountains[3]; and extends from Naundode on the west, along those mountains, to the Wyne Gunga,[4] east of Nagpoor. The western bank of that river forms a part of the eastern boundary until it falls into the Wurda. From the junction of these rivers, it may be traced up the east bank of the Wurda to Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor. From this last place a waving line may be extended to Goa, whilst on the west it is bounded by the ocean.[5]

[1] [Sicacole is usually spelt Chicacole.]

[2] [i.e. Vindhyādrī, *Vindhya—ādrī* (mountain).]

[3] The Sautpoora is properly, I am informed by Major Tod, the range adjoining the Vendhia mountains to the south, but the Mahrattas term the whole *Sautpoora*. [The name Sātpurā (Sautpoora), originally applied only to the hills dividing the valleys of the Narbadā and Tapti in Nimār (Central Provinces), now signifies the whole range which, commencing at Amarkantak in Rewah, Central India (22° 41′ N. and 81° 48′ E.), runs south of the Narbadā river nearly down to the western coast. The length of the Sātpurās from east to west is about 600 miles. These hills are said to have been styled *sāt putra*, or 'seven sons' of the Vindhya mountains, while an alternative derivation is from *sātpura*, 'sevenfolds,' in allusion to the numerous parallel ridges of the range. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 155.)]

[4] [Wainganga.]

[5] [Compare Elphinstone's definition of Mahārāshtra as 'lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of

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The Mahratta language [1] prevails throughout this great tract of country; but in a space so extensive, there are, of course, various dialects of it, with a mixture of other tongues towards the verge of the boundaries; and there is a small space about Surat, Baroach, and Rajpeeplee,[2] where the Guzerattee [3] is spoken, but which may be excluded, by an imaginary line drawn from Damaun to the middle of the Naundode [4] district, or western point of the Sautpoora range, whence this definition of Maharashtra commences. The whole tract comprehends a surface of upwards of 102,000 square miles, and its present population, estimated principally from the returns of the collectors in the territory, lately conquered by the British government, is about six millions, or at the average rate of fifty-nine souls to the square mile.

Maharashtra, from its still retaining a distinct language, from its giving name to a class of Bramins, and the general appellation of Mahrattas to its inhabitants, was, perhaps, at some very distant period, under one Raja or Hindoo prince.[5] There is, however,

the Narbadā (*scil.* the Sātpurā), parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast, through Bidar to Chanda on the Warda. That river is its boundary on the east, as the sea is on the west.']

[1] [Marāthi, in its various dialects, extends to-day nearly across the peninsula of India. In the Bombay Presidency it covers the north of the Deccan plateau and a strip of country between the Ghāts and the Arabian Sea, extending to about a hundred miles south of Goa. It is also the language of Berār and of a good portion of the north-west of the Nizam's dominions. It stretches across the Central Provinces (except in a few localities in the extreme south, where Telugu is the language) and occupies also a great portion of Bastār. (Census of India, 1901, vol. i, p. 314.) The Marāthi-speaking population, according to the Census of 1911, numbers more than 19 millions, of whom 9 millions belong to the Bombay Presidency, 4½ millions to the Central Provinces and Berār, and 3½ millions to the Nizam's dominions.]

[2] [Rājpīpla.] [3] [Gujarāthi.] [4] [Nāndod.]

[5] [Since Grant Duff's time archaeological and historical researches have proved that Western India formed part of the empire of the Mauryan Asoka (273–32 B.C.). About 230 B.C. arose the Āndhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty, whose most powerful representative, Gautamīputra Yajna Srī, conquered Nahapāna, a western Satrap (Kshaharāta) ruling in the western Ghāts. Western India was ruled by two distinct dynasties of foreign Saka (Scythian) princes, using the title of Great Satrap, the most successful of the later dynasty being Rudradāman, who recovered Nahapāna's provinces in c. A.D. 128 and became master of the country, with his capital at Ujjain. In A.D. 395 Chandragupta II conquered western India. After him came the Chālukyas (550–753) of whom Pulakesin (608–42) was the greatest; the Rāshtrakūtas

no direct evidence to support this conjecture; nor is there any ancient history in the country, excepting the fabulous legends called Poorans, which relate to the actions of Gods and men, and which, though probably founded on historical truth, are yet so involved in mythological obscurity, that no research is ever likely to reconcile them with real events.[1]

The Concan is that part of Maharashtra which lies between the Ghauts[2] and the sea, and extends along the coast, from

(753–978); and a second Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni, which yielded place at the close of the thirteenth century to the Yādavas of Devgiri (Daulatābād) and the Hoysalas of Dora Samudra (Halebīd). In the Konkan various dynasties of more or less independent chiefs held sway, e.g. the Mauryas of Puri, the Silāhāras of Thāna, and the Kadambas of Banavāsi. (V. A. Smith, *E.H.I.* and *O.H.I.*, gives references and authorities.) See note on page 24 *post* for Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's account of the Sātavāhana dynasty.]

[1] One of these Poorans, which recounts the exploits of Pureshram in his war with the Kshittrees [i.e. Kshatriyas], mentions, that at the close of it, having extirpated the Kshittrees and oppressive Rajas, and conferred the conquered territory on the Bramins, they did not choose that he should reside amongst them, which induced Pureshram to repair to the western coast of the Deccan, and to petition the sea for a place of residence. This request, however, was not willingly acceded to; but Pureshram bent his bow, and let fly an arrow from the top of the great western mountains, at which the ocean was intimidated, and receding before it to the point at which it fell, left dry the extensive tract of country now known by the name of the Concan and Malabar coast. In this space different languages are spoken, and Hindoo geographers divide it into seven parts, viz. 1. Kerala, 2. Toolava, 3. Gohurasht, 4. Concan, or Kumpun, 5. Kurar, 6. Wurar, and 7. Burbur; these are supposed to extend from the Paniany river, to Mount Dilly, Dureea Bhadurghur, Sewdasheogurh, or Cape Ramas, Deogurh, Bencoote, Bassein, and the Taptee river respectively. The three first, as mentioned in a preceding note, are attached to Drawed and Carnatic; the four last are now, by the natives, indiscriminately included in the lower Concan, or Concan below the Ghauts. When the Concan simply is mentioned in this work, it is to be understood, as it is generally considered by Europeans, to extend from the sea to the line at which the Ghauts run into the lower country. When Concan-Ghaut-Mahta is specified, it is applicable to a particular tract of mountainous country hereafter described.

[2] *Ghaut* literally means a break, but in the common acceptation, it signifies a pass over any range of hills, and is thus applied to designate the hills themselves. When Ghauts are mentioned in this or any Indian history, the reader must bear in mind what Ghauts, or rather what particular range of hills are alluded to; the Ghauts, however, especially on the Bombay side, are the distinguishing appellation of that immense chain of hills, which extends along the whole western coast of India, and is now more correctly termed the Syhadree (corruptly Shyadree) mountains. Ghaut also is sometimes applied to a

Sewdasheogurh to the Taptee. Although so far below the great chain of mountains stretching along parallel with the western coast of India, it must not be considered a flat country; on the contrary, the Concan is in most parts remarkably rugged and broken, interspersed with huge mountains and thick jungles, intersected by rivers and numberless rivulets; rocky and clear, until they descend on the level, where they are affected by the tide, when they are very deep and muddy. The roads are generally stony footpaths, and become more inaccessible as they approach the Syhadree mountains, which, except in places rendered more practicable by the British government, can only be ascended by narrow paths and defiles, sometimes so precipitous that a led horse can with difficulty keep its footing. When ascending, and on gaining the summit of any of these passes, especially to the southward of Poona, the scenery which every where presents itself is of the grandest kind. Some idea of it may be formed by imagining mountains succeeding mountains, three or four thousand feet high, covered with trees, except in places where the huge, black, barren rocks are so solid as to prevent the hardiest shrub from finding root in their clefts. The verdure about the Ghauts to the southward of Poona is perpetual, but during the rainy season, especially towards the latter part of it, when the torrents are pouring from the side of the mountains, the effect is greatly heightened by the extreme luxuriance of vegetation; whilst gleams of sunshine, reflected from the breaking masses of clouds, give a thousand evanescent tints to every hill they light upon. Tempests and thunder storms, both at the commencement and close of the south-west monsoon, are very frequent, and in that region, these awful phenomena of nature are, in a tenfold degree, tremendous and sublime.

Notwithstanding the roughness of feature which characterizes the Concan, it is in many parts remarkably fertile. Its breadth, from the sea to the summit of the Syhadree range, is of unequal extent, varying from twenty-five to fifty miles. The top, or tableland, which is, in many places, very extensive, forms part of what the natives call Concan-Ghaut-Mahta,[1] or Concan on the top, to distinguish it from Thul-Concan, or Concan below

ford, or the landing-place on the bank of a river, a sense in which we shall never have occasion to use it.

[1] [Ghāt-Māta, or 'spurs of the Ghāts.']

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the Ghauts. The highest part of the ridge is that which immediately faces the Concan, and the summit is generally from one to two thousand feet above the tableland. The breadth of the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta is about twenty or twenty-five miles, and comprehends all the mountainous tract on the upper or eastern side, including the valleys that lie between the smaller branches of hills. The Mahrattas, in short, reckon the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, from the point at which these branches terminate in the plain on the eastern side, to the summit of the ridge facing the Concan.

The Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, from Joonere to Kolapoor, is divided into the Mawuls, the Khoras, and the Mooras: these are names used by natives, both for parts of the tableland and the valleys. The whole tract is populous, and the valleys are now well cultivated. The inhabitants are remarkable for their simple, inoffensive demeanour, but they are hardy and patient, and, as the well known Mawulees [1] of Sivajee, we shall find them led on to active and daring enterprise. North of Joonere these valleys are not so well cultivated, and the inhabitants are for the most part Bheels [2] and Koolees,[3] predatory tribes, who, in their wildest

[1] [The Māvalīs, or Māvalās (Mawulees) are the inhabitants of the hilly portion of the modern Sātāra and Poona Districts. They are usually dark-skinned, small and active, and able to endure much fatigue. During the last sixty years they have become orderly and have adopted agricultural pursuits. Many of them will be found in the Bombay labour-market. It is probable that the Kolīs, as distinct from the Kunbīs, formed the bulk of Sivājī's fighting Māvalīs (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 538).]

[2] [The Bhīls (Bheels) are a hill-tribe of immemorial antiquity, inhabiting the hilly country between Abu and Asirgarh, parts of Gujarāt, and the northern Deccan. They are supposed to be the 'Pygmies' of Ktesias (400 B.C.) and the *Poulindai* and *Phyllitae* of Ptolemy (A.D. 150). They are hunters and woodmen, but nowadays grow a little rice or maize to eke out their diet of game, roots, and fruit. Their religion consists in the worship of ghosts and of Vāghdev the 'tiger-god,' and every Bhīl settlement has a *dēvasthān* ('god-yard') with wooden benches for the ghosts and spirits to perch upon. The typical Bhīl is small, dark, broad-nosed, and ugly, but active and well built. The formation of Bhīl Agencies in Khāndesh District in 1825 was the first step towards their reclamation. The Mewār Bhīl Corps was one of the few native regiments in Rājputāna which stood staunchly by its British officers during the Mutiny. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 148–52).]

[3] [Kolī (Koolee) is the name of various tribes, differing in character and origin, which inhabit Gujarāt, the northern parts of the Deccan,

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state, subsist by hunting and plundering. The Mawuls, Khoras, and indeed the whole of the Ghaut-Mahta, is infested by wild beasts, particularly the royal tiger, which is here found very fierce and destructive.

In the Ghauts, and along the hills alluded to, both above and below the reat range, the summits are frequently crowned, or girded towards the top, by large massy basaltic rocks. These, with little aid from art, are capable of being formed into fortresses, which, independent of the extreme difficulty of approach, often seem in themselves impregnable. In many of them there are springs of the finest water, and in all a supply can be secured in tanks, or reservoirs, during the periodical rains from May to October. Throughout that period of the year it is scarcely possible for troops to act in the Ghaut-Mahta; as, superadded to the steep, rugged, rocky hills, and the deep, winding dells, covered like the mountains by high trees, or tangled with low impervious brush-wood, there is almost perpetual rain; most of the rivulets are then frequently swollen into impassable torrents, and there is a chilling damp in the forests, exceedingly insalubrious to persons not inured to its influence; in short, in a military point of view, there is probably no stronger country in the world.

The Ghaut-Mahta is succeeded by the open country, or Desh, which generally becomes more and more level to the eastward; but there are four great ranges of hills, running west and east, extending far beyond the ordinary branches of the Syhadree mountains. In succession to the Sautpoora or northern boundary of Maharashtra, there are, the great chain, commonly called the Chandore range, extending from Rhoura[1] to the heart of Berar; the Ahmednugur hills from Joonere to Bheer; the range immediately

and Konkan, and parts of Rājputāna and Central India. The derivation of the name is uncertain. The Marāthī-speaking Kolīs of the Konkan and Deccan are divided into four endogamous classes: (i) Son Kolīs of the Bombay coast, who are fishermen; (ii) Malhāri Kolīs of Thāna District, who are agriculturists and resemble Marāthā Kunbīs; (iii) Rāj, Dongri, or Mahādev Kolīs, who formerly regarded Junnar in Poona District as their headquarters and were notoriously turbulent; they are now agriculturists; and (iv) Dhor Kolīs, who are a lower type and are despised by the other three sections. Grant Duff is probably referring to the Mahādev Kolīs, whose leading representative to-day is the Rājā of Jawhār, Thāna District. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 152–4; *G.B.*, ix, pt. i, 237 f.)]

[1] [Rahudi.]

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to the southward of Poona ; and the Mahdeo hills to the north of Satara.[1]

The general aspect of Maharashtra is hilly, the valleys are well watered, and the climate is perhaps the most salubrious in India ; but in regard to cultivation, soil, and products, it is inferior to most other parts of that fertile region.

The principal rivers are the Nerbuddah, the Taptee, the Godavery, the Beema, and the Kistna. For some distance along the banks of these rivers the soil is in general excellent, and the crops raised cannot be exceeded in plenty and luxuriance. The banks of the Godavery, or Gunga as it is termed by the Mahrattas, the Beema and its tributary streams, the Neera and the Maun, are all celebrated for their breed of horses,[2] particularly the two last, which, though small, are accounted the best and the hardiest that are reared in the Deccan.

The mass of the population, in the country thus briefly described, are Hindoos, who, by the ordinances of their sacred writings, are divided into the four well known casts of Bramin,

[1] I have had no opportunity of ascertaining, but the Chandore hills are probably the highest above the level of the sea : there is a very perceptible fall in the country from Chandore to the Taptee, and from the Mahdeo hills to the Warna and Kistna. [The fort of Chāndor is 3,994 feet high. The Mahādeo hills start from Mahābaleshwar in Sātāra District, which is 4,717 feet above sea-level, and run first in an easterly and then in a south-easterly direction, till they sink into the plain on the boundary of the district. The highest peak in the Ahmadnagar District is Kalsūbāi, 5,247 feet above sea-level. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 411, 474.)]

[2] These are distinguished by the name of the place where they have been reared ; Gung-thuree, Bheem-thuree, Neer-thuree, and Maun Desh. *Thuree* means the dale or *strath* in the neighbourhood of a river, and the appellations here mentioned are used by the Mahrattas in speaking of these countries, in preference to any other name by which subdivisions of the country were marked by Mahomedans. Berar is likewise celebrated for the hardiness, but not for the beauty of its horses. [The Deccan pony from Bhīmthadi (Bheemthuree) is very nearly extinct ; but small, hardy ponies, capable of doing much work on little food, are occasionally seen in the outlying parts of the Poona District. For riding purposes they are trained to a peculiar amble, which is much in favour with Hindus of the old school. Crooke states that 'the success of the Mahrattas as light cavalrymen was mainly the result of local conditions in the Deccan, where the indigenous pony, an admirable beast, had been improved by the introduction of Arab blood from the Persian Gulf. This trade flourished in the days of Marco Polo, and probably dates from a very early period.' (*Rājputs and Mahrattas, J.R. Anth. I.*, xl. 1910.)]

Kshittree, Weysh, and Shooder[1]; but all these classes, though nominally preserved, are degenerated, extinct, or greatly subdivided.

The Bramins[2] are the priesthood, whose lives ought to be spent in worshipping and contemplating the Divinity, and teaching, by precept and example, what is proper to be observed by the rest of mankind, to enable them to gain the favour of the gods, and to attain a more exalted state in their transmigration. They ought to have no interference in worldly concerns; but they have long been the principal officers, civil and military, in all Hindoo states. Those Bramins who strictly follow the tenets of their faith, and devote their lives to the study of what Hindoos conceive the divine ordinances, are held in great esteem; but otherwise, in the Mahratta country, there is no veneration for the Bramin character.

Independent of the two Mahratta divisions of Concanist,[3]

[1] [i.e. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaish or Vaishya, and Sūdra.]

[2] There are in India two general divisions of Bramins, termed the *Punch Gour* [Panch Gāud], and the *Punch Drawed* [Panch Drāvida]; these two are subdivided into five each; the Punch Gour belong to what has been termed by Rennell, Hindoostan Proper, or the country north of the Nerbuddah, and the other five to Guzerat, and the country south of that river, and the Vendhia or (as they have been already noticed by the more familiar Mahratta name of) the Sautpoora mountains. Those south of the Nerbuddah are the *Maharasht*, the *Andur* [Āndhra], or *Teling*, the *Drawed*, and the *Carnatic*. The *Goojur* [Gūjar] are of Guzerat.

Besides the great divisions of *Mahdeo Bhugt* [Bhakt], and *Vishnoo Bhugt* [i.e. Mahādev Bhakt and Vishnu Bhakt, or in ordinary parlance Shaiva and Vaishnava], or the respective followers of Mahdeo and Vishnoo, there are a great number of subdivisions in all these five classes of Bramins, whose appellations correspond with four of the great divisions of the ancient definition of the Deccan already given; they also derive distinctions from any of the four Vedas in which they may be primarily instructed.

[3] The Peishwas, who attained sovereign authority in the Mahratta nation, were of this class. Concanists, from this circumstance, and the power which it naturally threw into their hands, pretend to some superiority in cast; but these pretensions are not well founded. They are termed *Chitpaurun*, which, amongst other significations, means 'a dead body raised.' Their origin, according to what is mentioned in a Sanscrit work, entitled *The Syhadree Kind* [*Sahyādrī Khand*], was fourteen dead bodies of different casts that had been drowned in the sea; whence they were transported by Vishnoo in his outar of Pureshram, after he had forced the sea to give up the Concan, or *Pureshram Ksheter* [*Paraśurām Kshetra*], and re-animated to people his new country. From these fourteen families sprang the Concanee

or those who belong to the country below the Ghauts, and Deshist, or those of the territory above, there are in the Mahratta country eight classes[1] of Bramins, who differ from each other in some of their usages, and present, to those accustomed to observe them, perceptible differences both of character and appearance.

The second of the four grand classes of Hindoos is termed Kshittree,[2] or the military body. The pure Kshittrees are considered extinct; but the Rajpoots,[3] who assume their appellation

Bramins, who are now distinguished by sixty surnames. The Deshist Bramins, although they have surnames, prefer the distinction of their father's name, or the place of their residence, to their surname, which they will seldom mention.

The Concanist Bramins, before the elevation of Ballajee Wishwanath, commonly called the first, though in fact the fifth Peishwa, were not employed as clerks and men of business, but as *hurkarus* and spies. They carefully suppress or destroy all copies of the *Syhadree Kind*, where their origin is mentioned, and a respectable Bramin of Waee was, a few years ago, disgraced by Bajee Rao for having a copy of it. The Concanists say, that the word *chitpawun* was originally *chitpohle*, literally signifying 'searing the heart,' made use of in their addresses to their patron Pureshram for not attending to their petitions; this expression, however, being considered undutiful, or improper, was changed to *chitpawun*, 'pure-hearted,' which they interpret 'a sinner pardoned.'

Of all the Bramins with whom I am acquainted, the Concanists are the most sensible and intelligent.

[1] Their names, arranged according to their degree, are: 1. Kurara, 2. Yajurwedee, or Mahadinjen, 3. Kannoo, 4. Deorookay, 5. Kirwunt, 6. Shenwee, 7. Tirgool, and 8. Suwassay.

[These names, according to modern spelling, are: 1. Karhāda, 2. Yajūrvedī or Mādhyāndin, 3. Kanva or Kaṇnava, 4. Devrūkhe, 5. Kīrvant or Krāmavant, 6. Shēnvī or Gāud Sarasvat, 7. Tīrgul (regarded as degraded Deshasths and Shēnvīs, and now occupied as betel-vine growers in Ahmadnagar and Poona Districts and Kolhāpur State) and 8. Savvashe or Savasha (also said to have been degraded owing to intermarriage with low-caste women). For details of these sections of Brahmans see Wilson, *Indian Caste*, 1877, vol. ii, pp. 21ff. The Karhādas are so called from the town of Karād (old name, Karahātaka) in Sātāra District. They are stated to have been addicted to human sacrifice in the eighteenth century (see also Forrest's *Selections* (*Maratha Series*) *I*, Appendix D, footnote 2; and Enthoven, *Folk-Lore Notes*, vol. ii, pp. 80, 81. Besides these sections mentioned by the author, Wilson includes among Marāthī-speaking Brahmans the Pādhyes and Pālshes of the North Konkan, the Jāvales of the South Konkan, and several unrecognized sections.]

[2] [Kshatriya.]

[3] Rajapootras, or literally the Children of Rajas. They are the offspring of Kshittree Rajas with women of other casts, and are said to have existed since about the year 2000 of the Kalhee Yoog [Kālī

and their privileges, are the least degenerate of their descendants.

The third grand class is the Weysh,[1] or the mercantile community.

The last of the four grand classes is the Shooder[2]: they are properly the cultivators, and as such, are known in the Mahratta country by the name of *Koonbee*.[3]

Yūg]. [V. A. Smith (*O.H.I.*, pp. 172–3) writes: 'The term Rājpūt, as applied to a social group, has no concern with race, meaning descent or relationship by blood. It merely denotes a tribe, clan, sept or caste of warlike habits, the members of which claimed aristocratic rank, and were treated by the Brahmans as representing the Kshatriyas (Kshittree) of the old books. The huge group of Rājpūt clan-castes includes people of the most diverse descent. Many of the clans are descended from the foreigners who entered India during the fifth and sixth centuries, while many others are descended from indigenous tribes now represented, so far as the majority of their members is concerned, either by semi-Hinduized peoples or by inferior castes.' He then gives examples of the clan-castes of foreign and indigenous descent. This view is also held by W. Crooke in his paper on *Rājpūts* and *Mahrattas*, printed in *J.R. Anth. I.*, vol. xl, 1910.]

[1] The real Weysh [Vaish] is also said to be extinct; the Wanees, or Banians, occupy their place; but of a long list of the classes of Banians, there is not one of the subdivisions that is real Weysh. The class termed *Komtee* which is most common in Telingana, is the least degenerate. The other Banians in the Mahratta country are the *Lingait*, *Goojur*, and *Jain*. The Lingait, although their Banians reckon themselves Weysh, are, like the Jain, a distinct sect; they are divided into three classes, termed Silwunt, Punchum, and Tirulee; their Gooroos, or priests, are termed Jungum; they derive their appellation from wearing the Ling, an obscene symbol of both Mahdeo and Vishnoo. They will not eat what has been cooked by a Bramin, and they differ in their religious tenets, denying the doctrine of metempsychosis; they are also deficient in some domestic observances rigidly practised by other Hindoos. The Goojur get their name rather from their country than their cast, being originally from Guzerat. There are also Bramins who are Goojurs. The Jains are not so common in Maharashtra as in the country south of the Kistna. A good account of this remarkable sect has been given by Colonel Mackenzie, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. [The *lingam* (phallus) is the distinctive emblem of Mahādev (Siva), not of Vishnu, whose peculiar emblem is the *sālagrāma*, a petrified ammonite. The *lingam* is nearly always combined with the *yoni* representing Dēvī, the passive principle in Nature. (See Barth, *Religions of India*, pp. 208, 209, 262.)]

[2] [Sudra.]

[3] [The Kunbīs (Koonbees) are the great agricultural caste of the Deccan and Konkan and the Central Provinces. The name has various forms, being Kunbī or Kulambī in the Deccan, Kulwadī in the South Konkan, Kanbī in Gujarat, and Kulbī in Belgaum (Southern

But besides these four grand divisions, there are a vast number of Hindoos, the intermixed progeny of the four classes and of each other. They are not, however, what the European reader might fancy as outcasts: they have a community of their own, and ranks, professions, and employments peculiar to themselves, of which there are an infinite number. All trades and artisans are of this irregular offspring, and classed, in Maharashtra, under the general appellation of *Shunkerjatee*.[1]

Maratha Country). In Sanskrit inscriptions it appears as Kutumbika (householder) and in the *Rāsmāla* (Forbes) as Kutumbiks and Koutombiks. The name is variously derived from *Kutumba*, a family, or from a Dravidian root *kul*, a husbandman or labourer. Fryer (1675) spoke of the caste as 'Columbeens who manure the soil.' The caste shows traces of an ancient totemistic organization, and in the Central Provinces, if not elsewhere, has in the past been largely recruited from other castes, who have adopted the hereditary Kunbī calling of agriculture. (*B.G.*, vol. xxiv, p. 70; x. 121; xviii. 1, 285, 307; Russell, *T. and C.C.P.*, vol. iv, pp. 16 ff.)]

[1] Independent of other Hindoo observances, all classes of the Shunkerjatee have a sort of moral and religious government amongst themselves; they have heads or chiefs, now termed Muqudum, Chowdree, &c. &c., whose power seems to be the result of supposed suffrage, rather than of any regular election. There is no one Muqudum who has any very general authority in the Mahratta country; but all classes are subject to the same sort of rules: they are frequently strict in enforcing both spiritual and temporal observances. An infringement of what is customary is liable to a general inquiry in the community, every member of which may be readily roused to a jealous defence of what is considered either privilege or propriety. The lower casts of the Shunkerjatee are not less particular than the others; and hence it is, that in native regiments, the European officers often complain of having no trouble with affairs of cast except among low-cast men. For the origin of the Shunkerjatee, to those who may be desirous of acquiring minute information, reference may be made to Mr. Colebrook's writings on the subject, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. v. The most remarkable thing in the classification of the Shunkerjatee is, that the offspring of the Shooder, with a woman of the Bramin class, is the lowest of all. The term Shunkerjatee in the Mahratta country, is applied to the mixed classes, which, in many other parts of India, and in Sanscrit manuscripts, are styled *Wurn Shunkur* [Varna Shankar]: this term is in use in Maharashtra, but is applied to any sort of employment in which a person may be engaged unbecoming his cast. A Bramin's child by a slave girl is termed *Sindey* [Sinde]. [By the rules of hypergamy the Brahman could marry a woman of any of the four orders, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaish, and Sūdra; the Kshatriya could marry a female of three orders, including his own, but could not marry a Brahman woman; the Vaish could marry a woman of his own order or a Sūdra woman; while a Sūdra could only marry within his own order. The offspring of illegal connections between the men of any one of these orders

From all casts and classes there are devotees, who, renouncing the world, assume a religious character, which is generally put on in order to attain a larger share of what they pretend to give up; but some have been exemplary in their conduct, and, by the tenor of their lives, as well as their penance and observances, are supposed to have been animated by hopes paramount to all bodily suffering, and to have looked for no earthly reward; that in them even vanity was subdued, and that they were superior to that greatest of all seductions, the praise of their fellow-men. A person of such a character is termed a Sadhoo: he may be of any cast, or persuasion; for a Hindoo admits that there may be pure devotion in any religion, sex, or cast. Of the Sadhoos, or saints that have been famous in Maharashtra, Kubheer[1] was a Mahomedan, Tookaram,[2] a Banian, Kanhoo

and the women of any other order were called *Sankar-jātī*, or of mixed caste. (Wilson, *Indian Caste*, vol. i, p. 63.)]

[1] Kubheer lived a Mahomedan; but when dead, the Hindoos claimed him as a Sadhoo. [Kabīr (Kubheer) was a Jolaha or Muhammadan weaver, born early in the fifteenth century, and a follower of Rāmānand, who lived in the previous century. He spent part of his life at Benares and died about 1518 in the Gorakhpur district. His teaching condemned the worship of idols and the institution of caste. His followers are known as Kabīrpanthis and are found chiefly in the Bulandshahr, Ghāzīpur and Aligarh districts of Northern India. (See Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, ix; V. A. Smith, *O.H.I.*, pp. 260–1; Barth, *Religions of India*, pp. 238–40. See also *The Bijak of Kabir*, translated into English by the Rev. Ahmad Shah, Hamīrpur, 1917, the first chapter of which gives the legendary life of the poet.)]

[2] [Tukārām, perhaps the most popular poet among all classes in Mahārāshtra, was born in 1608 in Dehu village about thirty miles from Poona, and is popularly believed to have been translated to *Vaikunth* (heaven) in 1649. By means of his *ābhanga*, or metrical hymns, he endeavoured to preach the superiority of *Bhakti* (devotion to God) over *Karma* (ritual), and spared neither Brahman nor Gosāin in his efforts to inculcate more rational motives on the subject of religion and morality. His metrical compositions invariably end with the Marāthi words '*Tuka mhane*,' i.e. 'Tuka said,' which has been compared with the αὐτὸς ἔφα of the Pythagoreans The principal documentary account of his life is the *Bhakti Līlāmrita*, written in A.D. 1774, which embodies the legends and miracles associated with his name. Some of the latter appeared to Dr. Murray Mitchell to show traces of the influence of Christian beliefs. Tukārām and his family were devotees of the god Vithobā of Pandharpur, by whose personal intervention Sivājī is supposed to have escaped from the Muhammadans on the occasion of his visit to Tukārām in Poona. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. i (July) 1841, and vol. iii (January) 1849; Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, pp. 122–6). For Tukārām and Nāmadēva

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Patra, a woman born of the dancing tribe, and Choka Mela was a Mhar or Dher.

Bramin devotees are of three sorts, Brimhacharee,[1] Wan Prist, and Sunneashee.

Banians, though there are many devotees from this class of people, are not so apt to become so, as the other casts.

The Rajpoots, however, and all classes of Shooders[2] may become Gosaeens and Byragees.[3] When a Bramin assumes either of these characters, he forfeits all claim to cast as a Bramin. Yet Gosaeen is a familiar name for the followers and disciples

see Sir R. G. Bhandārkar's *Vaisnavism, Saivism,* &c. (1913), 87 ff. See also article on '*Bhakti-Mārga*' by Grierson in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1909), pp. 2539 ff.]

[1] Though this be a name for those devotees who are rigid students for twelve years, all Bramin boys are termed *Brimhacharee* [Brahmāchārī] from the time of their admission into their cast, that is, from the period at which the ceremony of the *Mooni* is performed until the consummation of their marriage, when they become *Grehusth*, or householders. The ceremony of the *Mooni* is performed in all Hindoo families of the higher casts, of which the males may be entitled to use the *Janwa*, or distinguishing thread worn next the skin. This takes place when the boy is five or six years old, and the occasion is celebrated with more or less pomp, according to the wealth or poverty of the parents. The ceremony is performed by the household priest, who is called Gooroo, or Oopadheea, and, in itself, is merely fastening a piece of cloth about the child's middle, and tying the Janwa diagonally across the body, over the right shoulder; whilst the *Gayetri*, a mystical Sanscrit verse, is pronounced by the child's father, which all Bramins know, but none ought to disclose. Previous to this, the child is not a Bramin, or accountable for omissions or infringements in eating, bathing, &c. &c. [Wan Prist, i.e. *Vānaprastha* signifies 'forest-dweller.' *Vānaprastha* is a Brahman who has passed through the stages of student (*Brahmāchāri*) and householder (*Grihasta*) and has left his house and family for the woods. Sunneashee, i.e. *Sanyāsi*, signifies one who has adopted *sanyās*, i.e. resignation or relinquishment of all worldly possessions and earthly affections; in brief, a professional ascetic. I once had a Brahman head-clerk who, on earning his pension after thirty years' service, became a Sanyāsi. Dr. V. A. Smith mentions the case of a man who was Postmaster-General of the North-West Provinces some years ago and became a wandering friar. (Sleeman's *Rambles* (1915), p. 591 n.)]

[2] The Gaolees, or milkmen, hold the highest rank amongst the Shooders; some say by descent, others by their being born in employment about that most sacred animal the cow. Nawees [Nhāvi], or barbers, from being frequently in contact with Bramins, likewise acquire a reflected superiority, but they are properly of the Shunkerjatee.

[3] Hindoo devotees, who subsist on charity, are often indiscriminately termed Fuqeers [Fakīr] by Europeans; though the term is applicable to Mahomedan beggars only.

of the famous Mahapoorush,[1] and Brimhacharee, Ramdass Swamy, the spiritual director of Sivajee; and it is likewise an appellation of those Bramins who are professional story-tellers, or reciters of Kuthas, generally known as Hurdass[2] Gosaeen; but in these cases it is a mere nominal distinction.

The Gosaeens,[3] properly so called, are followers of Mahdeo. The Byragees[4] generally maintain the supremacy of Vishnoo.

The Gosaeens are a much more numerous body in the Mahratta country than the Byragees: their dress, when they wear clothes, is invariably dyed orange; a colour emblematical of Mahdeo. The Gosaeens, for the most part, have deviated from the rules

[1] An explanation of this word will appear hereafter.

[2] *Dass* means servant; *Huree* [Harī] is a name of Vishnoo. *Hurdass*, the servant of Vishnoo.

[3] Their founder was Shunkeracharya: there are ten divisions of them, with some shades of difference in their observances; the ten are 1. *Guree* [Garī], 2. *Pooree* [Purī], 3. *Bhartee* [Bhartī], 4. *Bun* [Vana], 5. *Arun* [Aranya], 6. *Surusuttee* [Sarasvatī], 7. *Teert* [Tīrth], 8. *Ashrim* [Ashrama], 9. *Sagur* [Sāgar], and 10. *Purwutt* [Parvata].

To become a Gosaeen, such casts as wear the *Kurgoota*, or string round the loins, destroy it, and substitute a piece of cloth, if any covering be deemed necessary; and the person generally attaches himself to some one of the fraternity, as desirous of becoming a *chela*, or disciple. The novice may proceed thus far, and still retract: the irretrievable step by which he becomes a Gosaeen for ever, is in the ceremony called *Home* [Hom], which, in this case, must be gone through in the most solemn manner. It is performed by taking an earthen vessel, one cubit square, termed *stundeel*; this is to be filled with pure unmixed mould, over which powders of various colours are to be strewed; upon this a fire is kindled, and over the whole Ghee, or milk, is poured for a certain number of times, during which, *munturs*, or mystical verses, are repeated, and vows solemnly made, of poverty, celibacy, and perpetual pilgrimage to the different holy places throughout India. Ghee is butter clarified by boiling. Milk is always used by a Bramin in performing the *Home*, on this, as well as on other more common occasions of daily occurrence. The disciples of a Gosaeen are obtained in three ways: voluntary followers, slaves purchased, and children obtained from parents who had vowed to make them Gosaeens previous to their birth.

[4] [The word Gosāin (Gosaeen) is a corruption of *Goswāmi* (Sanskrit), 'master or possessor of cows,' and denotes generally one who professes a religious life. It is applied in a special sense to the members of certain brotherhoods, both Shaiva and Vaishnava. The principal Vaishnava Gosāins reside at Gokul in the Mathurā District. Bairāgī (Byragee) or Vairāgī signifies 'free from passion' (Barth, *Religions of India*, pp. 213, 232). Russell gives an alternative translation of *go-swami* as 'master of the senses' (*T. and C.C.P.*, iii, 150). See footnote on page 169, vol. i, and page 189, vol. ii, *post*.]

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of their order in a manner universally stigmatized by Hindoos. They engage in trade; they enlist as soldiers; some of them marry, and many of them have concubines. Gosaeens, who go without clothing, acquire superior character; but those of greatest sanctity are the Gosaeens, who never shave, or cut their hair or nails, or who have vowed to keep their heads or limbs in a particular position. The penances by extremes of heat and cold, and the voluntary tortures which some of them undergo, are often greater than one might suppose the human frame could endure.

Men who survive such exposure, and voluntarily submit to such bodily suffering, are, it may easily be conceived, very formidable when they take up arms. Gosaeens and Byragees have frequently waged a religious war; and some of the divisions of Gosaeens have had desperate battles with each other. Under a weak or unsettled government, the Gosaeens and Byragees have both been guilty of dreadful outrages on the persons and properties of the inoffensive part of the community; but the former are more notorious in this respect than the latter. They used to travel in armed parties, and under pretence of seeking charity, levied contributions on the country. Where unsuccessfully resisted, they frequently plundered, murdered, and committed the most brutal enormities.

The reader will now understand, from what has been said of the most conspicuous classes of the inhabitants in Maharashtra, that the name Mahratta is applicable in some degree to all of them, when spoken of in contradistinction to men of other countries; but amongst themselves a Mahratta Bramin will carefully distinguish himself from a Mahratta. That term, though extended to the Koonbees, or cultivators, is, in strictness, confined to the military families of the country, many of whom claim a doubtful but not improbable descent from the Rajpoots.

The women in the Mahratta country are well treated; they are the helpmates, but by no means the slaves of their husbands; nor are they in the degraded state in which some travellers have described the condition of the women in other parts of India, and in which the ordinances of the Shasters would place them. There is one custom generally observed among them, which is, that the wives of all the chiefs and military men, who pretend

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to Rajpoot descent, are as strictly veiled as the Mahomedan ladies of rank, and as much disgrace attaches to their being seen, particularly by persons not Hindoos. This observance they probably adopted, in the first instance, from the Deccanee Mussulmans, or the Moghuls, but they say it is handed down as a usage of the branch of Rajpoots, from whom they are descended. Mahratta ladies of this description, on the death of their husbands, frequently immolate themselves with the corpse; but in cases where they either have helpless infants, or important family affairs requiring their care, they are rarely permitted to do so. Should they for the latter reason choose to survive, their veil is in a great degree removed, as they are obliged to appear where business demands their presence, in company with men, in an assembly, or even in battle.

With regard to religion, the principal feature in that of all Hindoos is their belief in the transmigration of the soul; and without attempting to reconcile, much less to defend, the ridiculous inconsistencies of their wild mythology, or to account for the differences that exist, in what may be now stated, from that which prevails in other parts of India, a brief summary of the religious creed of the Mahrattas will here be useful, especially to the reader in England:—They believe that the great Divine Spirit pervades the universe; that the soul of every human being is a part of that great spirit, and when perfectly purified is reunited to it. This is the ultimate reward of the good, whilst the punishment of the wicked consists in being re-born in a state proportionately distant from that reunion. The soul which animates the body of a Bramin is nearest to this state of beatitude, provided he shall duly fulfil the ordinances of his faith; but if he do not, his soul shall be detained in *nurruk*,[1] or hell, until sufficient torture, in expiation of sins, has been inflicted, when it will be sent to re-animate some other living shape upon the earth. The souls of all mankind must, therefore, pass through the human form of a Bramin as their last probation, unless that perfect goodness can be attained, which they describe in the character of a Sadhoo; in which case immediate admittance is gained to eternal happiness.

The Mahrattas suppose that the divine nature, in itself, cannot be the agent; yet, from this divine nature, or great spirit, known

[1] [*Narak.*]

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by the name of Brimh, emanated Prakritee, or nature, and Brahma the creator, Vishnoo the preserver, and Siva or Mahdeo the destroyer: the respective wives of these three are Sawitree, Luximee, and Parbuttee.

Brahma created all things: he created human beings, and was himself incarnate; he is the father of the *Deos*, or good spirits; and likewise of the *Dyts*, or evil spirits. Indra is the chief of the former, and Bullee of the latter. The agents of preservation and destruction, together with their wives, have likewise become incarnate, and assumed a multitude of forms on the earth, in order to fulfil the ends of their being. These incarnations are called their *outars;* the different names of these, together with a number of emanations, produce a host of deities, amounting, say the Bramins, exclusive of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Mahdeo, to three hundred and thirty millions.

There is but one temple dedicated to Brahma [1] in India, which is at Pooshkur, near Ajimere. Vishnoo, Mahdeo, and their wives, are worshipped under the names of their various outars, in numerous temples, where their images are preserved. There are a multitude of incarnations from all of them; but there are eleven principal outars of Mahdeo, and ten of Vishnoo: those of Mahdeo were chiefly for the purpose of assisting Indra, in his wars with the Dyts: those of Vishnoo are the most celebrated; but as they are well known, it may be sufficient to remark, that his wars for the destruction of evil genii and oppressive Rajas, and the shapes he assumed for the preservation of the world on various occasions, are recorded in the Poorans or sacred histories, forming the subject of their great popular poems, the Ramayun, the Mahabharut, and the Bhagwut. These poems have in later times been imitated in Mahratta, and have afforded a never failing fund of amusement, in supplying ideas and allusions for all Kuthas, a sort of recitative, intermixed with music and song; in which tales, achievements, acts, and penances of the gods are related, anecdotes and allusions to passing occurrences often wittily introduced, and good moral lessons frequently conveyed. The Kuthas [2] are a popular amusement in Maharashtra with all ranks and casts.

[1] [There are at least four or five temples of Brahma known now. For the Pushkar temple, see Wilson, *Indian Caste*, i. 115, ii. 169; Tod's *Rajasthan*, i. 774; and Crooke, *Popular Religion*, &c., i. 54.]

[2] Divested of the religious character of which they partake, Kuthas

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There is no religion in which there are a greater number of sectaries than that of the Hindoos. The two great divisions are those who acknowledge the supremacy of Vishnoo, and those who assert the superiority, or equality of Mahdeo,[1] the latter has long been the prevailing creed throughout Maharashtra.

Most individuals have some deity, which they reckon especially propitious to themselves: this deity is termed Aradh; but every family has invariably a tutelary god, who is styled their Kool Swamy.[2] All the gods are worshipped more particularly at certain times, for instance, Gunputtee, the son of Mahdeo, on commencing anything; and the name of Ram (an outar of Vishnoo) is pronounced in the hour of death; but the Aradh and Kool Swamy are inwardly implored on ordinary occasions, when suing for strength to perform what is good, or to resist what is evil; to obtain health, happiness, or any worthy object.[3]

more nearly resemble Mr. Matthews's entertainments of the present day than anything to which I can compare them in England.

[1] Mahdeo, it may be here observed, does not destroy indiscriminately, and is not the depriver of life; that occupation belōngs to the goddess *Mruttyoo* [Mrityu]; and as soon as the soul departs, it is carried to be judged by *Yem Dhurm* [Yama], who is the son of *Soorya* (the sun), an outar of Vishnoo. I have not met with Mahdeo as the renovator: and if that idea be taken from any similarity in character with the heathen deity Jupiter genitor, as alluded to by Sir William Jones, it is a fanciful notion, to say the least.

[2] Byhroo, Joteba, Kundoba, and Parbuttee, under her name of Dewee-Bhowanee, are generally the Kool Swamy and Aradh of the Mahratta soldiery. In villages, temples to Byhroo, Luximee, and Gunputtee, are the most common. [Bhāirav (Byhroo) is an aboriginal village-deity, adopted into the Brahmanic pantheon as one of the terrific aspects of Siva. He is frequently represented by a rough stone smeared with oil and red lead. Jotibā is also a village godling, who is guardian of the health and welfare of the villagers. Like Bhāirav he is supposed to ride a horse and is usually represented by a stone. Khandoba, now regarded as an incarnation of Siva, is a local non-Aryan god, his name being derived from *Khanda* (a sword), which he always carries. He is represented on horseback with two women, one, his wife or *Sakti*, in front of him, and the other, a female of the Dhangar (shepherd) caste, his kept mistress, behind. His great temple at Jejuri, near Poona, is associated with the system of religious prostitution, the girls dedicated to him being known as *Murlīs*. 'He is the tutelary deity of the Deccan. (See Introduction, pp. li–lvii, *ante*.) Pārvatī (Parbuttee), i.e. 'daughter of the mountain,' is one of the manifestations of Mahādēvī, the consort or *Sakti* of Siva.]

[3] [The gods worshipped in Mahārāshtra are classed as (1) *Grihadēvatas* (house gods), including *Ishtadēvatas* (chosen gods) and *Kuldēvatas* (family gods); (2) *Grāmadēvatas* (village gods); and (3) *Sthāna-*

Such Bramins as can be termed religious instructors, are either Oopadheeas, or Gooroos; the distinction in these is, that the Oopadheea is commonly the hereditary domestic teacher in a family, and the Gooroo is the chosen instructor and intercessor of an individual. Many persons, especially men of consequence, choose some celebrated devotee for their spiritual guide, whose sanctity is supposed to be such, that by his intercession with the Deity, objects will be granted which would be denied to the less worthy individual. Such a mediator, though he may not attain the character of a Sadhoo, is superior to other Gooroos, and acquires the appellation of *Mahapooroosh*.[1] It is remarkable that the Mahapooroosh of the Mahrattas is sometimes a Mahomedan.[2]

All natives of India, even the most intelligent of them, are extremely superstitious, and place great reliance on astrology, omens, prodigies, and prophecies; and nothing of magic, witchcraft, or supernatural agency, is too gross for the credulity of the multitude.

All Mahratta learning, except simple reading, writing, and

dēvatas (local gods). Besides these, various ghost-gods, devils and goblins are worshipped by the lower classes and aboriginal tribes. The *Kuldēvatas* (Kul Swāmī) are mostly goddesses, whose worship appears to have been adopted from the lower and non-Aryan classes and tribes, with whom the *Kuldēvata* is the principal house deity. Many of these goddesses were adopted into the Brahmanic pantheon as *Saktis* or the personified energies of the greater gods, Siva and Vishnu. During the later years of the Pēshwā's rule the worship of *Kuldēvatas* in the Deccan declined in consequence of a scandal arising from the performance of human sacrifices to those deities by certain Brahmans. (*J.B. Anth. S.*, ii. 202; Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.*, i. 112.)

The *Ishtadēvatas* are generally known as the Panchāyatana or group of five gods, namely, Ganpati, Vishnu, Siva, Dēvī, and Surya, and are represented by small symbolical stones, e.g. the *Sālagrāma* of Vishnu, the *bāna-linga* of Siva, a metallic stone representing the female principle in Nature (*Sakti*), a crystal representing the sun, and a red stone for Ganpati. (Sleeman's *Rambles*, &c., ed. V. A. Smith, (1915), p. 41 n.)]

[1] The *Mahapooroosh* is frequently referred to as an oracle, and on predicting falsely, is often blamed by the disappointed individual, who declares him responsible for the unfortunate issue of the affair. On the other hand, when the Mahapooroosh is not so well rewarded as he might expect, he sometimes (though this is rare) threatens to withdraw his protection from a person so unmindful and so unworthy.

[2] [Broughton (*Letters from a Mahratta Camp*, xxx.) speaks of one Bāla Kādir, a Muhammadan fakīr, being the acknowledged '*Pīr* or spiritual guide of Sindia, who was accustomed to prostrate himself at his feet daily before performing his ablutions.']

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arithmetic, is confined to those Bramins,[1] who study the Sanscrit language, in which only their sacred writings are composed. The principal of these are, the four Bheds, or Vedas; the six Shasters; and the Poorans,[2] or sacred histories, of which there are eighteen principal; but upon these there are an infinite number of explanations and commentaries.

A small proportion only of the Mahratta Bramins understand Sanscrit; and there is no great proficiency, even in Hindoo literature, to be found among them at the present day.

Much injudicious praise has been lavished on the learning and virtue of the Hindoos, and in exposing these panegyrics, their character has become the theme of still more injudicious censure. Both extremes are unjust; and surely it would be better that the unfavourable side of the picture should not be viewed by any person whose fortunes may lead him to the shores of India as a servant of the public. If our young countrymen proceed to their destination unbiassed by prejudice, study the language, and cultivate the acquaintance of the natives, they will, after long intercourse, have many kind recollections and feelings towards them. They may often be disgusted with corruption, meanness, and every debasing passion, which observation and general intercourse with mankind in all parts of the world will too frequently discover; but they will soon perceive, that many of these vices have originated in a corrupt, oppressive government, and the demoralizing effects of an absurd superstition; that they really possess many virtues and great qualities; and that much of what is amiable, in every relation of life, may be found amongst the natives of India.

We now proceed, however, to notice the first records of events, which have as yet been discovered, relative to that portion of the people of whom our subject more particularly treats.

Like the early history of every country, that of Maharashtra

[1] Bramins learned in the Shasters have the title of Shastree [Shāstrī]; in the Vedas, Waudeek [Vaidīk]; in both Shasters and Vedas, Pundit. Titles which much resemble those of the learned Rabbis in the Jewish synagogue.

[2] The Pooraṅs were written by Veas [Vyāsa], an inspired Bramin, one of the seven immortal human beings. Walmeek [Vālmīkī], the author of the Ramayun, was, according to Mahratta legend, a Koolee, whose place of residence is pointed out near the Neera Bridge, at a village called Veerwalla, not far from Jejoory, and contiguous to the Poorundhur range. [See F. E. Pargiter's article on 'Purāṅs' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.]

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is involved in much obscurity; yet there are traces of two or three great revolutions previous to the Mahomedan conquest. Popular legend tells us, that the people called *Gursee*,[1] who are a low cast and the best performers amongst the rude musicians of the country, are the aborigines of Maharashtra; and this is supported by the authority of the Poorans, in which it is stated, that the tract between the Cavery and the Godavery, was termed *Dhundkarinya*,[2] or the forest, and that when Rawun held universal sway, he bestowed it upon the *Wajintree*, or musicians. But the first authentic account we have of any sovereignty in the country, is that of which Tagara was the metropolis. This city was frequented by Egyptian merchants two hundred and fifty years before Christ; and the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, who wrote about the middle of the second century, particularly mentions it as a place of great resort, and well known to the Greeks as the emporium for the supply of their merchandise.

Its name is well known to learned Hindoos, but its exact position has not been ascertained[3]; though it was probably situated on the bank of the Godavery, a little to the north-east of the modern town of Bheer. It was under the government of a Rajpoot prince, whose authority appears to have been very extensive, and acknowledged by several other rajas, as he is styled the chief of the chiefs of Tagara.[4]

[1] [Ghadshīs (Gursees) are still found in small numbers in the Deccan. They are divided into two endogamous divisions, *Bāramāse* and *Ākarmāse*, the latter being the illegitimate offspring of the former. They worship the usual Marāthā *gods*, and have, many of them, Marāthā surnames. A few are day-labourers, but the majority are musicians in great demand during the marriage-season, and sometimes receive a yearly allowance for playing at the village temples. (*B.E.S.*, Monograph 24.)]

[2] [i.e. Dandakāranya, 'the Dandaka forest,' which figures in the *Rāmāyana* as the scene of the exile of Rāma, Lakshman and Sītā. In the neighbourhood of Nāsik are several places, e.g. Rāmsej, Pānchvati, Tapovan, which according to tradition were included in the forest primeval.]

[3] In the transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, vol. iii, my reasons for this supposition are published.

[4] Mentioned in old grants of land, engraved on copperplates. [Tāgara is identified with Ter (Thair of *I.G.*, 1908), near Naldrug (*J.R.A.S.*, n.s., 1901, pp. 537–52). It was one of the leading cities of the Āndhra or Sātavāhana dynasty (*c.* 200 B.C. to A.D. 230). The Silāhāras of the north Konkan (A.D. 810–1260), whose name survives in the *Shelār* clan of the Marāthās, claimed to have come from Tāgara. (*B.C.G.*, 1909, ii. 10–14.)]

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It is probable that the power of the rajas of Tagara originated by conquest from the northward; but the next revolution of which we have any trace, appears to have been occasioned by an insurrection in the country, headed by a man of an inferior cast, named Shalivahan,[1] whose accession to power forms an epoch, commencing in the year 77–78 of the Christian era.

[1] He is said by some to have been a Koonbee, or cultivator, and by others to have been the son of a *Koomar* [Kumbhār], or potter. The legends of the country call him an outar of Mahdeo. His mother, says the same authority, was the virgin daughter of a Bramin, who becoming pregnant by a snake of a sacred kind, was in consequence supposed to be disgraced, and was driven from her father's threshold; but she was received into the house of a potter, by whom she was protected. [Sālivāhana (Shalivahan) or Sātavāhana is now known to be the name of a dynasty, not of an individual. The era commencing A.D. 78, which is termed *Sālivāhana-saka* in Mahārāshtra, is called *Saka-kāla* or *Saka-nripa-kāla* (i.e. the Saka or Scythian era) in inscriptions prior to the eleventh century. The Sālivāhanas belonged to the early and non-Aryan Āndhra race, whose representative in 256 B.C., was a feudatory of the Mauryan empire (Asoka's Rock Edict, xiii). In 75 B.C. the Sātavāhanas were independent, and the third ruler of the dynasty, Srī Sātakarni was master of the Deccan and Mālwā. Some little time after his death the sovereignty of the Deccan, as well as of the north Konkan, south Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār and western Mālwā, was seized by the Saka Satrap, or Great Satrap, Nahapāna, who, according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, may have been the viceroy of the Kushan Kings Kadphises I and II. Dr. Smith suggests that the era referred to above dates from the commencement of the reign of Kadphises II. (*Ind. Ant.*, March 1918; *O.H.I.*, p. 128.)

Professor Bhandarkar is of opinion that Nahapāna was eventually overthrown by Gautamīputra and his son Pulumayi about A.D. 126, that they came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family and re-established their power over the north-west part of Mahārāshtra. Not content with this, they also turned their arms against the foreign Kshatrapa dynasty, which came immediately after Nahapāna and seized their dominions about A.D. 145. Between this date and A.D. 150, Rudradāman succeeded in reconquering these dominions. Gautamīputra Sātakarni and his son, Pulumayi, reigned conjointly, the former over the hereditary Sātavāhana dominions or Āndhradēsa, and the latter over Mahārāshtra. Rudradāman, when he reconquered the Kshatrapa territory, did not utterly destroy Gautamīputra Sātakarni, as the latter's son Vasishthiputra Sātakarni was Rudradāman's son-in-law.

After Gautamīputra's death, his son Pulumayi ruled over Āndhradēsa as well as Mahārāshtra. When at the height of his power, Gautamīputra ruled over the whole country watered by the Godāvari, Berār, Mālwā, Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and the north Konkan.

Pulumayi died about A.D. 158, and was succeeded in turn by his brothers Siva-Srī-Sātakarni and Srī-Chandra-Sati, of whom the former

Shalivahan, it is supposed, removed the seat of government to Prutesthan, which is the Paithana mentioned in the Periplus, and the modern town of Mungy Pyetun, situated on the banks of the Godavery.—What follows in regard to this prince is extracted from the fabulous legends of the country.

Shalivahan[1] annexed the territory of a raja, who reigned at Asseer, to his own dominions: this raja was descended from Sissoday,[2] a Rajpoot raja of the solar race; his ancester having emigrated from Koshul Desh, the modern Oude, and founded a state on the south side of the Nerbuddah, which, at the period of its conquest by Shalivahan, had existed 1680 years. Shalivahan put the whole of the members of his family to death, excepting one woman, who, having escaped with her infant son, found shelter and subsistence in a miraculous manner amongst the Sautpoora mountains: this son afterwards became the founder of the family of the Rana of Cheitore. From the Ranas of Cheitore[3] sprang the Ranas of Oudepoor,[4] universally admitted to be the oldest family in Hindoostan; and from them, according to the legend quoted, it is pretended that the founder of the Mahratta nation, as hitherto known to us, drew his lineage. The legend proceeds to state, that Shalivahan long waged war with Vikramajeet, the Prince of Malwa; but they at last concluded a treaty by which the Nerbuddah became the boundary of Shalivahan to the north, and of Vikramajeet to the south. The commencement of the reign of each was to form an epoch for future calculation in their respective countries; that of Vikramajeet commences fifty-seven years before the birth of our

is identical with Vasishthiputra Sātakarni, the son-in-law of Rudradāman the Kshatrapa. The last prince of the dynasty was Gautamīputra-Srī-Yajna Sātakarni, who ruled over Āndhradēsa and Mahārāshtra, and also probably seized Kāthiāwār and eastern Mālwā from the Kshatrapa dynasty of Ujjain, as his ancestor Gautamīputra had done before him.

Mahārāshtra was then lost by the Sātavāhanas, owing to the irruption of the Abhiras, whose representative, Isvaradatta (A.D. 188–90), conquered Mālwā, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār and Mahārāshtra. The Sātavāhanas continued to rule in the eastern Deccan, until they were extinguished by a northern dynasty called Ikshavāku. (*Ind. Ant.*, June 1918.)]

[1] There are various legends respecting Shalivahan, in different parts of India: this is what is current in Maharashtra, and it is not of importance to inquire whether this or that fable be the more probable.

[2] [Sesodia.] [3] [Chitor.] [4] [Udaipur.]

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Saviour, and is still prevalent to the northward of the Nerbuddah; whilst that of Shalivahan, already noticed, continues in the Deccan. In the Mahratta manuscripts, these epochs have been rather inconsistently adduced as a proof of such a treaty betwixt Vikramajeet and Shalivahan; because as there is a difference of one hundred and thirty-three years, the eras themselves refute the story; unless we suppose that Vikramajeet had prior claims to sovereignty, and that the era was reckoned from the time of some of his forefathers.

There were probably several other revolutions in Maharashtra; but nothing is known as to the cause, or period of a subsequent removal of the capital from Paithana to Deogurh, the modern Doulutabad. Some manuscripts deduce a succession of rajas from Shalivahan to Jadow Ramdeo Rao,[1] who was the reigning prince at the time of the first appearance of the Mahomedans in that quarter, in the end of the thirteenth century. At that period and as far back as there is any authentic record, the Mahratta country seems to have been divided into many small states, more or less independent.

Ferishta mentions the opposition which Alp Khan, the Soobehdar, or Governor, of Guzerat, experienced from a raja named Kirren, when co-operating with Mullik Kafoor in the second expedition into the Deccan. The Raja of Gondwaneh is noticed; and the Raja of Buglana is frequently mentioned by that author. By a grant of land, engraved on a copperplate, and found at Tannah near Bombay,[2] it appears that there was a raja reigning in or near the island of Salsette, A.D. 1018, who claimed descent from the rajas of Tagara.[3] A copperplate of a similar description, found at Satara,[4] proves that A.D. 1192, there was a raja at Panalla, who possessed a considerable territory.[5] By the legends

[1] [This is Rāmdēv, or Rāmachandra, the sixth ruler of the Yādavas of Devgiri (Deogurh), whose dynasty commenced with Bhillama I in 1187, and ended with Harapāla or Harpāldev, who revolted against the Muhammadans and was flayed alive in 1318. (Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 310.)]

[2] First volume of Asiatic Researches, page 357.

[3] [This was Arikesarin, one of the Silāhāras of the north Konkan, whose capital was Thāna in Salsette. Their possessions included Bombay island, the modern Thāna District, and parts of the modern Kolābā District. (*B.C.G.*, 1909, vol. ii, pp. 10–14.)]

[4] Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, vol. iii.

[5] He is said to have built the following fifteen forts, viz. 1. Pawun-

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of the country, he is said to have reigned over the whole of the tract extending from the Mahdeo range of hills, north of Satara, to the Hurnkassee river, south of Kalapoor, and including all the southern tract of the Concan as far as Sewdasheogurh.

This raja likewise claimed descent from the rajas of Tagara. His country, according to tradition, was reduced by a raja named Singin, also said to have been a Rajpoot prince. The place of his standing encampment during the time his troops were reducing the country of the raja of Panalla, is still shown close to Mahsoorna in the neighbourhood of Poosasaoly, south of Satara. The Raja Singin died before he had firmly established himself, and the territory of Bhoje, Raja of Panalla, fell into the hands of Mahratta polygars.[1] The Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, from the neighbourhood of Poona to the Warna, belonged to a family named Sirkay, whose descendants assumed the title of raja, and to this day rank amongst the highest of the Mahratta nobility.[2]

gurh, 2. Panalla, 3. Bhoodurgurh, 4. Bowra, 5. Kelneh (or Vishalgurh), 6. Samangurh, 7. Rangna, 8. Wussuntgurh, 9. Satara, 10. Chundun, 11. Wundun, 12. Nandgeeree, 13. Kelinja, 14. Pandoogurh, and 15. Wyratgurh. They are still known by these names, excepting, I believe, Bhoodurgurh. [This was Bhoj II (1178–93), the last of the other Silāhāra dynasty of Kolhāpur, who was overthrown probably by Singhana of the Devgiri Yādavas. The district ruled by these Silāhāras, who were feudatories of the Western Chālukyas, included most of the modern Kolhāpur State, their capital being Karahāta, the modern Karād in Sātāra District. (Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 304.) Bhoj II built the massive Vāsota fort in Sātāra District.]

[1] Polygar in the Mahratta country, means one who has become independent, who refuses to pay revenue, and levies contributions from all those from whom he can enforce them. [Polygār is a corruption of the Marāthi and Kanarese word *Pālegār*, meaning 'the feudal holder of a settlement or encampment' (Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*). The word is the Tamil *pālaiyakkaran*, 'the holder of a *palaiyam* or feudal estate, and the Telugu *palegādu* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), s.v. Poligar).]

[2] Mahratta MSS. and tradition. [The founder of the Sīrkē, or Shīrkē, family was one Vankojī, who acquired eighty-four villages in the Konkan about the thirteenth century. In later years the Sīrkēs were settled at Raigarh and were employed as vassals of the Nizāmshāhī dynasty, from whom they obtained the *sardēshmūkhī* of twelve *mahāls*, including the Mahābaleshwar hills. In the middle of the sixteenth century they were suppressed by the Bijāpur Sultān, their position being taken by the Mores of Jāvlī. Descendants of the Sīrkēs, who held the *dēshmūkhī watan* of Dābhol, were *silāhdārs* under the Marāthā government. (*Mahableshwar*, by D. B. Parasnis, Bombay, 1916.)]

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It is probable, that future research in the Deccan may add considerably to this list, and establish further proofs in support of an opinion now pretty general among Europeans, that India, at a period long antecedent to the Mahomedan conquest, was divided into many small states.

The most beneficial result of such research would be, the probable discovery of the various modes of revenue management, and the origin of many institutions now found in the country. Some partial explanation of these points must here be given, because a previous acquaintance with them is essentially necessary to the reader, in order to understand the state of the country at different periods, and to comprehend the mode in which the modern Mahrattas, gradually and insidiously found pretexts for encroaching upon the corrupt and indolent Mahomedans.

In Maharashtra, and indeed throughout all the country of the Hindoos, next to their singular arrangement into casts, the most striking feature in their polity is the division of the whole country into villages, each of which forms a distinct community.

A Hindoo village in the Deccan is termed *Gaom*; when not a market-town, it is called *Mouza*; and when it enjoys that distinction, it is styled *Kusba*. Every village is a small state in miniature, and all the land in the country, with the exception of inaccessible mountains, or places wholly unfrequented, is attached to some one village. The boundaries of its lands are defined, and encroachments carefully resisted; the arable land is divided into fields; each field has a name, which, together with the name of the owner or occupant is registered. The inhabitants are principally cultivators, and are now either Meerasdars,[1] or Ooprees.[2] These names serve to distinguish the tenure by which they hold their lands. The Oopree is a mere tenant at will, but the Meeras-

[1] Meerasdar. This is a Mahomedan appellation, though in more general use than Thulkuree, which is the Mahratta word for the same sort of tenure. [The *Mīrāsdar* was liable to extra and arbitrary impositions, and was responsible for the default of neighbouring *mīrāsdars*, while his lien on the land was also conditional on his reimbursing all arrears due and expenses incurred during default. The word is derived from Arabic *mīrās, mīrāsī, mīrāsdār*; and these from *waris*, 'to inherit,' the *mīrāsdār* being a holder of hereditary property. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), p. 565.) See also *B.C.G.*, vol. xvii, ch. viii.]

[2] Oopree [Uprī] literally signifies a stranger, and is here applied to the mere renter, in opposition to the hereditary occupant.

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dar is a hereditary occupant, whom the government cannot displace as long as he pays the assessment on his field. With various privileges and distinctions in his village, of minor consequence, the Meerasdar has the important power of selling or transferring his right of occupancy at pleasure. To render this right saleable, of course, infers a low rate of assessment, and much discussion as to his being the proprietor of the soil has, in consequence, arisen in different parts of British India. It is a current opinion in the Mahratta country that all the lands were originally of this description.

Besides the cultivators and the regular establishment, there are other casts and trades in proportion to the size of each village. The complete establishment consists of a *Patell, Koolkurnee*, and *Chougula*, with twenty-four persons, called the *Baruh Balowtay*,[1]

[1] [The *Balāvte*, or *Balūtē*, were those persons who received a *balūta* or yearly allowance of grain in return for services rendered to the village community. Roughly 10 per cent. of the grain produced in the village lands was paid to them (*B.G.*, Ahmadnagar; *East India Papers*, iv. 752). According to Colonel T. B. Jervis' MS. studies of the Marātha people, the original twelve village servants were divided into three classes, and obtained their share of *balūta* according to the class they were in. In the first class were the carpenter, shoemaker, ironsmith and Mahār; in the second the washerman, potmaker, barber and Māng; in the third the waterman, astrologer, *gurāv* and silversmith. In some villages the Kulkarni claimed to share in the third class. 'I say nothing about Alooteh (*Alāvtē* or *Alūtē*), as part of the village community, for no two persons agree with respect to the constituents of this class, and it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the cultivator could ever have supported, by fees in kind, twelve additional persons when he paid 50 per cent. to Government. And I am told the Bullooteh and Hakdar rights stood him in an average of 25 per cent., leaving him only 25 per cent. for his own maintenance and agricultural charges. . . . The fee in kind appears to be a percentage on the produce, but it is not uniform throughout the country, and very rarely indeed could I get either the cultivator or Boollootehdar to state specifically what the one gave, or the other looked upon himself entitled to receive, annually. It depended very much, I was told, upon the crops, and also upon the extent of services performed for each individual cultivator.' (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xxii, p. 57.) See also Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, 1896, p. 18 n.

Wilson (*Glossary of Indian Terms*) regards *Alūtē* as a 'mere alliterative form' of *Balūtē*, 'the collective designation of the persons whom it is customary in some of the provinces of the Dekhin to retain as village servants in addition to the *Balūtē*, or regular village servants; they include superannuated members of the *Balūtē* or their widows, religious mendicants, and the helpless and lazy in general.' He

and *Baruh Alowtay*.[1] These twenty-four persons are of various

quotes Grant Duff's list and gives another: 1. Jangam; 2. Kolī; 3. Bhāt; 4. Rāmosī; 5. Mālī, or Bāghban; 6. Tarāl, Yeskar, or Mahār; 7. Gondhali; 8. Daurī Gosāin; 9. Ghadshī; 10. Shimpī, Darji, Sutī or Suī; 11. Telī; 12. Tāmbūlī. The whole twelve are seldom found, and occasional additions are: Vājantrī, musician; Kalāvantin, prostitute or dancing-girl; Vaidya, physician; Ghotakor, diver; Gārpagārī, conjurer and fortune-teller. Wilson has a long article on *Balūta*, and gives lists of the Balūtē from Kanara and Gujarāt, as well as the Deccan. *Balūta* he describes as a 'portion of crop assigned to the village servants for their maintenance, also their fees, perquisites and other rights.']

[1] The following are the twelve Balowtay, and twelve Alowtay, according to the general, but not universal opinion of the Mahrattas; —First, *Balowtay*.—The head of the twelve Balowtay is the carpenter [Sutār]. Second, the blacksmith [Lohār]. Third, the shoemaker and currier [Chamār.] Fourth, the Mhar, or Dher. This is a person of the very lowest order of Shunkerjatee, except the Mang; but on the village establishment his duties are very important. The Mhar acts as scout, as guide, frequently as watchman; he cleans travellers' horses, and is obliged, if required, to carry the travellers' baggage; he is a principal guardian of the village boundaries, and in Maharashtra, the Mhars are a very active, useful, and intelligent race of people. Fifth, the Mang, makes all leather ropes, thongs, whips, &c., used by the cultivators; he frequently acts as watchman; he is by profession a thief and executioner; he readily hires himself as an assassin, and when he commits a robbery, he also frequently murders. The Mangs are not so intelligent as the Mhars: both the one and the other eat the carcases of cattle that have died of disease, and are exceedingly filthy in many respects. Sixth, the potter [Kumbhār]. Seventh, the barber [Nhāvī]. Eighth, the washerman [Dhobī]. Ninth, the *goorow* [Gurav], who is a Shooder employed to wash, ornament, and attend the idol in the village temple; and on occasions of feasting, to prepare the *patrowlee* or leaves, which the Hindoos substitute for plates. They are also trumpeters by profession, and in this capacity are much employed in Mahratta armies. Tenth, the *joshee* [Joshī] or astrologer, is a Bramin who calculates nativities, foretells lucky and unlucky days, &c. Eleventh, the Bhat or bard. Twelfth, the Moolana, so called by the Mahrattas, is the Moolla [Mullah], or Mahomedan priest; and it is very strange how he is found ingrafted on the Balowtay establishment of a Hindoo village; if on the Alowtay, which some say he ought to be, it would have been less unaccountable, especially, if we admit, as is frequently done, that the institution of the Alowtay must have been at a period long after that of the Balowtay; but this seems little more than mere conjecture.—The Moolana has charge of the mosques and burial places of Mahomedan saints, and manages the affairs of Enam, or free-hold lands attached to them. He performs the ceremony at Mahomedan marriages, and ought to be competent to all the duties of a Moolla; but he is very often found where there is no Mahomedan family except his own, and is known to the Mahratta population as the person who kills their sheep and goats when offered as a sacrifice

trades and professions, necessary as artisans and public servants, at temples, or in their fields, to propitiate the deities presiding over the different *stulls*, or great divisions of the village lands. The Moolana, likewise, kills the sheep for the *Katik*, who, although frequently mistaken for the butcher, is, in fact, the person who cleans and exposes the meat for sale. The Moolana is entitled to two pice (small copper coin), and the heart of every animal he kills for the Katik. Some of the Mahrattas are unmindful of the ceremony, but in general they profess not to eat flesh, unless the *neyt* has been pronounced by the Moolana, or some Mussulman, capable of repeating what renders the flesh of any animal *hullal*, or lawful to be eaten. To account for this extraordinary adoption of Mahomedan observance puzzles the Hindoos. The Moolana has the same kind of allowances as the other Balowtay. Second, the *Alowtay* are: First, the Sonar, or goldsmith, he is assayer of coins, as well as the maker of gold and silver ornaments for the richer inhabitants. Second, the Jungum [Jangam], or *Gooroo* of the Lingait sect. Third, the tailor [Shimpī]. Fourth, the Kolee [Kolī], or water-carrier. Fifth, the Tural, or Yeskur, is a Mhar; but the Alowtay rights, which constitute the Tural's emoluments, are distinct from the Balowtay of the Mhars. It is the duty of the Tural to remain in the village, and never to quit its boundary. He is at the constant call of the Patell, but his particular duty is to attend strangers, and take care of all travellers from the moment of their entering the village; of which, if walled, the Tural is porter. He furnishes all necessary information, as well as supplies to strangers, and is often extremely useful to them. His duties are very numerous. Sixth, the gardener [Mālī]. Seventh, the Dowree Gosawee [Daurē Gosāvī], a religious personage who beats the *Dour*, a species of small tambourin. Eighth, the Gursee [Ghadshī], or piper. The Gursees, as already noticed, are said to be descended from the aborigines of Dhund Karinya the forest, or country between the sources of the Beema and Cavery. Ninth, the Ramoosee, or Bheel. These, although their office is the same when employed on the village establishment, are different casts of people, but they resemble each other in many of their habits; both are professed thieves. The Ramoosees belong more particularly to Maharashtra. The Bheels, in the Mahratta country, are only found in Candeish, and along the Syhadree range, north of Joonere. In villages, they generally hold the office of watchman; and when a country is settled, they become useful auxiliaries in the police; but under a weak government, or when anarchy prevails, they quit their habitations, and become thieves and robbers. The Ramoosees use the sword and matchlock: the Bheels more commonly the bow and arrow; the latter are less domesticated than the former. Bheels abound to the north of the Nerbuddah, and over the greater part of Guzerat. When employed on the village establishment, they are, in that province, called *Burtinneas* [Wilson (*Glossary*) gives *Bartanis*, Gujarāthi, 'a village-watchman; a police-peon; a guard armed with sword and shield, or with bows and arrows, never with firearms.' The derivation is obscure]. Tenth, the Telee [Telī], or oil seller. Eleventh, Tambowlee [Tāmbulī], or pawn leaf vendor. Twelfth, the Gonedullee [Gondhalī], or beater of the *tambhut*, a double kettle-drum.

or desirable on account of religious observances and common amusements. Very few villages are complete, and in a great part of the Concan, the Khotes,[1] or ancient farmers of the village revenue have long become hereditary, and superseded the name and office of the chief village magistrate; but in the upper country every village has its Patell and Koolkurnee, and each of the larger villages has its bard and astrologer, as well as its carpenter, blacksmith, barber, and watchman. The smaller have only one or two of the most useful artizans.

The Patell is the head managing authority, his immediate assistant is the Chougula, and both of them are generally of the Shooder cast.[2]

The principal person next to the Patell, is the Koolkurnee, the clerk, or registrar, who is now generally a Bramin.[3]

[1] [The *Khōts* (Khotes) have given their name to a well-known land-tenure (*Khōti*) in the Konkan, under which the village-lands are held by families who make an annual agreement with Government, and have the right to lease out land on their own terms. Under the British survey settlement the *Khōt*, as peasant proprietor, pays the survey rates, while the actual cultivators pay rent to the *Khōt* not exceeding one and a half times the Government demand. In Ratnāgiri District the *Khōti* tenure was subjected to close scrutiny from 1850, owing to the grave indebtedness of the *Khōts*' tenantry, and eventually, in 1880, the Khōti Act was passed by the Bombay Government, whereby all extra cesses were abolished, and the relations between the *Khōts* and their cultivating tenants were definitely settled. Some of the original *Khōti* grants in Ratnāgiri date back to the time of the Adilshāhī government of Bijāpur. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 99; ii. 123, 155–6.)]

[2] This is an argument against those Mahratta Patells, who claim a Rajpoot descent; but it is by no means conclusive, as there are proofs of their having, in many instances, purchased the office from the tribe called *Kassar* [Kasār]. The Patellship, owing to the Hindoo law of inheritance, and the Patell's right of selling a portion, or *tuqseemu* of his wutun, is frequently divided and subdivided into two, four, or more shares amongst different families; and all the members of one of these families, the head of which holds any such share, call themselves Patell. In the same way the members of a Koolkurnee's family style themselves Koolkurnee, and so on of all other hereditary offices. The Patell, who holds the chief managing authority, is styled *Muqudum*.

[3] This has not always been the case; many of the Koolkurnees were Purbhoos; *Sonars* (goldsmiths); and *Simpees* (tailors). The Bramins excuse themselves for having entered upon worldly occupations, by the plea of necessity. 'Mankind,' say they, 'had become so corrupt, that charity to Bramins was not duly attended to, and hunger compelled them to adopt some means of obtaining food.'

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The Patell is assisted by the rest of the establishment in managing the affairs of the village; and the whole are paid by lands, grain, or money, apportioned in shares to each individual by the regulations of the community.

The Patell superintends the cultivation, manages the police, and frequently provides for the amusement as well as the protection of the village. When disputes arise which cannot be settled by the friendly interference of neighbours, the complaint is carried to the Patell, who advises, admonishes, and frequently induces the parties to compromise the matter; but if it seem necessary, the Patell assembles some of the inhabitants best acquainted with the circumstances, to whom the case is, in due form, submitted for arbitration: this is called a *Punchayet*,[1] which commonly consists of five members. Such is the simple outline of the civil government of a village. In criminal cases, though instances are found where a Patell has exercised great power under the Mahratta government, he is not, by the acknowledged custom of the country, vested with the authority of fine or imprisonment, or the power of inflicting corporal punishment; when crimes of such a nature occur, it is the duty of the Patell to report the case to his superior, or to apprehend and forward the culprit to higher authority.

The name Patell,[2] though not a Mahomedan word, is supposed, by the Mahratta Bramins, to have been introduced by the Mahomedans. The ancient Hindoo appellation was *Gaora*, and that of the managing Patell or Muqudum, *Gramadikaree*. The Koolkurnee

[1] [Panchāyat is derived from Hindustāni '*pānch*,' 'five,' meaning a council of five (or more) persons.

To this day most castes have a *panchāyat* which settles their domestic affairs and disputes, and in criminal investigations the police frequently call a *panch* (i.e. *panchāyat*) to testify to the finding and recording of exhibits. A Hindustāni proverb runs: '*Pānch kahe so kijīye*,' 'we must do as the five say.' In Bombay City the body which regulates the funds and internal affairs of the Parsi community is still known as the Parsi Panchāyat. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), p. 739.)]

[2] [Pātel (Patell) appears to be a later form of Pattakīl, and to be derived from Sanskrit *patta* and Marāthi *pāt*, 'a roll or register.' 'Putkeels' appear as the village headmen in an account of the early Rājpūt dynasties in the *Rāsmāla* (Forbes). In the time of the Silāhāras of the north Konkan (A.D. 810–1260) there were Pattakīls. Gaora (Gauda) is the Kanarese word *Gāvuda* from '*gav*,' i.e. '*grāma*,' a village. The corresponding Kanarese word for Kulkarni is *Shānbhōg*.]

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was termed *Gramlekuk*. A principal part of the duty of the Patell and Koolkurnee is to superintend the arrangement and collectiom of the revenue. It is the business of the Koolkurnee to keep all public accounts, which are made up annually. In his general account the whole of the land is first stated; then the commons, roads, the site of the village, and all waste land incapable of cultivation, are deducted. The arable land is next shown, and alienations of every description specified. The remainder is the land on which the government assessment is levied. This ought to be laid on with reference to the produce. By the ordinances of the Shasters, one sixth of the crop is the lawful share payable by the ryot, or cultivator, to the Raja. But this usage of remote antiquity has been long unknown in practice; and different rates and modes of collection have been fixed, or enacted by succeeding rulers, as wisdom and good policy suggested, or as rapacity and necessity may have urged.

The great source of revenue in every village of the Mahratta country is the land rent; but there are two other heads of collection; the one may be termed the extra revenue, and the other the customs. Under the first of these all taxes are comprehended, which, being added to the amount of the land assessment, the total is called the *Jummabundee*. The extra revenue, although made up of a variety of petty items, is neither heavy nor important. The customs are of a more intricate nature. The villages, as already observed, are commonly either termed Mouzas or Kusbas; one very large village may constitute a Kusba, without any dependent villages; but in general, from five to twenty-five villages are subordinate to one Kusba; and on this are regulated the complicated inland imposts, which exist under native governments, and which are probably founded on ancient Hindoo institutions.[1]

[1] Every Kusba has some usage in levying customs peculiar to itself; import and export, which, in England, refer to the kingdom, apply in India, where these duties exist, to import and export to and from the Kusba, or villages within its range. Thus, there are peculiar rates for the inhabitants of the Kusba, for the inhabitants of Mouzas dependent on the Kusba, and for persons coming from a distance, or from within the range of an adjoining Kusba. In cities, or large towns, where there are several markets, each separate division, where such a market is held, is called *Pete* [*Petha*], and is regulated in a manner nearly similar. Transit duties are of two sorts: one collected within the range of the Kusba, and the other a general transit through

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Independent of various allowances in kind, the Patells, Koolkurnees, and Chowgulas, hold about one twenty-fifth of the village land, rent free. It is a conjecture of the more intelligent natives of the country, that, in ancient times, these officers superintended by the superior government agents, collected the assessment in kind. The whole of the intermediate agents, that may have existed between the Patell and the Raja, are not precisely ascertained: but at present, over several villages, forming a small district, there are always two hereditary officers; the one called *Deshmookh, Dessaee,* or *Zumeendar;* and the other *Deshpandya, Deshlekuk,* and *Qanoongo.* Both these officers now occasionally assume the title of Zumeendar, but the appellations, Deshmookh and Deshpandya are in more general use in the Mahratta country; and their duties, under the Mahomedan governments, were nearly similar in their districts, to those of the Patell and Koolkurnee in their villages. The Deshmookhs and Patells, with few exceptions, are Mahrattas, as the Deshpandyas and Koolkurnees are Bramins. Though the services of the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas are in general dispensed with, they continue to be paid by a portion of land in different parts of their district, which may be estimated at about one twentieth of the arable soil, and a twentieth of the government revenue, or five per cent., separately collected by them, and calculated agreeably to the revenue actually realized. But this is stated merely to give a general idea of their allowances, which are exceedingly variable; and they have many rights of shares and exactions which it is unnecessary to enumerate. The Deshpandya has about half the allowances of the Deshmookh in land, in kind, and in money.

There are many conjectures as to the origin of Deshmookhs [1]

the country. The general transit is a ready-money payment, and was commonly, at least by the Mahomedans, reserved by government; but the right of collecting within the range of the Kusba is portioned in an intricate manner, and most of the permanent agents of government have some right to share in the customs, which, by them, are collected in kind. Many persons have pensions upon the customs; a right of levying a small share from certain articles, or exacting something from every one exposing their merchandize on a particular spot. These descend as hereditary, and with the divisibility common to all Hindoo property.

Trade, in the Mahratta country, as far as authentic record exists, has always been a secondary object with the government.

[1] The Mahomedans, who, like other etymologists, are sometimes very ingenious at the expense of correctness, derive this appellation

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and Deshpandyas. They were, probably, a universal institution of the Hindoo states, as ancient as village establishments, or divisions into casts; and the Deshadikaree and Deshlekuk, may possibly have been the chief managers in the district for the time being, as the Gramadikaree and Gramlekuk were in the village.[1]

from words of their own language: *Dus*, signifying ten, and *Mookh*, the fist; hence, say they, Desmookh, *the tenth handful*, which brings the signification to accord with the supposed original allowance of those hereditary officers. *Desh*, (or, in Hindoostanee, *Des*,) signifies a country; *Mookh* the mouth; and *Mookhya* a chief: the Mahrattas say the derivation is not from Mookhya, a chief, but from Desh, and Mookh, the mouth, or spokesman of a district. Many Englishmen have adopted the Mahomedan derivation. [Ranade (*Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 22, 23) remarks, 'The system of higher revenue management by means of hereditary Deshmukhs and Deshpāndēs has not outlived the purpose for which it was originally instituted. The Deshmukhs and Deshpāndēs in other parts of the country have developed into Bengal Zamīndārs and Oudh Tālukdārs, who made themselves directly responsible to the State, and became in the end owners of village lands.'

The word Deshmukh is derived from Marāthi *desh*, 'country' or 'district,' and Sanskrit *mukh* or *mukhya*, 'leader.' The Deshmukh was the chief police and revenue authority of a district containing a certain number of villages. The word Deshpāndē, or Deshpāndyā, is similarly compounded of *desh* and *pāndē*, which is based upon the Sanskrit *pāndu*, 'white-coloured,' the great Pāndava family of upper India, and hence is equivalent to 'ruler.' The Deshpāndē was the hereditary revenue accountant of a district, and in some parts of Telingana acted independently of the Deshmukh, discharged the same duties and enjoyed the same privileges. (Wilson, *Glossary of Indian Terms.*)

Kānūngo (Qanoongo) means 'expounder of the law.' The Kānūngo was an officer retained as a special authority on all customs and usages connected with the tenure of land. The office was hereditary, and still survives in the United Provinces in a modified form. Akbar's Kānūngos were graded in three classes, with allowances respectively equivalent to twenty, thirty and fifty rupees a month. (Smith, *Akbar*, p. 370.)]

[1] Though the probability is, that the Deshadikars were, like most Hindoo institutions, hereditary, there are some circumstances for and against this supposition, which, as the question relates to my subject; as the origin of every thing regarding the rights of the people of India, should be of importance; and as what I mention may be followed up by inquiries more satisfactory, I shall here submit these circumstances to the reader's judgment:—Adikar [*Adhikār*] is a Sanscrit word, signifying the first, or chief in employment, whether as applied to the prime minister of the state, to one deputed by him, or by the prince; it likewise signifies a right, possession, privilege, or inheritance; it is never, however, that I have found, used synonymously with *Writtee* [*Vrittī*], which is the Hindoo appellation of what is now more generally expressed in the Mahratta country by the name of

That there were Deshadikarees is proved by the *Widnyanishwur*

Wutun [*Watan*]. Adikaree signifies a possessor, an heir, one who possesses some right or privilege; it is also frequently used as the name of any agent of government, superintending revenue affairs. The name itself, therefore, is in favour of the supposition, that the Deshadikars did exist as permanent hereditary officers; and that the Deshadikaree, like the Gramadikaree, was the principal superintendent amongst the body of relations for the time being.

The reasons, however, for doubting this conclusion, and for supposing the Deshadikars distinct from, and superior to the Deshmookhs, are not unworthy of consideration. At the present day the Mahrattas generally preserve all the Mahomedan forms of address in their letters and official papers, unless they can revert to the ancient Hindoo words and forms with facility. On the occasion of granting Enam, or rent-free lands, of any village, wholly or in part, there are four separate Sunnuds, or deeds of gift made out: 1st. One to the grantee, always conferring the grant on him and his heirs for ever; 2d. One to the Muqudum, or managing Patell in the village; 3. One to the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas; and 4th, one to the Deshadikarees. The three first are addressed to the parties simply; but to the fourth, the address is, 'Raje sree Deshadikaree wo Lekuk, *wurtuman bawee.*' To the Deshadikarees and writers *now* and *hereafter*. The terms used for *wurtuman bawee*, in the Mahomedan grants are *hal wo istuqbal*, and these are seldom found substituted by the Mahrattas for the Sanscrit. Those who are inclined to defend the antiquity of the Deshmookhs' rights say, this address is merely applicable to the present agents, who are collectors for the government, and occupy the place which was held by the chief, or managing Deshmookh; whilst others adduce it as an instance of there having been no permanent hereditary officer between the Patell and the sovereign, and this opinion they support by some plausible conjectures. The Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas, as now found, were, in the opinion of these last, an institution of the Mahomedans, when they first revolted in the Deccan, and adopted as an inducement for the Mahratta Naiks and Polygars to join their standard against the emperor; that they promised all such officers, and all Deshadikarees certain powers and immunities in their *native district*; and hence, the general introduction of the term *wutun*, an Arabic word signifying *one's native country*. To support this opinion there is one curious circumstance:—In the oldest firmans of the Mahomedan princes of the Deccan, in the preamble to which the petition of the grantee is frequently inserted, all the claims to Deshmookhs' wutun are made, either in consequence of former firmans, granted for services performed to the *Beder* [Bidar] *king*, (the name by which the princes of the Bahminee dynasty are designated in Maharashtra,) or, if the petitions be addressed to those kings, the application is made in consequence of claims, to which the petitioner considers he has an equal right, with other persons on whom *wutun* has been conferred agreeably to the king's promise, should he succeed in establishing his independence, or, in the words of the petition, on his mounting the throne. I am inclined to suppose, from several specimens I have examined, that these firmans were forgeries, founded on an incorrect but popular Mahomedan opinion, and intended

Shaster,[1] in which it is expressly stated that the appeal from the Punchayet, assembled by order of the Gramadikaree, was to the Deshadikaree; but there is, as yet, no proof of the Deshadikarees having been a permanent and hereditary officer with lands and immunities such as the Deshmookhs had, under the Mahomedan princes of the Deccan.

The institution of Deshmookh, however, on that footing, if not prior to the rise of the Bahminee dynasty, is at least coeval with it in Maharashtra; but as a Hindoo state succeeded that of the Mahomedans, the Deshmookhs never had the assurance to attempt to impose upon their own nation, by pretending to rights such as were so precipitately granted to the same class of people by the British government in Bengal, under the permanent revenue settlement, which is aptly named the Zumeendaree system, to distinguish it from all other schemes or systems ever known in India.

But, whatever may have been the origin of these officers, the confirming, or withholding of their rights, as far back as we have any authentic trace, has always been a strong political instrument in the hands of every prevailing power in Maharashtra; whether that power sprang from internal insurrection, or foreign conquest; and whether the Deshadikars were mere agents, or hereditary officers of Hindoo institution, there is no doubt, that previous to the Mahomedan conquest, they had in many instances obtained more or less power, with that gradual advance to independence

to impose upon the kings of Beejapoor, or rather the agents of that state. Their preservation in the hands of those holding the office is a proof that they gained their end. The Deshmookhs, however, are certainly of much greater antiquity than has been supposed by some men of great research, in other matters connected with revenue. Mr. Grant, for one, in his Political Analysis, fixes the date of the original institution in A.D. 1582, during the reign of Akber.

One surmise in support of the antiquity of Deshmookhs and Dessaees is that of the Ceylon Dessauvas [Disāvas]. I do not offer it as a conjecture of their having originated in that island; but any Bramin in Maharashtra, can tell, that Himadh Punt, the famous physician who cured Bibeshun the brother of Rawun, introduced the art of writing the Morh [Modī] character, and several other hints useful to his countrymen, from the Rakshush [Rākshasas], or Demons of Lunka [Lanka, i.e. Ceylon].

[1] This is one of the books of the Dhurm Shaster [Dharma Shastra], and is considered of great antiquity; the author was the celebrated Rooshee Yadnewulkya [Rishi Yajnavalkya].

which is conveyed in the appellations of Naik,[1] Polygar, and Raja, assumed by them according to circumstances.

This brief account of the establishments and institutions, will, it is hoped, prove useful to the reader, and his attention is now solicited to one short definition of some importance. All property, or shares of hereditary right in land, or in the district and village establishments, termed under the ancient Hindoo governments *writtee*,[2] is now best known throughout the Mahratta country, by the name of *wutun*[3]; and the holder of any such, enjoys what is considered very respectable, the appellation of *wutundar*.

These preliminary explanations being afforded, we shall proceed to the period when the Mahomedans first invaded the Deccan. From that time the Mahrattas were quite lost sight of, and so little attention was paid to them, that in the seventeenth century when they started up from their native hills and plains, they were, to other nations, a new and almost unknown race of people. The object of this work is to endeavour to afford some information respecting the condition of the Mahrattas under the Mahomedan dynasties, and to trace more clearly than has yet been done, the rise, progress, decline, and fall of our predecessors in conquest[4] in India, whose power, it will be perceived, was gradually gaining strength before it found a head in the far-famed adventurer, Sivajee Bhonslay.

[1] Naik means master. Naik was a common title of the Mahratta chiefs in the service of the Mahomedans. [Naik is the Sanskrit *Nāyaka*, 'leader, chief.' Rājā is Sanskrit for 'king.']

[2] Writtee is a Sanscrit word signifying livelihood.

[3] Wutun is an Arabic word, which means one's native country, as explained in a former note.

[4] [Grant Duff rightly recognizes the English as the successors of the Marāthās, not of the Mughals.]

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CHAPTER I.

FROM A.D. 1000 TO A.D. 1478.

THE conquests of the Mahomedans in India were preceded by plundering incursions. They first passed the Attock[1] in the end of the tenth century, and three hundred years afterwards, eight thousand horse, headed by Alla-ud-Deen Khiljee, crossed the Nerbuddah, traversed Candeish, and suddenly appeared before Deogurh.

The reigning prince, a Mahratta named Ramdeo Rao Jadow, after a slight attempt to defend the town, retired into the fort, and negotiated a treaty with Alla-ud-Deen, by which the Raja agreed to pay the invaders a considerable ransom, on condition of their retiring from his country. The terms were concluded, and the Mahomedans about to fulfil the condition, when the son of the Raja, who had collected an army, advanced upon Deogurh. Without regard to the existing treaty, and contrary to the express injunctions of his father, he sent an insolent message to Alla-ud-Deen, which brought on an immediate action, and although at first doubtful, the result was, a complete defeat to the Hindoos.

After this event, the Raja had to pay dear for the treachery of his son. The demands of the exasperated conquerors were exorbitant; and the treasures of the kingdom, together with the cession of Elichpoor and its dependencies, was the price at which they agreed to bide by the former stipulation.

The riches and the fame thus acquired by Alla-ud-Deen paved the way to his usurpation of the throne of Delhi. During his reign three great armies were sent into the Deccan under his favourite Mullik Kafoor, by which Telingana was overrun, the

[1] The Mahomedans crossed the Lower Sinde before they penetrated by the Attock. [The Arabs under Muhammad bin Kāsim conquered Sind in A.D. 712. Amīr Sabuktigīn of Ghazni made his first raid into India in A.D. 986–7. (*O.H.I.*, p. 190.)]

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greater part of Maharashtra conquered, and the whole country plundered from the Nerbuddah to Cape Comorin.

The disorders, however, which broke out in different parts of the imperial territories during the latter years of the reign of Alla-ud-Deen, and the internal intrigues and commotions which prevailed in the court of Delhi for some years after his death, gave the natives of the Deccan an opportunity of re-establishing the Hindoo sovereignty, and of regaining possession of every part, except the fortress of Deogurh, which continued to hold out, until the Emperor Mubarik [1] advanced with a great army to its relief; on which, Hirpal Deo, and the other Rajas who assisted in the siege, hastily retired. But Hirpal Deo was pursued, taken and inhumanly flayed alive by order of the Emperor.

A.D. 1323.—In the reign of the Emperor Tughluk, a second insurrection in the Deccan was quelled by his son Yoonás,[2] who carried his arms into the heart of Telingana, and finally reduced its capital, A.D. 1323.

The conquest of Telingana and the capture of Warangole drove many of the chief inhabitants from their home: two of them, about twelve years after the conquest of their country, founded the city of Beejanujur, on the banks of the Toongbuddra; which soon became the head of the most powerful state south of the Nerbuddah.[3]

A.D. 1325.—Yoonas, after the successful termination of the war, returned in triumph to Delhi, where, in the year 1325, he succeeded his father and ascended the throne under the name of Mohummud Tughluk Shah.

This prince was the most accomplished scholar of his age; but as a ruler, he was cruel, rash, and speculative. Two years after he had ascended the throne, the Moghuls advanced in great force to the gates of Delhi, whence their retreat was purchased

[1] [i.e. Sultān Kutb-ud-din Mubārak.]

[2] [i.e. Jūnā, generally known as Muhammad *bin* Tughlak Shāh, who succeeded his father in 1325, and reigned till his death in 1351.]

[3] Wilks' Historical Sketches. [The Vijayanagar (Beejanugur) Empire (1336–1565) was primarily the result of the efforts of five brothers from the Hoysala kingdom of Mysore to stem the tide of Muslim invasion. The State embodied the Telingana or Telugu and Kanarese form of Hinduism. (*O.H.I.*, bk. v, ch. iii, and Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire.*)]

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at an enormous expense. The spoils of the Carnatic and the sack of Dhoor Summooder [1] were not sufficient in Mohummud's estimation to repair this loss. He adopted many absurd measures for replenishing his treasury, at the expense of public confidence and public credit. He planned an expedition into China, and lost an army in the attempt. He issued a copper coin at a nominal value equivalent to silver, without any security for the payment of such tokens; and he adopted the ruinous and cruel scheme of removing the whole population of Delhi to Deogurh, to which latter he gave the name of Doulutabad. This removal was enforced, and an imperial edict rendered Delhi desolate, distracted the minds of the people, and shook the empire to its centre.

Disturbances broke out in various parts of the kingdom, and the Emperor had scarcely quelled one insurrection when accounts of revolt in an opposite quarter were brought to him. An invasion of the Afghans, and a subsequent insurrection of some northern tribes, kept the imperial army employed at a distance from the new capital; and the deposed Raja of Warangole, aided by some troops of the Carnatic, waged a successful war against the Mahomedan invaders.

The Emperor was preparing a large army, with the design of completely subjugating the Deccan, when a rebellion broke out, which laid the foundation of the independent Mahomedan dynasties south of the Nerbuddah. This rebellion originated in the flight of some refractory nobles from Guzerat, who had participated in a revolt that had just been quelled by the Emperor; and in dread of punishment, they sought refuge with Kutullugh Khan, the governor of Doulutabad, by whom they had been received, in hopes that time or circumstances might induce the emperor to overlook their misconduct. For affording this protection, the governor fell under the displeasure of Mohummud; he was removed from his government, and orders were sent to collect the fugitive nobles, to promise them pardon, and to conduct them to the imperial presence.

[1] Said by some to have been the capital of Bullal Deo, Raja of the Carnatic; and by others, to have been the principal sea port of his dominions, and situated in Toolava (Canara), but that its site and harbour are unknown, owing to the ebbing of the sea. [Dora Samudra (Dhoor Summooder), now Halebīd, was the capital of the Hoysala dynasty of Mysore (*c.* 1141–1326). It was sacked by Malik Kāfūr, the favourite of Alā-ud-dīn, in 1310, and finally destroyed by a Muhammadan force sixteen or seventeen years later. (*O.H.I.*, p. 204.)]

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They proceeded, under the most solemn assurances of forgiveness, towards Guzerat, where the royal camp then was, but on approaching the confines of that province, some circumstances occurred which led them to suspect that treachery was intended; upon which they rose on their guard, killed the officer sent in charge of them, and erecting the standard of rebellion, marched back towards Doulutabad.

A.D. 1344.

They were joined by several Hindoo chiefs, disgusted with the tyranny of the emperor; and by the time they had reached Doulutabad, their numbers were so formidable, that the garrison were encouraged to declare for the insurgents; which they did, by confining their governor and delivering up the fortress.

It was now necessary to elect a head, and as there had been yet no individual sufficiently conspicuous for personal ability, their choice, in the meantime, rested on a commander of a thousand horse, named Ismael; and in this election they were probably influenced by the hope that Mullik Moogh, the brother of Ismael, who commanded the imperial army in Malwa, would be drawn over to their party. The new king assumed the name of Nasir-ud-deen.

The Emperor Mohummud, on hearing of this formidable rebellion, marched from Guzerat with a large army; and on arriving near Doulutabad, he found the rebel forces drawn up to engage him. A severe action took place; and although indecisive, the imperial army remained masters of the field of battle.

The insurgents, not having obtained a first advantage, held a consultation, when it was resolved that Nasir-ud-deen should defend the fortress of Doulutabad; whilst the other chiefs, retiring to different districts, prosecuted a desultory warfare.

Amongst the rebel chiefs, particularly distinguished for bravery and conduct, was Zuffir Khan, who, from a very humble origin, had risen to high command and was destined to be the founder of a race of kings.

The Emperor, on discovering the plans of the insurgents, immediately invested Doulutabad, and detached a force under Ummad-ool-Moolk Tebreezee, to pursue Zuffir Khan. The garrison was reduced to extremity, when information was received that another insurrection had broken out at Delhi, which obliged the emperor to proceed thither, leaving the siege to be carried on by his officers. The Deccanees, encouraged by his departure,

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collected from all quarters to annoy the army before Doulutabad; which so alarmed the officers, that they hastily raised the siege, and retreated to the Nerbuddah, closely pursued, and constantly harassed by the Deccan cavalry.

Zuffir Khan, who was apprised of this turn in the affairs of his party, being at the head of twenty thousand horse, now advanced towards Ummad-ool-Moolk Tebreezee, who, instead of continuing the pursuit, took post with his large army at Beder. This gave Zuffir Khan a great political advantage, which he judiciously improved, by merely showing that he was at the head of a party already capable of facing the imperial army, until he had induced the Raja of Telingana to detach fifteen thousand horse to his assistance, and had obtained a reinforcement of five thousand men from Doulutabad. He then attacked the imperialists; and after an obstinate and bloody battle, in which Ummad-ool-Moolk was slain, victory declared in favour of Zuffir Khan. Detachments were immediately sent to occupy the country, whilst the main body marched in triumph towards Doulutabad. Nasir-ud-deen came out to meet Zuffir Khan; and observing the greater weight and ascendancy already acquired by his successful general, he prudently assembled the nobles, and requesting their permission to resign his crown, recommended their electing Zuffir Khan to the government of the kingdom; a proposition which was at once applauded and acceded to.

Zuffir Khan was said to have been originally the slave of a Bramin, an inhabitant of Delhi, named Kangoh,[1] who, having discovered his merits, gave him liberty; and assisted, as well as foretold, his subsequent fortune. On being raised to empire, Zuffir Khan did not forget his protector: the Bramin was appointed

[1] The story altogether, as detailed by Ferishta, bears the marks of tradition: an observation of no consequence in this place; but it may be remarked, that all Bramins, now in the Deccan, holding the office of Qanoongo, which is similar to that of Deshpandya, are invariably called Kangoh, in the corrupt dialect of Maharashtra, and that even in Persian this corruption is found, spelt both with the kaf and qaf. [The story of Zafar Khān having been in the service of a Brahman named Gāngū (Kangoh), and of the consequent derivation of the title Bahmanī from the word Brahman, is without foundation. Zafar Khān 'assumed the name or title of Bahman, because he claimed descent from the early Persian King so-called, better known as Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Long-armed (Ardashir Darāzdast), who is identified with Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther.' (*O.H.I.*, p. 275 and footnote.)]

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to the charge of the treasury, and had the honour of giving the appellation of Bahminee to a dynasty of Patan kings. Zuffir Khan was recognized as sovereign in the year 1347, and assumed the title of Sultan Alla-ud-deen Hoossein Kangoh Bahminee.

A.D. 1347.

We have seen that this revolution was aided by the native princes of the Deccan, and from several circumstances in the conduct of the war, particularly the desultory plan adopted by the insurgents, which always requires the aid of the native inhabitants of any country, there is strong presumption of their having contributed more to its success than the Mussulman historian was aware of, or, perhaps, was willing to allow. There are many recorded proofs of the new Sultan's prudence; but his wisdom is most conspicuous in the conciliatory measures he adopted for obtaining the entire possession of the districts which had been before subject to the Mahomedans, binding all classes of his new subjects to his interests, and gaining the friendship and support of the Raja of Warangole, in whom the Mahomedans had previously found a watchful and implacable enemy.

The death of the Emperor of Delhi, Mohummud Tughluk Shah, relieved the new Sultan from all apprehensions in that quarter. He very early employed the minds of the warlike and turbulent people over whom he ruled, by directing their attention to conquests in the Carnatic; and the subsequent rivalry with the Rajas of Beejanugur probably preserved the kingdom of his successors from internal decay, for a much longer period than if they had been able to extend their conquests rapidly, or if their seditious armies had been left to the enjoyment of a mischievous repose.[1]

The Bahminee dynasty[2] may be said to have existed upwards

[1] The foregoing short abstract of Mahomedan history is almost entirely from Ferishta. Ferishta continues our best authority up to the beginning of the seventeenth century; but wherever I may adopt other authorities, I shall never intentionally omit mentioning them; as well in acknowledgment, as in proof.

[2] The names of the successors of Sultan Alla-ud-deen, with the dates of their reign, according to Ferishta, are as follows; the first Sultan having died in 1357, was succeeded by his son:—

2d Sultan, Mohummud Shah Bahminee, died in 1374, and was succeeded by his son.

3d Sultan, Mujahid Shah Bahminee was assassinated in 1377, by his uncle and successor.

4th Sultan, Daood Shah Bahminee only reigned about one month,

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of a century and a half; during that period, we may learn something of the condition of the Mahrattas from Mahomedan history; and a few circumstances may be gleaned from the legends (or *Bukers*) which are found in possession of most of the descendants of the old Mahratta families.

It has already been stated that the country at the period of the Mahomedan conquest appears to have been divided into many small principalities, more or less independent. It is probable, that most of those Polygars, whose country lay in the accessible parts, were induced either to join or to submit to the head of the new state in 1347, which is the date assigned [1] to the accession of Sultan Alla-ud-Deen.

when he was assassinated, at the instigation of Roopurwur Agah, and was succeeded by

5th Sultan, Mahmood Shah Bahminee, a younger son of the first sultan, died in 1396, and was succeeded by his son,

6th Sultan, Ghazee-ud-deen Shah Bahminee, who reigned one month and twenty days, when he was assassinated by Lallcheen, a Turkish slave, and succeeded by his brother.

7th Sultan, Shumse-ud-deen Shah Bahminee was dethroned, after a reign of less than six months, and succeeded by the son of Daood Shah Bahminee.

8th Sultan, Firoze (Rozi Ufzoon) Shah Bahminee, died in 1422, and was succeeded by his brother,

9th Sultan, Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahminee, died in 1434, and was succeeded by his son,

10th Sultan, Alla-ud-deen (the II.) Shah Bahminee, died in 1457, and was succeeded by his son,

11th Sultan, Humaioon Shah Bahminee, commonly called Zalim, or the tyrant, who died the victim of passion and cruelty in 1460, and was succeeded by his son,

12th Sultan, Nizam Shah Bahminee, died in 1462, and was succeeded by his brother,

13th Sultan, Mohummud Shah Bahminee, who died in 1482, and was succeeded by his son,

14th Sultan, Mahmood Shah Bahminee, who died in 1518, and his son,

15th Sultan, Ahmed Shah Bahminee was his nominal successor, who died two years afterwards, or in 1520, and to fill his place,

16th Sultan, Alla-ud-deen (III.) was set up as successor, but was afterwards strictly confined in 1526, when Kulleem Oolla Bahminee was the last on whom the title was conferred, and with him ended the Bahminee dynasty.

[For an account and chronology of the Bahmanī dynasty, based on the latest research, see V. A. Smith's *O.H.I.*, bk. v, ch. i.)]

[1] There are, at present, four eras used in the Mahratta country, besides the Christian: viz. 1. the *Shalivahan*; 2. the *Soorsun*, or Arabic year; 3. the *Fusslee* year; and 4. the *Raj-Abishik*, or from the date of Sivajee's ascending the throne.

The Hindoo day and night contain sixty *Ghutkas*, commencing

The new Sultan was obliged, from his situation, to conciliate the people of the country, and he either bestowed hereditary

from the time of the morning when objects at hand are discernible; therefore, the name of the day, by this method, will not always be the same as with us; for our Sunday morning at 1, 2, or 3 A.M., would be the latter part of their Saturday.

The *Mirg*, or cultivator's year, always commences in the beginning of our month of June, corresponding with the end of the Hindoo month, *Weyshak*, or beginning of *Jesht*. Although the Hindoo year is lunar, it is adjusted to the solar time, by the intervention of the *Adheek Muheenu*, or intercalary month, being one month counted twice over, in every fourth year; and again further corrected by throwing out one month from one year in every three cycles, of 60 years each, or 180 years. The month thrown out is termed *Kshy-mas*, or the deficient month.

By calculation, it appears that the Soorsun (generally written Shuhoorsun by the Mussulmans) was introduced on the Mirg, in Heejree 745, which corresponds with A.D. 1344–45; and hence it would appear that it must have originated with Mohummud Tughluk Shah. It was much more like his character, than that of the Emperor Akber, to introduce so useless an innovation; but it was in the reign of Akber that the Fusslee era commenced to the north of the Nerbuddah, and it was introduced into the Deccan by his grandson, Shah Jehan, in the year of the Heejree, 1047, or A.D. 1637–38. The Soorsun and Fusslee eras are merely solar years, setting out with the date of the year of the Heejree when they commenced, but without making allowance, in future reckoning for the difference between the solar and lunar years; by which means they differ rather more than three years every century. Both the Soorsun and Fusslee are called Mirg, or the husbandman's year, from their commencing at the season when the fields begin to be sown.

[For the Sālivāhana (Shālivahan) era see note on p. 24, *ante*.

The Soorsun era is properly called *Sursanna* or *Sursan* from Arabic *Shahūrsan*, 'a year of months.' According to J. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, col. 1,834, p. 38, an account of this era is given by Captain T. B. Jervis in his *Report on the Weights and Measures of the Southern Konkan*. He says it was introduced on Thursday, June 6, 1342—Hijra 743. But the computation of its agreement with the Hijra year shows it to have begun when 745 Hijra (A.D. 1344) corresponded with 745 *Shahūrsan*. It was probably adopted on the establishment of one of the Muhammadan kingdoms in the Deccan, under the reign of Tughlak Shāh. . . . To reduce *Shahūrsan* years into Christian, Saka, Samvat and Faslī years, add 599, 521, 655 and 9 years respectively. If the given date falls after the 6th of the month of the *Shahūr* year, it will occur in the next ensuing Christian year; and after nine months in the next Saka or Samvat year, because the Shahūr year begins in June, at the sun's entrance into the lunar mansion, *Mriga*, *Mrigasirsha* (*Mirg*). It is not stated whether its subdivisions follow the Hindu or the Arabic system, but the former may be taken for granted. (This note was kindly supplied to me by Mr. W. Crooke, C.I.E.)

For the Fusslee, i.e. the Faslī, era, see note on page 100, *post*. As regards the *Rāj-Abhishek*, see pp. 204–5, *post*.]

lands and immunities on the leading men, or confirmed them in those they already enjoyed, as Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas. He likewise appears to have conferred some subordiante military rank on a few of the chiefs,[1] and to have appropriated lands in Jageer for the maintenance of small bodies of horse; but such lands seem to have always been within the jurisdiction of some greater Mahomedan Jagheerdar, himself subordinate to the governor of a great province. By such means did the Sultan bind the natives of the country to his interest. He had obtained possession of almost the whole of Maharashtra, except the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta from the Poorundhur range of hills to the Hurnkassee river, which, together with the coast from Dabul to Cape Ramas, was not entirely conquered by the Mahomedans for upwards of a century after the establishment of the Deccan monarchy. There were very few insurrections occasioned by the natives of the country against their Mahomedan rulers: the first took place during the reign of Sultan Mohummud Shah, about the year 1366, or after his return from his first expedition to the Carnatic. The insurrection alluded to was headed by one of his own officers, named Bahram Khan Muzenderanee. The circumstances which gave rise to it were the report of the Sultan's death, and the absence of the troops from Doulutabad upon the Carnatic expedition. Bahram Khan was incited to this rebellion by a Mahratta chief, named Jadow,[2] who was probably a relation, or a descendant of the ancient rajas, as he is termed chief of the Naiks, and the Jadows are still Deshmookhs in that part of the country. The insurgents were joined by the Raja of Buglana; whilst other chiefs in Berar, with true Mahratta policy, secretly sent reinforcements of troops. Bahram Khan seized on all the collections he could obtain, and the greater part of the district, which, from the time of Kafoor, appears to have got the name of Maharasht,[3] fell into his hands.

A.D. 1366.

[1] Hurnak Pohl and Kam Raje Ghatkay had small Munsubs of from two to three hundred horse; there were others but their names are not known—Mahratta MSS.

[2] In Scott's Translation it is Geodeo. In some copies of Ferishta it is Govind deo; but Ferishta says the chief of the Naiks was a descendant of the Raja of Deogurh. Ramdeo Rao Jadow was the Raja of Deogurh, according to all Hindoo MSS., and it is not improbable that this chief's name may have been Govinddeo Jadow.

[3] This name has given rise to conjectures; it was probably some small tract, about where Dhoolia now is, in Candeish, in the posses-

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Mohummud Shah sent remonstrances, and from a personal regard for Bahram Khan, offered him the most favourable terms; but as he was under Mahratta influence, he did not comply with the Sultan's offers. The insurgents marched to Pyeton, where they collected a great crowd of needy adventurers, such as appear to have at all times swarmed in the Deccan.

The advanced force, which composed the bulk of the Sultan's army, was commanded by Musnud Ali Khan Mohummud, a veteran officer, who, not choosing to engage hastily, halted at Sewgaom, a few miles from Pyetun.[1] When encamped there, Bahram Khan made an attempt to surprise him; but on finding Musnud Ali on his guard, he injudiciously returned to his own lines, thus showing the enemy his weakness, and leaving his own troops to suppose that their chief was doubtful of the result of an equal engagement. The consequence was, of course, fatal. Musnud Ali immediately prepared to attack him, and sent intelligence to the Sultan, who was hunting among the hills in rear of the army, that he was about to engage the rebels. The Sultan immediately galloped forward and joined his troops just as the battle was about to commence. The news of his arrival quelled the insurrection. The Raja of Buglana instantly fled, and the others followed; Bahram Khan and Jadow first sought refuge in Doulutabad, and afterwards in Guzerat, beyond the pursuit of their enemies. This was the only insurrection of any consequence in Maharashtra up to the period when the Bahminee dynasty began to decline, when

sion of some Mahratta Polygar. It is not such a misnomer as Europeans have been guilty of in calling Toolava, Canara, though both names are to be accounted for in a similar manner.—See Wilks, vol. i. [The origin of the name Mahārāshtra is still undetermined. It was used to denote the Deccan or Western Ghāt country as early as the reign of the Chālukya King Pulakesin II (A.D. 608–42). Rock Edict V of Asoka mentions the Rāshtrikas, probably of the Marāthā country (*O.H.I.*, p. 96), and cave-inscriptions at Nānaghāt in Poona District speak of Nāganikā, daughter of the *Mahārathi* Tranakayiro (*I.A.*, March 1918). This evidence, coupled with the fact that a dynasty of Rāshtrakūtas, a branch of the Rathas or Rattas of the Southern Marāthā country, ruled the Deccan from A.D. 753 to *c.* 973, has favoured the derivation of the name from Mahā-rāthā, 'the great Rātha or Ratta.' The alternative derivation from Mahār-Rāshtra, 'the Mhārs' country,' is certainly incorrect. According to Molesworth's Dictionary, Mahārāshtra signifies 'the great country.' (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 207, 208; Wilson, *Indian Caste*, ii. 48.) See Introduction, pp. xlii–xliv, *ante*.]

[1] [The modern Sheogāon, mid-way between Paithan and Tāsgāon.]

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some of the garrisons, composed of Mahrattas, took an opportunity of throwing off their allegiance.[1]

A.D. 1396.—In 1396, the dreadful famine, distinguished from all others by the name of the *Doorga Dewee*, commenced in Mahārashtra. It lasted, according to Hindoo legends, for twelve years. At the end of that time the periodical rains returned; but whole districts were entirely depopulated, and a very scanty revenue was obtained from the territory between the Godavery and Kistna for upwards of thirty years afterwards. The hill forts and strong places, previously conquered by the Mahomedans, had fallen into the hands of Polygars and robbers; and the returning cultivators were driven from their villages.[2]

A.D. 1429. An army was sent in the year 1429, in the reign of Sultan Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahminee, to extirpate the banditti, to give security to the people, and to restore order in the country. This expedition was commanded by Mullik-ool-Tijar, who was accompanied by the hereditary Deshmookhs of the districts, wherever they remained, and an experienced Bramin named Dadoo Nursoo Kallay. Their first operations were against some Ramoosees[3] in Kuttao Des, and a body of banditti that infested the Mahadeo hills.[4] The army next marched towards Waee, reduced several forts, and even descended into the Concan[5]; but Mullik-ool-Tijar appears, on this occasion, to have crossed the Ghauts,

[1] Ferishta.

[2] Mahratta MSS., and a Firman in possession of one of the Waee Deshmookhs.

[3] [The Rāmosīs (Ramoosees), whose name is probably derived from *Rānavāsi*, 'forest-dwellers,' are connected with the Bēdar ('hunter') tribes of the Kanarese and Telugu country, whence they originally migrated to the Deccan. Their traditional occupation is robbery. Under Marāthā rule they were often, like the Māngs, in charge of hill-forts. They still rank as a criminal tribe, but are largely employed under British rule as village watchmen, and in towns as night-watchmen for dwelling-houses and offices. Some, in return for their services, have a portion of the village-lands assigned to them. The change which has come over the tribe since the early years of the nineteenth century, when they were hunted down as marauding outlaws by Bombay troops, is shown by their holding an educational conference in Sātāra District in 1919, at which they resolved to request Government to discontinue the system of mustering them nightly at the various police-stations in the Deccan, and to grant them better facilities for education. (Captain Mackintosh's *Account of the Ramoossies*, 1833; *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 120; *B.E.S.*, Monograph 138; *B.G.*, vol. xviii, pts. i–iii.)]

[4] Mahratta MSS.

[5] Ferishta.

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without penetrating into the fastnesses of the mountains on either side. On his return to Beder, Dadoo Nursay and a Turkish eunuch of the court were left to arrange the country and recall the inhabitants.[1] As the former boundaries of villages were forgotten, Dadoo Nursay, in fixing new limits, extended them very much, and threw two or three villages into one. Lands were given to all who would cultivate them: for the first year, no rent was required; and for the second, a *tobra*[2] full of grain for each *Beega*[3] was all that was demanded. But the result of this expedition was a mere temporary relief from the heavy contributions which the banditti of the Ghaut-Mahta were in the habit of exacting; and it soon appeared, that there could be no effectual security afforded to the villages, until the whole of the hill forts should be reduced.[4]

A.D. 1436.—A second expedition was sent in 1436, under Dilawur Khan; but little having been effected by him, a third was prepared under the command of Mullik-ool-Tijar, in the reign of Sultan Alla-ud-deen (the 2d) Bahminee, and during the administration of Meamun Oolla Deccanee, who formed a plan of reducing not only the hill forts in the Syhadree range, but likewise the unsubdued part of the Concan to the southward of Dabul.

Mullik-ool-Tijar, having undertaken the conduct of the war, marched at the head of a choice body of troops, the flower of the Deccan army. This officer began on a systematic plan of conquering and regulating the country to be subdued. He established his head quarters at Chakun,[5] and raised a fort near the city of Joonere. Thence he sent out detachments, at different times,

[1] From Kallay's surname, which sounds like Kala (black), these two are said to have been called the black and white eunuchs. Kala Khojeh and Gora Khojeh. European Turks early found their way to the Mahomedan court in the Deccan.

[2] A tobra is a leather bag used to feed horses, by putting in the grain, and tying it on the mouth by a thong which passes over the horse's head like a head stall, and is fastened by putting it through a running noose on one side of the tobra. It is a part of the accoutrements of every Mahratta horseman.

[3] A Beega, according to the present measurement, approaches to within 1-15th of an acre; under some of the Mahomedan states, it was much smaller. [See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, s.v. Beega.]

[4] Mahratta MSS.

[5] Chakun is a small fort eighteen miles north from Poona. It is nearly square, with towers at the angles and centres of the faces; it has a good ditch about thirty feet wide, and fifteen deep, but wet

into the Concan, and reduced several rajas to subjection.[1] At length he moved in person to that part of the country, and laid siege to a fort, the raja of which was obliged to deliver himself up with all his family.

This raja's surname was Sirkay; and he was, without doubt, a descendant of that Polygar who obtained possession of the range of country about the source of the Kistna, after the raja of Panalla was conquered in the beginning of the 13th century, by the Raja Singin.[2]

Mullik-ool-Tijar insisted on the raja's renouncing his own faith, and embracing the tenets of the Koran. The enraged, but subtle raja, with the true policy of a Mahratta, when he intends deadly vengeance, humbly represented that there existed between him and the Raja of Singur, a fort in the territory of Kondan,[3] a family competition and rivalry, and that they were near relations; that should he embrace the Mahomedan faith, and the Raja of Kondan remain in power without the loss of his cast, he should become obnoxious to his subjects, and that his rival would excite rebellion and triumph over him. He, therefore, proposed that

on the north side only; the walls are high, the parapet and rampart narrow, and the towers confined. There is but one entrance into the body of the place through five or six gateways; and there is a mud outwork which also has a ditch. I mention it particularly on account of its reputed antiquity; for, although it probably is the fort built by Mullik-ool-Tijar, according to concurring Hindoo legends, it was constructed by an Abyssinian Polygar A.D. 1295. As to how he got there, they do not pretend to account.

[1] [In the course of this expedition Malik-ul-Tujar seized Thāna in Salsette and Māhīm in Bombay. The Gujarāt forces reoccupied Thāna and finally defeated the Bahmanī forces in Māhīm. Several years ago the erosion of the foreshore at Māhīm brought to light a very large number of human remains, which are locally believed to have been those of the men killed in this battle. (*B.C.G.*, 1909, ii. 20, 21.)]

[2] Mahratta MSS. [The Yādava ruler of Devgiri, Singhana (Singin) (1210–47), subdued Bhoj II of Panhāla and annexed part of the Deccan. His name still lives in the Singhan Doha (bathing-place) in the valley of the Krishna, and in Singnapūr, a village in the Mān *tāluka*, Sātāra District.]

[3] Probably the fort of Singurh, eight miles south of Poona. It was called Kondaneh by the Mahomedans, but afterwards, by Sivajee, changed to Singurh. In Scott's Translation it is written Kelneh. Kelneh is the modern Vishalgurh, and certainly lies in a situation much more resembling the description of the country, as given by Ferishta, than Singurh.

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Kondan should first be taken, and bestowed on himself, or one of his relations, when he promised not only to embrace the faith of Islam, but to remit an annual tribute to the Sultan, and assist in controlling all those rajas that might hereafter fail in their allegiance.

This proposal was blindly acceded to. The troops marched, were drawn into an ambuscade, treacherously beset in the night, and nearly seven thousand Mahomedans together with their general, when buried in sleep, were inhumanly massacred by the Mahrattas. The remainder of the Sultan's army retreated; the Sirkay family regained possession of their country, and for a period of nearly sixteen years no further attempt was made to follow up the plan of Meamun Oolla Deccanee.

A.D. 1453.

A.D. 1469.—It is not known at what period Goa came into the possession of the rajas of Beejanugur[1]; but it was taken from them A.D. 1469, when Khajeh Jehan Gawan,[2] in the reign of Mohummud Shah, undertook an expedition which terminated in the capture of Goa, and the complete subjugation of the whole of that strong country, which is included in the south-west corner of Maharashtra.

The tract, so reduced, remained but a very short time under the sovereigns of the Bahminee dynasty. The structure that had been founded and reared by Alla-ud-deen continued to be built up by his successors; but the pile soon became too lofty to sustain its own weight without a broader basis; and the great addition of territory to the eastward, which was acquired by the victories of Mohummud Shah over the Raja of Orissa, brought on a crisis which could only terminate in reform or revolution.

A.D. 1526.—The date of the extinction of the dynasty is 1526; but long before that period, there were, in fact, five separate states under Mahomedan kings in the Deccan. 1. Edil Shahee, or Beejapoor; 2. Kootub Shahee, Golcondah, or Hyderabad; 3. Ummad Shahee, or Berar; 4. Nizam Shahee, or Ahmednugur; and, 5. Bureed Shahee, or Ahmedabad Beder. Of these five

[1] [Goa was taken from the Muhammadans by Vidyāranya Mādhav, prime minister of Harīhara, Rāya of Vijayanagar, in A.D. 1370 (*I. G. Bom.* ii. 565).]

[2] [Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, the capable minister of Humāyūn (1457–61), and Muhammad Shāh III (1463–82). Mahmūd Gāwān was ennobled by the title of Khwāja Jahān. (King in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxviii (1899), p. 284.)]

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independent states, which sprang from the dismemberment of the first Mahomedan kingdom, only three existed at the period when the Mahratta people began to emerge from subjugation and to be conspicuous as actors in the affairs of India.

The history of these Mahomedan kingdoms, as far as regards the detail of events, is already accessible to the public[1] up to the commencement of the seventeenth century; but the immediate cause of the downfall of the Bahminee dynasty, and a brief notice of the origin and progress of the states alluded to, are connected with our subject, and must be introduced as conducive to perspicuity.

At the period of the first Sultan's death in 1357, the dominion of the Mahomedans in the Deccan extended over almost the whole of Maharashtra: a small portion of Telingana, together with Raichore and Moodgul in the Carnatic, were also in their possession. When Mohummud Shah Bahminee succeeded to the throne, one of his first arrangements was to divide his country into four parts, which he termed Turufs; and to each he appointed a governor, who was styled Turufdar.

In the course of one hundred and thirty years, the territory had been greatly increased by conquests from the neighbouring Rajas of Beejanugur, Telingana, the Concan Polygars, the Raja of Orissa, and others—the governments of all, except Beejanugur, having been almost entirely subverted; but the original four divisions, subject to the defects attendant on old establishments never revised, had been so greatly enlarged, that the governors became too powerful to be either controlled or superintended.

A.D. 1478. Under such circumstances, the application of a remedy is very difficult. About the year 1478 an attempt was made by Khajeh Jehan Gawan, the able minister of Mohummud Shah, to divide the authority and to preserve a due insight into the affairs of each province. His plan will be best understood by shewing the original divisions of the kingdom, and the new subdivisions which he projected. The names of the governors appointed to each are added; and this abstract is recommended to the particular attention of the reader.

Old Divisions.	*New Divisions.*
1st. *Kulburga* .	Of which, as of all the rest, two governments were formed :—

[1] Scott's Translation of Ferishta.

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Old Divisions.	*New Divisions.*	
	1st. Beejapoor .	With many districts as far as the Beema, and including Raichore and Moodgul. To this Khajeh Jehan Gawan was himself appointed.
	2d. Ahsunabad	Which included Kulburga and Sugger, Nuldroog, and Sholapoor, and was placed in charge of the Abyssinian eunuch, Dustoor Deenar.
2d. *Doulutabad* .	3d. Doulutabad .	Of which Eusoof Adil Khan Sawee was appointed governor.
	4th. Joonere . .	With the Concan, and the districts as far south as Goa and Belgaom, were conferred on Fukhir Ool Moolk.
3d. *Telingana* .	5th. Rajamundree .	Mausulipatam, Pilcondah, Oureah, and other places were held in the name of Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree.
	6th. Warungole .	Was given in charge to Azim Khan.
4th. *Berar* .	7th. Gawel . .	Was placed under Futtih Oolla Ummad Ool Moolk.
	8th. Mahoor . .	Under the Abyssinian Khodawund Khan.

In order to preserve an insight into the affairs of these governments, the revenues of several places, in each of the eight divisions, were reserved for the Sultan's private expenses, and particular collectors appointed to manage them.

Had these measures been steadily superintended for any length of time, a due ascendancy in the head of the state might long have been preserved; but Khajeh Jehan's influence could not withstand the malice of his enemies, by whom a conspiracy was formed against his life: he was falsely accused by them, and rashly and wrongfully put to death by order of Mohummud Shah.

The evils against which his measures were calculated to provide were hastened by this event. The chiefs, who had been the enemies of Khajeh Jehan, only remained with the Sultan in hopes of enlarging their own power by the ruin of those who were the friends of the late minister. Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree was the

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person supposed to have laid the plan for the destruction of Khajeh Jehan. The origin and the career of Nizam Ool Moolk are remarkable: he was the son of a Bramin Koolkurnee of the town of Pathree,[1] and accompanied his father to the Carnatic during the prevalence of a famine at their native place. When residing in that country, the Bramin boy was taken prisoner by the Mahomedan troops, in one of the expeditions of Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahminee, and brought as a slave to that Sultan, by whom he was made a Mussulman and named Mullik Hoossein. In the reign of Mohummud Shah he was raised to the rank of Huzaree, or commander of a thousand horse, and by degrees attained high situations, till at length by the recommendation of Khajeh Jehan he was, with the title of Nizam Ool Moolk, appointed to the government of Telingana, a portion of which was assigned to him in Jagheer. Nizam Ool Moolk got his son Mullik Ahmed appointed his deputy in the provinces; whilst he himself remained with the Sultan, plotting the foul deed by which he cut off the benefactor that had raised him, and deprived the country which he served of a man deservedly respected. But although his ambition was thus temporarily gratified, a worse fate was reserved for himself; he was in the end treacherously murdered by a wretch whom he had rescued from misery and elevated to power.

After the death of Khajeh Jehan, the principal governors paid no respect to the authority of Mohummud Shah, and although some of them preserved a show of obedience, they gradually assumed independence.

Hence arose those kingdoms in the Deccan the subjugation of which for a very long period employed the descendants of Timour, and during the struggle the Mahomedans, whilst exhausting themselves, were gradually exciting that turbulent predatory spirit which, though for ages smothered, was inherent in the Hindoo natives of Maharashtra;—in this manner, the contention of their conquerors stirred those latent embers, till, like the parched grass kindled amid the forests of the Syhadree mountains, they burst forth in spreading flame, and men afar off wondered at the conflagration.

[1] Situated in the district of the same name, north of the Godavery. Ferishta, Mahratta MSS., and Huqueequt-i-Hindoostan, a modern compendium by Luximon Narrain, of Hyderabad.

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CHAPTER II.

FROM A.D. 1478 TO A.D. 1637.

A.D. 1478.—By the distribution of the governments under the administration of Khajeh Jehan Gawan, Eusoof Adil Khan Sawee[1] was, as we have mentioned in the foregoing chapter, appointed to Doulutabad; but upon the death of that minister, who had been his patron and intimate friend, Adil Khan was removed to the government of Beejapoor, where several circumstances combined to strengthen his power; till, in the year 1489, he assumed the ensigns of royalty. Such was the origin of the kings of Beejapoor, well known by their Deccan appellation of the Edil Shahee dynasty.[2]

A.D. 1489.

The first prince of Ahmednugur, the founder of the Nizam Shahee or Byheree[3] dynasty, was Mullik Ahmed, the son of that

[1] [Yūsuf Ādil Khān was supposed to have been a Georgian slave, purchased by Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān, and according to another story was really a son of Sultān Murād II of Turkey. The surname Sawee or Savahi, 'belonging to Savah,' alludes to his supposed connexion with Mahmūd Beg, governor of the Savah province. (*A.S.I.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 2; *O.H.I.*, p. 291.)]

[2] The Moghuls never acknowledged their title to Shah (that is, king); and, therefore, in all Moghul writings, the sovereigns of Beejapoor are only mentioned by the name of Adil Khan.

[3] One of the situations by which Nizam Ool Moolk ascended to power was that of having charge of the royal falconry; the Byheree being a species of hawk much used in the Deccan, he obtained the name of Byheree from that circumstance. [Ranade (*Rise of the Maratha Power*) states that the surname Bahrī (Byheree) was a corruption of the Hindu surname Bhāirav, borne by the Kulkarni of Pātri, and that the Ahmadnagar Sultāns, remembering their origin, gave that village in *inām* to the Brahman Kulkarnis after capturing it from the Imādshāhī rulers of Berar. This explanation accords with the account in Briggs' *Ferishta* III, 189, 190, to the effect that Nizām-ul-Mulk's original name was Timappa son of Bhairu. During a famine in the north Deccan he accompanied his father to the Carnatic, and while there was taken prisoner by Muhammadan troops in

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Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree stigmatized as the principal instigator in the murder of Khajeh Jehan Gawan.

Nizam Ool Moolk having succeeded to the office of the deceased minister, and having, by the will of Mohummud Shah, become prime minister to his son, Sultan Mahmood, obtained Bheer and other districts, in addition to his former extensive Jagheer; and Mullik Ahmed, who had been his father's deputy in the lately acquired territory of Rajamundree and Oureah, being recalled thence, was sent to the northward, and appears to have held a general charge of the territory comprehended in the districts of Doulutabad and Joonere by the arrangements of 1478.

When his father, Nizam Ool Moolk, was murdered, Mullik Ahmed rebelled; and, having assumed independence, defied all the efforts of Mahmood Shah Bahminee to reduce him.

A.D. 1512.—Kootub Ool Moolk, Turufdar of Telingana, to which government he was appointed in the year 1495, styled himself Sultan, and mounted the throne of Golcondah in 1512, under the title of Kootub Shah.

The founder of the Berar state was Futih Oolla Ummad Ool Moolk,[1] governor of that province. The Ummad Shahee dynasty lasted till 1574, when Berar was conquered and annexed to the territory of Ahmednugur, by Mortiza Nizam Shah the first.

The Bureed Shahee dynasty lasted a still shorter period than the Ummad Shahee. The sovereignty was founded by Umeer Bureed,[2] whose influence was obtained by his control over the

one of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī's expeditions. He was brought as a slave to Ahmad Shāh, who named him Malik Hasan and handed him over as a personal attendant to his son, Prince Muhammad, by whom his surname Bhairu, which still clung to him, was changed to Bhairi, 'the falcon' or, according to some accounts, 'the falconer'—an office which he is said to have held (*B.G.*, Ahmadnagar). *Bhyri* (*Bhairi*) is the vernacular name of the *Falco Peregrinus* (Jerdon, *Birds of India*). Ferishta's derivation of the surname should be accepted with caution.]

[1] [Fathullah Imād-ul-Mulk (Futih Oolla Ummad Ool Moolk) was a converted Hindu, and at the time of his revolt was governor of Gāwīlgarh, the northern of the two districts composing the Berar province. The date of his revolt is 1484 or 1490, in the reign of Mahmūd Bahmanī. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 286–7.) See note on Gāwīlgarh, vol. ii., pp. 359–60 *post*.]

[2] [The Barīd Shāhī (Bureed Shahee) line was founded by Kāsim Barīd. He and his son Amīr Barīd (Umeer Bureed) in succession controlled the Bīdar Government during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh (1482–1518) and his four successors. The Barīd Shāhī dynasty lasted till about 1609. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 287–8.)]

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king's person; the territory he possessed never extended beyond Beder, Kulburga, and a few of the adjoining districts; the greater part was afterwards annexed to Beejapoor.

The three states, therefore, more immediately connected with our subject are those of Beejapoor, Ahmednugur, and Golcondah.[1]

But before proceeding further, it is fit to apprise the reader that the term Deccan,[2] as at present used by all classes, is different from the ancient Hindoo signification, which, we have seen, included the whole tract of the five grand divisions of the Indian peninsula. Europeans have adopted the Mahomedan definition; and the modern Deccan comprises most of Telingana, part of

[1] A list of the princes of each dynasty, with the dates of their reign up to the end of the sixteenth century, is as follows:

Beejapoor Edil Shahee.	Ahmednugur Nizam Shahee, or Byheree Dynasty.	Golcondah, or Kootub Shahee.
1st. Sultan Eusoof Adil Shah, assumed independence in 1489. Died in 1510.	1st. Mullik Ahmed, under the title of Ahmed Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree assumed independence about 1487, and died in 1508.	1st. Sultan Kootub Ool Moolk, assumed independence in 1512; and was assassinated in 1551.
2d. Sultan Ismael Adil Shah, succeeded his father and died in 1554.	2d. Sultan Boorahan Nizam Shah, succeeded his father, and died in 1553.	2d. Sultan Jumsheed, succeeded his father, and after a short reign of seven months was succeeded by his brother.
3d. Sultan Mulloo Adil Shah, succeeded his father, and was deposed in 1555.	3d. Sultan Hoossein Nizam Shah, succeeded his father, and died in 1565.	3d. Sultan Ibrahim Kootub Shah, who died in the year 1581.
4th. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah, succeeded his brother, and died in 1557.	4th. Sultan Mortiza Nizam Shah, succeeded his father, and was put to death in 1587 by his son and successor.	4th. Sultan Mohummud Koolee Kootub Shah, succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his brother.
5th. Sultan Ali Adil Shah, succeeded his father, and was murdered in 1580.	5th. Sultan Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah, who was, after a reign of two months, put to death 1587.	5th. Sultan Abdoollah Kootub Shah.
6th. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah, succeeded his father.	6th. Sultan Ismael Nizam Shah, the cousin of Meeran Hoossein, was raised to the throne but deposed by his father.	
	7th. Sultan Boorahan Nizam Shah, (the second) who died in 1594.	

[2] [The word Deccan is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Dakshina*, or 'right-hand'—the name given to Southern India by the Indo-Aryans.]

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Gondwaneh, and that large portion of Maharashtra which is above the western range of Ghauts, and which extends from the Nerbuddah to the Kistna.

We shall now take a brief review of events during the sixteenth century, and of the state of the country and its inhabitants during that period.

A.D. 1485.—On the appointment of Mullik Ahmed to his government of Doulutabad and Joonere in the year 1485, he found the Mahrattas, who garrisoned the hill forts, in a state of revolt; and was obliged to besiege and take the whole of the forts about Poona, including Kondaneh [1] and Loghur, and also many in the Concan as far as Dhunda Rajepoor, which was about the southern extremity of the Ahmednugur territory.

The pretence set up by the Mahrattas for refusing to surrender the forts was the minority of Mahmood Shah; but they were perhaps induced to hold out at the instigation of some of the factions which then agitated the court of Beder.

Early in the sixteenth century a new power appeared, which took some share in the events which followed. The Portuguese, under the celebrated Vasco de Gama, had made their appearance in May, 1498, at the town of Calicut in Kerala, or Malabar. In 1507, in an engagement fought at Choule,[2] by Lorenzo, the son of Francisco de Almeyda, against the fleet of the Soldan of Egypt, the Portuguese cannon were first heard on the shores of Maharashtra. Choule then belonged to Ahmednugur, and the country of Mullik Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree seems to have been the only one to which the ravages of Portuguese piracy did not extend. They maintained a friendly intercourse for a good many years with the king of Ahmednugur.

A.D. 1498.

A.D. 1508.—On the 30th December, 1508, the Portuguese fleet entered the river of Dabul, and the viceroy, Francisco de Almeyda, who commanded in person, having landed his men, took, plundered, and burnt the town. But the first territory of which the Portuguese obtained possession in Maharashtra was the important island on which stands the city of Goa, and which belonged to the territory of Beejapoor.

The attack on Goa was suggested to Alphonzo de Albuqerque, by the Hindoo pirate, Timmojee, a native of Toolava.[3] Goa

[1] Or Singurh, as already noticed.
[2] De Faria.
[3] Commonly termed by Europeans, Canara.

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was surprised, and surrendered on the 27th February, 1510,[1] but was retaken, a few months afterwards, by Eusoof Adil Shah in person.[2] It was, however, again attacked in the fair season, and finally conquered by Albuqerque on the 25th November, 1510,[3] since which time it has remained in possession of the Portuguese.

A.D. 1510.

A.D. 1529.—About the year 1529, it is particularly deserving of notice that 'Boorahan Nizam Shah bestowed the office of *Peishwa*, or prime minister, on a Bramin, whose name, according to Ferishta, was Kawerseen; and from that period Hindoos acquired great influence in the Nizam Shahee government. Ibrahim Adil Shah, upon his accession to the throne of Beejapoor in 1555, likewise shewed a great preference for the natives of Maharashtra, both as men of business, and as soldiers. He discontinued keeping the accounts in Persian, for which he substituted Mahratta, though deeds of importance were written in both languages.[4] This regulation, of course, tended to increase the power and consequence of Mahratta Bramins. Ibrahim Adil Shah likewise disbanded most of the foreign troops and displaced many of the foreign nobility. He entertained thirty thousand Deccan cavalry, and introduced the practice of enlisting *Bargeers*,[5] men who are supplied with a horse by the state or by individuals, instead of *Sillidars*,[6] who provide a horse at their own expense.[7]

[1] De Faria. [2] Ferishta. [3] De Faria. [4] Old deeds.

[5] Ferishta. [This is the Persian word *Bārgīr*, 'a load-taker,' 'a baggage-horse.' *Bārgīrs* were frequently the relatives or dependents of a *Mansabdār*, who was rich enough to purchase extra horses and equipment. In practice, these mercenaries were often permitted to realize arrears of pay by looting the country, and the word *bārgīr* became in popular speech the designation of a Marāthā trooper. In Bengal the word appears in the form *borgi* in a nursery rhyme intended to frighten a restless child. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), p. 69; Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, *J.R.A.S.*, July 1896, p. 539; *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i, p. 94.)]

[6] [*Silāh-dār* (Sillidar) signifies 'bearing arms,' from Arabic *silāh* ('arms'). Burton (*Arabian Nights*) states the word was applied to armour-bearers, who were chosen for their valour. The Anglo-Indian meaning denotes a soldier in a regiment of irregular cavalry, who provides his own arms and horse, and also regiments composed of such men. The system survives in the mounted branches of some of the Indian police forces, e.g. Bombay. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke, 1903, s.v. Silladar.]

[7] A Sillidar is much more respectable than a Bargeer; he is considered in the Mahratta country a sort of gentleman cavalier.

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A.D. 1532.—In 1532 the Portuguese made a descent upon the coast, burnt the whole of the towns from Chicklee-Tarapoor to Bassein, destroyed some fortifications newly erected there, and levied contributions from Tannah and Bombay. Two years afterwards, they took Damaun, and obliged Sultan Buhadur of Guzerat, then hard pressed by the Emperor Humaioon, to cede Bassein in perpetuity; to grant permission to build a fort at Diu, and to invest them with the right of levying duties on the trade with the Red Sea, for which they promised to assist him against the Moghuls.[1]

A.D. 1548.—Their operations in Guzerat, and in other quarters, occupied the attention of the Portuguese for some years; but in 1548 they committed great havoc on the coast of the Beejapoor dominions, having destroyed with fire and sword the whole of the towns from the neighbourhood of Goa to Bancoote.[2] They were invited to become parties in a plan for deposing Ibrahim Adil Shah, and placing upon the throne his brother Abdoollah, who was then residing at Goa under their protection; but the attempt was abandoned.[3]

The decisive battle at Telikotta,[4] or, as it is termed in Mahratta manuscripts, *Rakshitta Gundee*, which subverted the Beejanugur state, was fought by the confederate Mahomedan powers of the Deccan against the Hindoo army of the Carnatic, in the year 1564. Jealousy among the allied Sultans prevented the kingdom of Canara from being totally annihilated. The brother of Ram Raja was allowed to retain a considerable sovereignty; but the government never recovered

A.D. 1564.

[1] De Faria. [2] De Faria.

[3] Ferishta.

[4] I follow the usual designation of that battle; but it was probably fought at some village opposite to Telikotta, across the Kistna, and consequently sixteen miles south of the modern Telikotta. [The battle of Tālikotā (Telikotta) was fought in an area between the Ingaligi ford and Mudgal, marked by a village named Bhayapur or Bhogapur, about thirty miles south of the modern Tālikotā. (*O.H.I.*, 306, and *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 52.) Rāma Rājā of Vijayanagar was beheaded on the field by Husain Nizām Shāh. A large stone head, now preserved in the Bijāpur museum, is believed to be the model of Rāma Rājā's head, which stood for some years on the wall of the citadel, and was subsequently removed by the Rājā of Sātāra and thrown into the ditch below the walls. It was discovered at the bottom of the Tāj Baudi (reservoir). *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, i. 376; *A.S.I.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 9.)]

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itself, and the Deshmookhs, or Zumeendars, took advantage of its weakness to establish their own independence.[1]

A.D. 1571.—In 1571 there was a combined attack made upon the Portuguese by the Beejapoor and Ahmednugur kings. Ali Adil Shah besieged Goa and sustained a very mortifying repulse[2]; but the defence of Choule, which was besieged by Mortiza Nizam Shah and was defended by Luis Ferara de Andrada, reflected particular credit on the Portuguese, and, as is generally the case where a native army is defeated, the Mahomedans attributed their want of success to treachery.[3]

Ferishta says the officers of Nizam Shah were corrupted, principally by presents of wine. Both monarchs desisted from their attacks in August of the same year, when Ali Adil Shah's arms were turned against some of the Rajas in the Carnatic, and in reducing them he was more successful.

A.D. 1573.—In 1573 Maharashtra was subject to the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednugur; with the exceptions of a part of Candeish, which was held as an independent principality by the Sultan of Burhanpoor; the northern Concan, belonging to Guzerat; and the possessions of the Portuguese. The power of Beejanugur had been for ever humbled; and Berar and Beder were annexed to the dominions of their more powerful neighbours.

The three great Mahomedan states which divided the Deccan at this period may be here briefly and generally defined.

Beejapoor extended from the Neera to the Toongbuddra. The district of Adonee, and probably[4] Nundheal, south of that river, were in its possession. The coast from Bancoote to Cape Ramas, with the exception already adverted to, formed its western side; and on the east, the boundaries of its districts, Raichore, Eedgeer, Mulkair and Beder, divided it from the kingdom of Golcondah; Akulkote, Nuldroog, and Kallian became frontier provinces, and like Sholapoor, situated between Ahmednugur and Beejapoor, were sometimes overrun by the troops of the one, and sometimes of the other.

[1] Ferishta, Wilks.
[2] De Faria, Cæsar Frederick.
[3] De Faria.
[4] I say probably, for the same reason that Colonel Wilks does, namely, that although included as one of the Moghul divisions of the Soobeh of Beejapoor, there is no positive evidence of its having been either taken or ceded to Beejapoor. Adonee was taken in 1567. [Nundheal is the modern Nandyal.]

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Ahmednugur extended over the greater part of Bērar and the whole of what was afterwards comprehended in the Soobeh of Aurungabad. Galna, and some other districts in Candeish, and the district of Kaliannee in the Concan, or from Bancoote to Bassein, were likewise subject to this state.

The kingdom of Golcondah extended from the territory of Beejapoor and Ahmednugur east as far as the opposite coast; but a part of the territory about Rajamundree, which had been originally conquered from the Raja of Orissa, continued to be governed by one of that Raja's descendants, by whom tribute having been withheld, Ibrahim Kootub Shah was employed in establishing due authority in that quarter, and in settling his lately acquired districts in the Carnatic, whilst the Sultans of Ahmednugur and Beejapoor were acting against the Portuguese, or extending their respective possessions in Berar and the Carnatic.

Under these governments, the country was divided into *Sirkars*, though not, perhaps, so regularly as by the subsequent arrangements of the Moghuls. The next division to a Sirkar was known by the various and synonymous names of *Pergunna*, *Kuryat*, *Summut*, *Mahal*, and *Talooka*,[1] and also by the Hindoo appellations, *Praunt* and *Desh*. Khora, Moora, and Mawul have been already described as lands comprehended in the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, and such parts, from having been generally intrusted to Hindoo management, continued to be known by their ancient appellations.

The revenues under all the Mahomedan states seem generally to have been farmed out in small portions; in some parts of the

[1] [In the Bombay Presidency the Deccan districts are usually divided into two or more subdivisions, still termed *Prānt* (*Praunt*) in vernacular correspondence, and these subdivisions are composed of *tālukas* (*talookas*) or groups of 100 to 200 villages, supervised by a revenue and magisterial official styled *Māmlatdār*. The *Mahāl* survives in the term *Mahālkari*, the revenue official in charge of a *petha* or petty subdivision of a *tāluka*, and in the name of the Pānch Mahāls district of Gujarāt.

In northern India the words *pargana* and *mahāl* are in general use, and are part of the indispensable terminology of district and revenue work. The *pargana* in many cases represents the area of a tribal or clan settlement cleared from the jungle. See Elliott, *Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms*, ed. Beames, 1869; also V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, pp. 139, 400. See Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), p. 698, for the 'Twenty-four Parganas' (Pergunnahs), the official name of the district immediately adjoining and enclosing, though not administratively including, Calcutta.]

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country, by single villages. Where they were not farmed, the management appears to have been generally entrusted to Hindoo agency.[1] To collect the revenues so farmed, there were *Aumils* or agents on the part of government, who regulated the police and settled civil suits; these last, in disputes relating to hereditary office or landed property, were decided by Punchayet.[2] In matters which regarded mere money transactions, it is probable that the Aumils frequently gave decisions themselves. Under the Beejapoor state there was an Aumildar who superintended the affairs of a considerable division, and to whom all other Aumildars were subordinate. This officer was termed *Mokassadar*[3]; and it is conjectured that he had some percentage upon the revenues but the amount is unknown. There are instances of Mokassadars having held their situations for upwards of twenty years, and been succeeded by their sons,[4] but this was entirely optional with the Sultan. Some were removed in one year, and the Mokassadar was not always a Mahomedan. There was frequently, but not always, an authority superior to the Mokassadar, called a Soobeh: he did not reside constantly in the districts, and took no share in the revenue management, although deeds and formal writings of importance were made out in his name.

The condition of the Mahrattas, in the early part of those dynasties, continued much the same as it had been under the

[1] This is stated on the authority of many papers in possession of Deshpandyas, local inquiry amongst intelligent natives, and numerous circumstances throughout the country, as well as written documents in support of what the Deshpandyas adduce.

[2] Under the Beejapoor state, in cases of hereditary property where the government was a party, there were about fifteen persons assembled on the Punchayet. By some old writings I have seen, two thirds of these appear to have been Mahomedans, and one third Hindoos. With regard to the Ahmednugur state, I have not had the same opportunities of gaining information; but, that claims to hereditary property were settled by Punchayet, the old papers in every district will prove.

[3] The origin of this name, as here used, is probably to be found in the Arabic word *Moqaita*, signifying the place of collecting the customs or revenue. The subsequent application of the word Mokassa by the Mahrattas, though perhaps taken from this source, is, like several of their revenue terms, more arbitrary than derivative.

[4] There is one instance where the situation remained in the same family for three generations. Mokrib Khan, Mokassadar of Kuttao, Kurar, &c. was succeeded by his son and grandson.—(Old written documents preserved by the Deshpandya's family, who managed his affairs.)

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Bahminee kings. The hill forts seem generally to have been garrisoned by Mahrattas[1]: they were sometimes in the immediate pay of government, and sometimes in charge of the Jagheerdars and district Deshmookhs: a few places of great strength were always reserved by the king, by whom the Killidars or governors were appointed; but to this we shall again more particularly revert. A certain rank depending on the number of a body of horse under an individual's command, and which rank is termed by Mahomedans *munsub*, was frequently conferred on Mahratta chiefs,[2] and military jagheers, or lands given for the purpose of maintaining a body of troops, were granted for their support. The quota of troops so furnished was very small in proportion to the size of the jagheer. Phultun Desh, for which in the time of the Mahratta Peishwas three hundred and fifty horse were required, only furnished fifty to the Beejapoor government, at a very late period of that dynasty; but the Mahratta chiefs could procure horse at a short notice, and they were entertained or discharged at pleasure: a great convenience to a wasteful court and an improvident government. Titles were conferred upon many of the Mahrattas, but under the Deccan dynasties, such

[1] This may be gleaned from various parts of Ferishta; and by old papers in the possession of some of the Deshmookhs, it appears they were frequently intrusted with the care of the king's forts.

[2] The munsubs of the Deccan states exactly corresponded with the number of horse, from which they took their rank. In the Moghul service, munsubdars of 10,000 might only hold command of half that number of horse. The munsubs of Mahomedans rarely, if ever, exceeded 10,000, even under the Moghul government, but Mahrattas in the service of the emperor had much higher munsubs; in one instance, a Mahratta chief, as will be hereafter observed, had a munsub of 24,000 conferred on him. [Under the Mughals the *mansabdārs* ('office-holders') were administrative officials, exercising general powers. The greater part of the Mughal imperial army consisted of contingents furnished by the Rājās and *mansabdārs*, the latter being divided into thirty-three classes, each member of which was expected to furnish a cavalry contingent. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 370–1.) These graded officials were known as 'commanders of ten thousand,' 'commanders of five thousand,' and so on. Only princes of the blood royal were granted the commands of seven thousand and of ten thousand. The number of troopers actually provided by each officer did not correspond with the number indicated by his title; and no clear distinction was drawn between the civil and military duties required of these officials (mansabdārs). (*The Emperor Akbar*, by Count von Noer; translated by Annette S. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1890, vol. i, p. 267 See Sleeman's *Rambles*, &c., ed. V. A. Smith, 1915, p. 283 n.)]

titles were generally ancient Hindoo appellations. Raja, Naik, and Rao were the most common, and though bestowed by their Mahomedan conquerors, the distinction was always exceedingly gratifying to the Mahrattas, especially as they invariably obtained with the title the means of supporting their new rank.

The Mahrattas are occasionally mentioned in Ferishta's history of the Edil Shahee kings under the name of *Bergee*, by which they are scarcely known to Europeans. Bergee, or Burgay, was more frequently applied by the Mahomedans to the Naiks of the Carnatic; many natives of which, who cannot speak their own language, call themselves Mahrattas; but all the troops of the Mahratta Munsubdars were called Bergee; and in many parts of India they are still known by that name: it was used like the term *Baruh Bhaee*[1] of later date, as a contemptuous appellation, and perhaps originated with the foreign cavalry, when disbanded to make room for Deccanees in the army of Beejapoor. They were always found particularly serviceable in stopping roads and intercepting supplies, in hanging on the rear of a flying enemy, and in plundering and devastating a country.

A.D. 1578.—In the year 1578, Ferishta mentions that excesses were committed by some of the Bergee chiefs in their jagheers in the Carnatic; and a considerable force was detached for the purpose of suppressing them; but, after a year of constant skirmishing, the officer sent against them stated the impossibility of making any impression on the Bergee horse; and the Sultan, Ali Adil Shah, with that treachery for which the Deccan has always been notorious, formed a scheme for drawing them into his power and putting their chiefs to death. His instrument for this detestable

[1] Where anything is disorganized, in the hands of many, or in a state of confusion, the Mahrattas use this phrase. Europeans, in designating any one body of horse by this appellation, misunderstand both its point and its meaning. The Bramins invariably apply it to Mahratta affairs, of which they have not the sole management. [*Bāra Bhāi* (*Baruh Bhaee*), literally 'twelve brothers,' is explained in Molesworth's Marāthi dictionary to mean 'a pack of fellows of discordant dispositions and different designs united in any undertaking.' The word was applied to the Pēshwā's government under Nānā Farnavīs by the courts of Hyderābād and Seringapatam. (Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 13.)

The word *Bergee* or *Burgay*, mentioned by Grant Duff, is clearly a corruption of *Bārgīr*, and appears to be identical with the form *Borgi* used in a Bengal nursery-rhyme. See the note on *bārgīr* on p. 61, *ante*.]

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purpose was a Bramin, named Vasoojee Punt, who succeeded in betraying most of them.

The Bergees, however, afterwards attended the standard of the Sultan's successor; and in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah we find them actively engaged in their usual mode of warfare against the army of Nizam Shah.

The Mahrattas were naturally much more numerous in the armies of Beejapoor and Ahmednugur, as these kingdoms extended over almost the whole of Maharashtra, but some of them served in the army of Golcondah. Neither national sentiment nor unity of language and religion prevented their fighting against each other. Not only did Mahratta subjects of these governments stand in array opposed to each other, but the most active enmity was frequently evinced between members of the same family. They fought with rancour wherever individual dispute or hereditary feuds existed, and that spirit of rivalry in families, which was fomented by the kings of the Bahmineе dynasty,[1] was one means of keeping the Mahrattas poised against each other in the dynasties which succeeded them.

Some of the principal Mahratta chiefs, under the Beejapoor state, were, 1st. Chunder Rao Moray; 2d. Rao Naik Nimbalkur, called also Phultun Rao; 3rd. Joojhar Rao Ghatgay; 4th. Rao Manay; 5th. Ghorepuray; 6th. Duflay; 7th. Sawunt Buhadur, Deshmookh of Waree, &c.

Those under Ahmednugur were, 1st. Rao Jadow; 2d. Raja Bhonslay, and many others of less note.

In regard to the chiefs under Beejapoor, a person named Moray, originally a Naik in the Carnatic, was appointed in the reign of Eusoof Adil Shah to the command of a body of 12,000 Hindoo infantry, sent for the purpose of reducing that strong tract which is situated between the Neera and the Warna rivers. In this enterprise Moray was successful; he dispossessed the descendants of the Raja Sirkay, and completely suppressed the depredations of their abettors; the principal of whom were families named Goozur, Mamoolkur, Mohitey, and Mahareek. Moray, for this service, was dignified with the title of Chunder Rao; and his son Yeswunt Rao, having distinguished himself in a battle fought near Purinda with the troops of Boorahan Nizam Shah, in which

[1] Papers respecting hereditary disputes in Mahratta families, Ghatgay's Buker, &c.

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he captured a green flag, was confirmed in succession to his father as Raja of Jowlee, and had permission to use the standard he had won. Their posterity ruled in the same tract of country for seven generations; and by their mild and useful administration that inhospitable region became extremely populous. All the successors of the first Moray assumed the title of Chunder Rao. The invariable submission manifested by this Raja probably induced the government to exact little more than a nominal tribute from districts producing so little, and which had always been in disorder under Mahomedan management.

Another principal chief under the Beejapoor government was the Naik of Phultun, whose title was Rao Naik Nimbalkur, or Phultun Rao. The original name of this family is said to have been Powar; the name Nimbalkur is derived from the village of Nimbalik, now called Nimluk, where his ancestor resided. The origin of his Deshmookhee claims on Phultun Desh is unknown: the family is considered one of the most ancient in Maharashtra. Nimbalkur was made Sur-deshmookh of Phultun, before the middle of the seventeenth century, by the King of Beejapoor, as appears by original sunnuds of that date. The Deshmookh of Phultun is said to have become a Polygar and to have withheld the revenues of the district repeatedly; but the exact periods are not ascertained. Wungojee Naik, however, better known by the name of Jugpal, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century, was notorious for his restless and predatory habits. The sister of Jugpal was the grandmother of the famous Sivajee. Nimbalkur never exchanged his ancient title of Naik[1] for that of Raja.

Joojhar Rao Deshmookh of Mullaoree was chief of a powerful family of Ghatgays; their native country is Kuttao Desh,[2] and is separated from that of the Nimbalkurs by the Mahdeo range of hills. The Ghatgays were Deshmookhs and Surdeshmookhs of the Pergunna of Maun, and their chief had a munsub under the

[1] Naikwaree, which is now used to denominate a particular officer, a sort of hereditary land measurer on the village establishment, was formerly a title of respect, like the present *jee*, or as we would say Mr. Mahratta officers in charge of forts under the Beejapoor government are frequently termed Naikwaree in Persian MSS. and deeds.

[2] [This area is represented now by the Khatao *tāluka*, Sātāra District, while 'Maun Pergunna' survives in the Mān *tāluka* of the same District. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 548–9, 551.)]

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Bahminee dynasty: they did not obtain the title of Surdeshmookh till the year 1626, when it was given to Nagojee Ghatgay, as an unconditional favour by Ibrahim Adil Shah, together with the title of Joojhar Rao. The amount of revenue payable to a Surdeshmookh [1] is not mentioned in any of the deeds of the Edil Shahee kings. The great ancestor of the family, Kam Raje Ghatgay, had a small munsub under the Bahminee dynasty. From that period till the present day, the Ghatgays have been notorious for their family feuds. They held Enam and Jagheer lands under the Beejapoor state, and served that government with a body of horse. Their Jagheer was immediately subject to the control of the Mokassadar.

The head of the Manay family was Deshmookh of Muswar,[2] adjoining the district of the Ghatgays. The Manays were distinguished Sillidars under the Beejapoor government, but nearly as notorious for their revengeful character as the Sirkays.

The Ghorepurays were originally named Bhonslay; and their ancestor acquired the present surname, according to their family legend, during the Bahminee dynasty, from having been the first to scale a fort in the Concan, which was deemed impregnable, by fastening a cord round the body of a *ghorepur*, or guana.[3] They were Deshmookhs under the Beejapoor government, and divided into two distinct families, the one of Kapsee near the Warna river, the other of Moodhole near the Gutpurba.[4] The

[1] Aurungzebe allowed the old Surdeshmookhs 2 per cent., as appears by sunnuds of his time.

[2] [The town of Mhasvād (Muswar) is in the Mān *tāluka*, fifty-one miles east of Sātāra. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 557.)]

[3] [Ghodpadē (Ghorepuray) is also the family name of the Marāthā Rājās of Sandūr (Madras). The iguana (*ghodpad*) figures in Indian folklore, its flesh, when cooked and eaten, being held to be very invigorating.

Regarding the story quoted by the author, Acworth (*Ballads of the Mahrattas*, 123) writes: 'There is nothing in it which is in the least discordant with popular belief in the powers of the iguana. Every district officer must have had proof of this.' It is probable that popular opinion seized upon the supposed prehensile power of the iguana to account for a feat of which no more prosaic explanation was at the time forthcoming. Note Fryer's remark about 'the Guiana, a creature like a Crocodile, which Robbers use to lay hold on by their Tails when they clamber Houses' (Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt), ed. Crooke, 1909, i. 291). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 397 f.)]

[4] The Kapseekur and Moodholekur were known under the Beejapoor government, the former by the *nowkus*, the latter by the *sathkus*

Ghorepurays appear to have signalized themselves at a very early period. The title of Umeer Ool Oomrah[1] was conferred on one of the members of the Kapsee family by the Beejapoor kings.

The Duflays were Deshmookhs of the Pergunna of Jhutt, not far from Beejapoor; their original name was Chowan, and they acquired the surname of Duflay from their village of Duflapoor, of which they were hereditary Patells. They held a munsub, but no title from the Beejapoor kings.

The Sawunts were hereditary Deshmookhs of Waree, near Goa, and acquired the title of Buhadur from the kings of Beejapoor, during some of the wars against the Portuguese. Their original name was Bhonslay, and their chief is frequently, to this day, styled the Bhonslay.[2] It is remarkable of their territory,

Ghorepurays; a distinction which both families keep up, but for which they can give no satisfactory reason: the first Ghorepuray that joined Sivajee was one of the former. The head of the latter is the Patell of a village near Satara. [Both Kāpsi and Mudhōl are now states under the Bombay Government, the former being a feudatory of the Kolhāpur State, and the latter a British feudatory. The meaning of the terms *sathkas* and *navkas* is still obscure. *Kas* in Marāthi signifies 'strength, substance, essence, pith, &c.,' and a suggestion has been made that the terms may therefore bear analogy to the names *Vīsa* and *Dasa*, 'the 20s and 10s,' applied to certain well-known caste-subdivisions. My friend Mr. N. V. Mandlik of Bombay tells me, however, that he consulted the present Rājā of Mudhōl, who explained that the words refer to the fact that in old days the Kāpsi family provided nine fighting men, and Mudhōl seven, for service under Kolhāpur. The main objection to this theory is that no word '*kas*' signifying 'warrior' or fighting-man can be traced. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, unlike Grant Duff, treats the *a* in *kas* as long. This suggests the possibility of the word being identical with *Kās*, a Dravidian or un-Sanskrit word, signifying 'an unmeasured plot or parcel of land,' 'an estate,' which seems to carry the division of lands back to pre-Aryan ages. (See *B.G.*, vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 550, note 2; p. 617, note 1; and vol. xvi, p. 208, note 3.

Mr. Mandlik further writes that the real surname of the Kāpsi and Mudhōl families was not Ghodpadē but Bhōslē. This is corroborated by the account of the Mudhōl family on p. 666 of Forrest's *Selections (Marāthā Series)*. Waring (*A History of the Mahrattas*, 1810, App., p. 219) mentions Kāpsi and Mudhol, and a third branch of the family at Gajendragarh, now a village in Dhārwār District, and states that Morār Rāo Ghodpadē of Gūtī (Gootee) belonged to this branch which in his time (1810) had become impoverished.]

[1] [Umrā (Oomrah) is the plural of Amīr. The title of Amīr-ul-Umrā, or 'Premier Noble,' for a high official was first used at the court of the Khalīfas. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), s.v. Ameer.]

[2] [Kincaid and Parasnis (*History of the Maratha People*, vol. i), presumably on the authority of the *Shivdigvijaya Bakhar*, derive the name

that the ancient appellation of the family is preserved in our modern maps.[1] They were distinguished as commanders of infantry, a service best adapted to the country which they inhabited.

The principal Mahratta chief in the service of the Ahmednugur state was Jadow Rao, Deshmookh of Sindkheir, supposed with much probability to have been a descendant of the Raja of Deogurh. No Mahratta family was so powerful as the Jadows. Lookhjee Jadow Rao, in the end of the sixteenth century held a Jagheer, under the Nizam Shahee government, for the support of ten thousand horse.

There was, likewise, a respectable Mahratta family, surnamed Bhonslay, particularly connected with the history contained in the following pages, which first rose into notice under the Ahmednugur government. They are said to have held several Patellships; but their principal residence was at the village of Verole,[2] near Doulutabad. Babjee Bhonslay had two sons, the elder named Mallojee; and the younger Wittoojee. Mallojee was early married to Deepa Bye, the sister of Wungojee, or Jugpal Rao Naik Nimbalkur, Deshmookh of Phultun. At the

A.D. 1577. age of twenty-five, in the year 1577, by the interest of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, he was entertained in the service of Mortiza Nizam Shah, with a small party of horse, of which he was the proprietor. He had no children for many years, which is considered a great misfortune amongst Hindoos. He was a rigid votary of the deity Mahdeo, and the goddess Dewee Bhowanee of Tooljapoor was the Koolswamy of his family[3]; but both

Bhōslē, Bhonsle or Bhonsla (Bhonslay) from 'the family fief of Bhosavat in Udaipur.' The Nāgpur family of Bhōslē is stated in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* to derive its name from Bhōse, a village in Sātāra District, nine miles south-east of Tāsgaon. The latter derivation is the more plausible. Bhōse appears in a statement of revenues, printed in Waring's *History of the Mahrattas*, p. 240, as a *pargana* of the Peranda *Sarkar*, yielding a revenue of Rs. 35,618. It must have been a tract of country, comprising several villages. The derivation from Bhosavat is untrustworthy.]

[1] The ancient name of their country is Koodhal Desh, a subdivision of Gohurasht.

[2] It is the village close to the celebrated caves of Ellora, and from which they take their name.

[3] [Bhavānī (Dewee Bhowanee) is a form of Mahādēvī, the consort or *Sakti* (personified energy) of Mahādev (Siva), and ranks with Kālī, Dūrga, Chāndika and other ancient goddesses of the non-Aryan population of India, who were gradually adopted into the neo-Brah-

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deities had been invoked in vain to grant an heir. A celebrated Mahomedan saint or *peer*, named Shah Shureef,[1] residing at Ahmednugur, was engaged to offer up prayers to this desirable end; and Mallojee's wife having shortly after given birth to a son, in gratitude to the peer's supposed benediction, the child was named after him, Shah, with the Mahratta adjunct of respect, *jee*; and in the ensuing year, a second son was in like manner named Shureefjee. Shahjee was born in 1594.

A.D. 1594.

Mallojee Bhonslay was an active Sillidar, and had acquitted himself so well in various duties intrusted to him, that he began to attain distinction. He had by some means made an addition to his small body of horse, and was always much noticed by his first patron Jadow Rao. His elder son Shahjee was a remarkably fine boy; and on the occasion of the celebration of the Hoolee festival[2] in the year 1599, when Shahjee was five years old, he accompanied his father to the house

A.D. 1599.

manic pantheon. Tuljāpur is now the headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in the Osmānābād District, Hyderābād State, and is twenty-eight miles from Sholāpur. The temple of Bhavānī stands in a ravine at the base of the Bālaghāt, which divides the Deccan from the plain country. It is the reputed scene of the death of the buffalo-demon, Mahēshāsūra, who was slain by the goddess. An important *jatra*, or fair, takes place annually at the temple on the full-moon of the Dasahra festival. A tradition exists that no Musalman or Hindu at Tuljāpur dare sleep on a bed, this honour being reserved for the goddess alone, who is put to bed every night by the officiating priests of the temple. (*I.G.* (1908), xxiv. 53; *Historic and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, by Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Willmott, (1884), ii. 735.)]

[1] [Kincaid, following the *Shivdigvijaya* and *Shedgāvkar Bakhars*, states that Maloji and his wife prayed at the tomb of Shāh Sharīf, who had long been dead. Hindu devotion to Muhammadan saints is not uncommon. In and near Gujarāt are the tombs of seventeen Muhammadan *Pīrs*, or saints, which are regularly visited by Hindus. Similarly prayers and vows are offered by both Hindus and Muhammadans at the tomb of Sheikh Alī Paru at Māhīm (Bombay). (See *Folklore Notes of Gujarāt*, by R. E. Enthoven, 1914, pp. 96, 97). Grant Duff's statement, however, is supported by Mankar in his introduction to the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (of Krishnāji Anant) in the words: 'At last a renowned Musalmān saint, named Shāh Sharīf from Ahmadnagar, was engaged to offer his devotions for the birth of an heir.']

[2] [The *Holī* (also styled *Hutāshani*, *Phālguni* and *Shimga*) is in origin a celebration of the vernal equinox, and commencing on the first day of the Hindu month Phalgun, whence its name *Phālguni*, or 'fructifier,' lasts for twenty days. The name *Hutāshani*, or 'fiery,' is an allusion to the practice of kindling the bonfire in a hole dug in

of Jadow Rao. It is usual for all casts of Hindoos to meet on that occasion at the residence of some principal person, on the fifth day of the festival; and when there is any footing of intimacy, the children often accompany their fathers to the place of assembly. Shahjee on this occasion was noticed by Jadow Rao, who good naturedly called the boy towards him, and seated him beside his daughter named Jeejee, a pretty child of three or four years old. The children began to play together, when Jadow Rao, in the joy of his heart, thoughtlessly asked his daughter, 'Well, girl, wilt thou take this boy as thy husband?' and turning round to the company, observed in the same strain, 'they are a fine pair.' The children at this time happening to throw some of the red colour at each other, which is a common amusement on this festival, the circumstance occasioned a great deal of laughter in the assembly. This mirth, however, was disturbed by Mallojee Bhonslay's rising up and saying, 'take notice, friends, Jadow has this day become a contracting party with me in marriage'; to which some of those present assented; but Jadow seemed astonished, and was mute. Affecting to treat what had passed as a mere joke, Jadow Rao next day asked Mallojee to a dinner, but he declined the invitation, unless Jadow would formally recognize Shahjee as his son-in-law. This Jadow Rao peremptorily refused; and his wife being a proud woman of high spirit, was very indignant at his having, even in jest, matched her daughter with such a person as the son of Mallojee Bhonslay. Mallojee appears, however, to have been crafty and persevering, little scrupulous about the means employed, so that his end could be attained. He retired to his village, where it is pretended that the goddess Bhowanee, having appeared to him,

A.D. 1599.

front of every house. Much lewdness and licentious speech still characterize the celebration by the lower classes. Among the Marāthās the *Vīr*, or deified warriors, are 'danced' by their descendants, who walk round the Holī fire until they believe themselves possessed by the spirits of the dead. Upper-class Hindus throw coco-nuts and specially prepared cakes into the fire. In Native States, after the conclusion of the fire-ceremonies, a Darbar is held, at which red powder and coloured water are sprinkled over the Sardārs and chief officials. This ceremony, called *Rangpanchami*, marks the end of the festival. W. Crooke states that 'there seems to be some reason to believe that the intention to promote the fertility of men, animals and crops, supplies the basis of the rites' ('The Holi: a Vernal Festival of the Hindus,' by Crooke in *Folklore*, vol. xxv, March 1914, pp. 55–83.)]

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discovered a large treasure; at all events he and his brother Wittoojee became possessed of money in some secret manner, which, in that troubled period of the Nizam Shahee government during the first years of the seventeenth century, was probably by robbery. Their confidant as to the fact of possessing the money was a soucar or banker of Chumargoondee,[1] named Seshao Naik Poonday, in whose hands the cash was deposited. But, according to Mahratta legend, the discovery of this treasure was merely a means which the goddess afforded to effect what she had, on first appearing, declared to Mallojee; namely, that 'there shall be one of thy family who shall become a king: he shall be endowed with the qualities and attributes of Sambh[2]: he shall re-establish and preserve justice in Maharashtra, and remove all that molest Bramins, and violate the temples of the gods; his reign shall form an epoch, and his posterity shall mount the throne for twenty-seven generations.'

Mallojee employed his fortune in the purchase of horses, and in the popular works of digging tanks, building wells, and endowing various temples; but he was not diverted from his favourite scheme of being connected with the family of Jadow Rao. Jugpal Naik Nimbalkur of Phultun, the brother of Deepa Bye, Mallojee's wife, warmly interested himself to promote the proposed marriage of his nephew. Wealth too, at a falling court like that of Ahmednugur, could procure any thing; and as Jadow Rao's objection was now confined merely to Mallojee's rank, this was soon obviated by his being raised to the command of five thousand horse, with the title of Mallojee Raja Bhonslay. The forts of Sewneree[3] and Chakun, with their dependent districts, were likewise placed in his charge; and the Pergunnas of Poona and Sopa made over to him in Jagheer. Thus, every obstacle being

[1] [This is the modern Shrīgonda, thirty-two miles south of Ahmadnagar, also called Chamārgonda, after a pious Chamār, or 'tanner,' named Govind. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 414.)]

[2] A name of Mahdeo.

[3] [Shivner (Sewneree), the birth-place of Sivājī, is the hill-fort of Junnar, about fifty-six miles north of Poona, rising over 1,000 feet above the plain and commanding the road leading to the Nānā and Mālsej *ghāts*, which was formerly the chief line of communication between this part of the Deccan and the Konkan. (See *B.G.*, vol. xviii, pt. iii, pp. 153–63, 184–201, and Edwardes, *Byways of Bombay*, p. 29.)]

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removed, Jadow Rao had no longer an excuse for not performing what he was urged to by his sovereign. The marriage of Shahjee to Jeejee Bye was celebrated with great pomp, and was honoured by the presence of the Sultan.[1]

A.D. 1604.

The Moghul invasions, for the purpose of reducing the kingdoms of Ahmednugur, Beejapoor, and Golcondah, had a great influence on the rise of the Mahrattas. The revolutions which took place in Hindoostan, and which placed the descendants of Timour on the imperial throne, gave the princes of the Bahminee dynasty an opportunity of firmly establishing their power; and had the Moghul Emperors been in a condition to attempt the conquest of the Deccan, whilst the united kingdom existed, it probably would have been the means of preserving two rival Mahomedan empires in India for a much longer period than either of them endured. When the great but ambitious Akber projected the subversion of the Deccan monarchies, they were not only in a state of warfare with each other, but internal dissensions paralyzed their individual efforts. The kingdom of Ahmednugur, in particular, was a prey to disorder, occasioned by the contests of two parties; the one headed by a Hindoo,[2] the other by Abyssinian nobles.[3] The Hindoo faction, though they soon repented of the measure, were the first to invite the interference of the Moghuls; and the Emperor Akber, at his death in 1605, was not only in possession of Candeish, which he had wrested from the independent Mahomedan princes who had long governed it, but of a portion of the territory belonging to Nizam Shah, comprehending a great part of Berar and the fort of Ahmednugur,[4]

A.D. 1590.

A.D. 1605.

[1] The above account of the ancient Mahratta families is from MSS., old deeds, and records in the possession of their descendants.

[2] Of this Hindoo, whom Ferishta calls Mean Rajoo, I have obtained no satisfactory account, nor is any mention made of him in any Mahratta MSS. that I have ever seen.

[3] Several of the Nizam Shahee kings had Abyssinian wives, and the nobles alluded to are said to have been chiefly the connections of these wives.

[4] It sustained two memorable sieges before it was finally taken; and its first defence, maintained by Chaund Beebee, the widow of Ali Adil Shah of Beejapoor, was perfectly heroic. The Chaund Beebee, who was assassinated during the second siege, still lives in Deccan story and Deccan song, a heroine unrivalled. This celebrated lady, the historian Khafee Khan calls the daughter of Boorahan Nizam Shah; but this is a mistake, she was the daughter of Hoossein

with some districts in its immediate vicinity. Ahmednugur fell to the Moghuls during the minority of Buhadur Nizam Shah, whom they sent into perpetual confinement in Gwalior. But the Nizam Shahee state, though its capital was reduced and its lawful prince imprisoned, was still far from being subdued. The Abyssinian faction, headed by a man of uncommon genius named Mullik Umber, attained the chief control; set up a new king, by the title of Mortiza Nizam Shah II, hoisted the Byheree standard on the impregnable rock of Doulutabad, and soon became equally formidable and respectable.

Of the origin of Mullik Umber there are various traditions: the most consistent of them is, that he was in his youth a personal adherent of Chungeze Khan,[1] the too loyal[2] minister of Mortiza Nizam Shah I, and from his able patron it is probable he acquired some of that knowledge by which he, in a short time, regulated the country, improved the revenue, and on the threatened frontier of the Deccan, became, for upwards of twenty years, its bulwark of protection from foreign conquest.

The accession of Jehangeer, and the rebellion of his son Sultan Khosrou, afforded Mullik Umber some respite from Moghul invasion; he had leisure to commence his revenue arrangements, to establish his authority in those parts of the Ahmednugur territory, not occupied by the imperial troops, and to make his regency respected at home and abroad. The Sultans of Beejapoor and Golcondah, unfortunately for the stability of their own kingdoms, did not view the rise of Mullik Umber favourably. Ibrahim Adil Shah bore him a personal enmity, and both kings were likely to disapprove of a usurpation which might, from such an example, be speedily followed in their own courts.

A.D. 1610.—Mullik Umber founded the city of Khirkee,[3] near Doulutabad, where he established his capital, and built several splendid palaces. He repeatedly defeated the Moghul armies, and for a time recovered the fort of Ahmednugur and

Nizam Shah, and given in marriage, with the fort of Sholapoor as her portion, to Ali Adil Shah in 1564, for the purpose of binding the alliance then formed against the Raja of the Carnatic. Some years after her husband's death she returned to Ahmednugur.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Aware of the contents of the cup, he swallowed the poison tendered by his ungrateful sovereign. (Ferishta.)

[3] Frequently written Gurka by Mahomedan authors. Its name of Khirkee was afterwards, as we shall see, changed to Aurungabad.

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the districts in Berar. Though almost constantly engaged in war, this great man found leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and to forward those arrangements in finance which have left his name in every village of his country far more venerated as a ruler than renowned as a general. He abolished revenue farming, and committed the management to Bramin agents under Mahomedan superintendence; he restored such parts of the village establishment as had fallen into decay; and he revived a mode of assessing the fields, by collecting a moderate proportion of the actual produce in kind, which, after the experience of several seasons, was commuted for a payment in money settled annually according to the cultivation.[1] By such means his districts soon became thriving and populous; and although his expenditure was great, his finances were abundant.

A.D. 1614.

A.D. 1615.—But Mullik Umber was not always prosperous; he frequently experienced severe reverses, and about the year 1621, some of the principal Mahrattas in his service were induced to quit his standard and go over to the Moghuls. The most important defection was that of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, Deshmookh of Sindkheir, whom we have already mentioned as a principal Mahratta chief under the Nizam Shahee government. The manner in which the Moghuls received and rewarded him is in itself a proof of the great power and consequence which the Mahrattas had by that time attained. A munsub of 24,000, with 15,000 horse, was conferred upon him, and such of his relations as accompanied him were all raised to high rank.

A.D. 1621.

A.D. 1626.—But the rebellion of the Prince Shah Jehan again called off the attention of the imperial troops, and Mullik Umber, before his death, which happened in the beginning of 1626, once more triumphed in the Deccan. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor did not survive Mullik Umber above a year. The memory

[1] This account of Mullik Umber's famous revenue arrangements is principally upon the authority of Mahratta MSS., where it is stated that his assessment was two fifths of the produce of government lands. Tradition says his money commutation was about one third. [Malik Ambar's settlement was based upon a correct knowledge of the area of land tilled and of the money value of the crop, the State demand being limited to a small share of the latter value. His object was to give the cultivator a definite interest in the land which he tilled. Between 1662 and 1666 his system was discontinued, a crop division being introduced instead. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 400, 499.)]

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of both is still preserved with much respect in the legends of the countries where they ruled. The mausoleum of the latter [1] still stands, the most perfect and the most beautiful of the many buildings which remain among the ruins of Beejapoor, to attest its former grandeur and the magnificence of its nobles and kings.

During the wars of Mullik Umber, the Mahrattas in his service were frequently conspicuous. Shahjee Bhonslay, who had succeeded his father Mallojee in the Jagheer, particularly distinguished himself in a great battle with the Moghuls, fought in the year 1620, near the northern boundary of the Ahmednugur territory, in which, although Mullik Umber was defeated, no share of the blame was attached to the Mahrattas. In the account of the battle, Lookhjee Jadow Rao is mentioned as well as Shahjee, and one of the Naiks [2] of Phultun was killed on the same occasion.

Up to this period, since the first conquest of the country, we find little trace of the Hindoo natives of Maharashtra in Mahomedan history [3]; their leaders and their nation are almost nameless,

[1] [The date of Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh's death is recorded in a triangular inscription in the arch of the Ibrāhīm Rauza: 'When the Shāh was in the rose-garden of Paradise, in eternity, I asked the *pīr* of wisdom (for the date); he replied, "*The place with the guide.*"' These words are equivalent to 1037 A.H., i.e. A.D. 1627–8. (See *A.S.I.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 75.)]

[2] This is supposed by the present Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkur to have been his ancestor Jugpal, who was killed about this period. Though the Naiks of Phultun held their Jagheer from the Beejapoor government, this circumstance affords no satisfactory evidence of Ibrahim Adil Shah's having assisted Mullik Umber, or that there was a general confederacy against the Moghuls. From the character of Jugpal, who, according to the family legends, was always present where there was hunting or fighting, he may have joined without the authority of his government.

[3] Ferishta's history, which is deservedly considered our best authority, ends about the beginning of the seventeenth century. From that period, for the ensuing forty years, or up to the final dismemberment of the kingdom of Ahmednugur, I have adopted the work of Khafee Khan as the most consistent and authentic source, respecting that obscure period of Deccan history. Khafee Khan was the assumed name of the author, his real name was Mohummud Hashem Khan. He was the son of Khwajeh Meer, also an historian, and an officer of high rank in the service of Moraud Bukhsh; but after that prince's confinement and death, he came into the employment of Aurungzebe. Mohummud Hashem Khan was brought up in Aurungzebe's service, and was employed by him both in political and military situations. His history has been frequently referred to, and large extracts from it have appeared in various works, particularly in the Seyr Mutuakhereen, but no English translation of the history has been published.

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but we shall now see them fast rising into consequence, and it therefore becomes necessary to enter a little more fully into the detail of events which immediately preceded the rise of Sivajee.

A.D. 1626.—Ibrahim Adil Shah, whose death we have just mentioned, was the second of that name who had filled the throne

Dow's third volume would have been much more valuable had he adopted Khafee Khan as his only authority. The history was written after Aurungzebe's death; the great blank in the Moghul history, which occurs from the tenth year of that Emperor's reign, is very indifferently supplied, but after the twenty-third year of the reign, the account is full, and is frequently supported by other authorities, or rather, at that period, serves to corroborate them. [For Khāfī Khān see Elliott and Dowson, vol. vii. (1877).]

During repeated visits to the ancient city of Beejapoor, which was comprehended in a tract of territory for some time under my superintendence, I endeavoured to collect from the descendants of the persons in charge of the once splendid endowments of its mosques and mausoleums, all the manuscripts, deeds, and papers, in their possession. The following is a list of those which bore the smallest reference to my subject:

1st. Original memoranda for a history of Beejapoor, partly arranged by Abool Hoossein Qazee, who died a few years before the city was finally captured; the papers, said to be in his own handwriting, are in possession of a Peer-zaduh, styled Sahib Huzrut, son-in-law of Abdoollah Sahib, a very venerable and sensible old man, the most respectable person now in Beejapoor. He is full of legendary information, and on seeing and conversing with him, in the midst of lofty domes and falling palaces, one fancies himself in company with the last of the inhabitants of that wonderful place.

2d. A history of Beejapoor, by Meer Ibrahim, son of Meer Hoossein Lohr. This work, which the Deccan Mahomedans frequently quote without understanding it, is nothing more than a collection of names and dates, expressing the dates in letters, and something of the characters of each individual whose death is thus recorded.

3d. A history of Ali Adil Shah, the Second, written by Noor Ullah, the son of Syud Ali Mohummud Hoosseinee Qadree, in which there is some very useful information amongst a great deal of rubbish.

4th. The Ali Namu, an historical poem, of the reign of Ali Adil Shah, the Second. It is written by Nusserut the only poet of Beejapoor, excepting Hashimee, who translated Yusoof and Zuleikha into Hindoostanee verse. The works of Nusserut are the Ali Namu and Goolshun-i-eshq; a copy of the former was found in Tippoo's library at Seringapatam, and is not uncommon.

5th. A history of Beejapoor, written by Syud Moideen Peerzaduh, suggested by numerous inquiries put to him by English officers, who have been much in the habit of visiting Beejapoor since the last Mahratta war. It was finished in January 1821; and although great pains have been taken, the author's dates, by confusing the Soorsun and Heejree eras, are frequently much misplaced. His industry, however, is very commendable.

of Beejapoor. He left to his son Mohummud Adil Shah, who succeeded him in the 15th or 16th year of his age, a large treasury, a country still flourishing, and an army, the strength of which appears exaggerated[1] when stated at 80,000 horse, with upwards of 200,000 infantry in pay, including his garrisons.

Mullik Umber left two sons, Futih Khan, and Chungeze Khan: he was succeeded as regent of the Nizam Shahee kingdom by his eldest son, Futih Khan. The new regent prosecuted the war against the Moghuls, but being entirely destitute of his father's abilities, he would have been worsted had not the Moghul general, Khan Jehan Lodi, granted him an armistice on very favourable terms.

A.D. 1629.—The Sultan Mortiza Nizam Shah II, on attaining man's estate, was naturally desirous of circumscribing the power of the regent, and the violent and inconsistent conduct of Futih Khan rendered this object a matter of easy accomplishment; otherwise it could never have been effected by this prince, who was vindictive, versatile, and totally unfit for the difficult conjuncture in which he had the misfortune to be placed. Assisted by an officer named Tukurrib Khan, he succeeded in throwing Futih Khan into confinement; on which

A.D. 1630. event, the Mahratta chief Lookhjee Jadow Rao immediately offered to return to his allegiance. But Mortiza Nizam Shah had conceived mortal offence at his desertion, and only pretended to listen to his overtures, until he had allured him to a conference within the fort of Doulutabad, where he treacherously murdered him with several of his relations. His widow, a person whom we have already had occasion to notice, on hearing what had happened, fled with the troops of her husband to Sindkheir, whence, accompanied by her brother-in-law, Jugdeo Rao Jadow, she repaired to the imperial camp, where, by her intercession, Jugdeo Rao was confirmed in the Jagheer and obtained the rank of five thousand horse; ever after which the Jadows of Sindkheir faithfully adhered to the Moghuls.

A.D. 1628.—The Emperor Jehangeer died in 1627, and in the following year was succeeded by his son Shah Jehan. The new Emperor bore a personal enmity to Khan Jehan Lodi, then governor of the Moghul conquests in the Deccan. He removed him from his government to that of Malwa, and invited him to

[1] Beejapoor MSS.

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court. Though at first received with much courtesy, he afterwards suspected treachery, fled into the Deccan, and sought refuge in the confines of Buglana, within the territory of Nizam Shah. A force was immediately sent in pursuit of him; but the Zumeendars, or Deshmookhs of the country, rose in his defence,

A.D. 1629. repulsed the Moghul troops, and could not be induced by promises or threats to give him up. Shah Jehan was so extremely jealous of Khan Jehan Lodi, that he deemed his submission of vital importance to the stability of his throne. He advanced towards the Deccan with a great army, threatening with destruction all who should afford protection to Lodi, or espouse his cause. Having had considerable experience in the desultory mode of warfare peculiar to the Deccan, he separated his army into three divisions, which he placed under the respective command of Azim Khan, Iradut Khan, and Shaisteh Khan. The division of Azim Khan penetrated by the western route, and he being a very active officer soon compelled Khan Jehan Lodi to fly to the southward.

Shahjee Bhonslay was one of the supporters of Lodi; but on his flight, Shahjee, probably fearing the loss of his Jagheer, followed the example of his mother-in-law, the widow of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, and made a tender of his services to the

A.D. 1629. Moghul Emperor through Azim Khan; promising, on condition of receiving a safe conduct and a letter of pardon, to repair to the imperial presence. The indulgence being granted, he came to court, accompanied by his immediate dependents and a body of two thousand horse. Having paid his respects to Shah Jehan, he was promoted to the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse; many of his dependents were also raised to munsubs, and Shahjee was not only confirmed in his Jagheer, but received a grant for some other districts, the names of which nowhere appear; but Ahmednugur was probably[1] one of them. Shahjee's cousin, Kellojee Bhonslay, the son of Wittoojee, went over to the imperial service about the same time, and received a munsub.[2]

[1] I say probably Ahmednugur, because Shahjee had no hereditary claim to the Deshmookhee of Ahmednugur, and it will hereafter appear that his son Sivajee set up such a pretension.

[2] Original firman, from Shah Jehan to Kellojee Bhonslay, found in possession of a Mahratta, who headed a petty insurrection near Vishalgurh in 1820. Kellojee Bhonslay was put to death by

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Khan Jehan Lodi, on being driven from the western quarter of the Nizam Shahee territory, repaired to Beejapoor, and endeavoured to rouse Mohummud Adil Shah to combine with Mortiza Nizam Shah in repelling Moghul encroachment. His arguments had no immediate effect, and he was compelled to return to Doulutabad.

A.D. 1630.—During the season of 1629–30 no rain fell in the Deccan, and a famine, accompanied by pestilence, ensued; but on its being ascertained that Khan Jehan had returned, notwithstanding the obstacles which disease and the difficulty of procuring subsistence presented, Azim Khan marched towards Doulutabad. His army was opposed by that of Nizam Shah, which had taken up a strong position for the purpose, but was driven from it after a resolute defence.

This defeat and the wretched state of the country induced Khan Jehan to adopt the desperate resolution of endeavouring to make his way to the Afghans in Cabul. He set out, but was soon closely and perseveringly followed by the imperial troops; a party at last overtook him, when turning on his numerous pursuers, at the head of a few faithful adherents, he fell covered with wounds; but nobly fought on to his last breath, in a manner which obtained for him the admiration of the most obdurate of his enemies.

Azim Khan, in the meantime, pursued the advantages which his victory opened to him; he took possession of the districts, displaced the agents of the Nizam Shahee Jagheerdars and Munsubdars, and bestowed divisions of the country on his own adherents. Marching southward from Doulutabad, he reduced several places, and surprised the strong fort of Dharoor near Bheer. The troops of Nizam Shah appear to have been commanded by two officers, Bahlole Khan, an Afghan adherent of Lodi, and Mukrib Khan, who maintained a desultory warfare, and though constantly put to flight, remained unsubdued.

A.D. 1631.—Mortiza Nizam Shah found that disorder and ruin threatened him on all sides; but had neither discernment to discover the defects of his administration, nor talents to apply a remedy. Losing confidence in his minister, he turned his attention to his prisoner, Futih Khan, released him from confine-

Aurungzebe; the time and circumstances are not ascertained. Mahratta MSS.

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ment, and restored him to power. Tukurrib Khan, disgusted by this proceeding and dreading the consequence to himself, went over to Azim Khan, and got the rank of 6,000 horse in the imperial service. His defection at this period was useful to the Moghuls, as they were threatened with a new enemy in the person of Sultan Mohummud Adil Shah.

It appears that a secret partition treaty had been entered into betwixt Ibrahim Adil Shah and the Moghul Emperor, at some period of the war with Mullik Umber, the conditions of which were, that the Beejapoor government, if it afforded active co-operation in reducing the Nizam Shahee territory, should receive the districts in the Concan belonging to that state, also the fort of Sholapoor with five forts on the eastern side, communicating with the Edil Shahee districts near Beder, of which Dharoor was one. But Mohummud Adil Shah, though he appears to have recognized the agreement in the first instance, never entered heartily into the views of the Moghuls: he would gladly have seized for himself a portion of the Nizam Shahee territory; but he did not consider it politic to share it with such a formidable power. On the present occasion he had engaged in a secret negotiation with Mortiza Nizam Shah, but sent forward an army under his general Rendoollah Khan, giving out that they were auxiliaries proceeding to join the Moghuls. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Azim Khan's army, Rendoollah Khan sent to request that the fort of Dharoor might be delivered up to the troops of Adil Shah, according to the treaty. Azim Khan reasonably objected, that as they had not assisted in its reduction, nor as yet fulfilled their part of the conditions, he could not comply with the demand; but, as there was still ample opportunity for proving their good faith, the present application might be a future consideration with the Emperor. Meanwhile Mortiza Nizam Shah having agreed to restore Sholapoor to the king of Beejapoor, an alliance was concluded between them, which had for its object mutual defence against the Moghuls.

Occasion of quarrel, however, arose between the armies of Azim Khan and Rendoollah Khan, before the plans of the confederates were matured, and a battle was fought in which the army of Beejapoor was defeated.

The two states, in alliance, might still have recovered what

they had lost; but Mortiza Nizam Shah, having put himself in the power of the ruffian whom he had injured, was about this time thrown into prison and strangled by order of Futih Khan; by whom also the whole of the nobility, attached to the unfortunate prince, were put to death.

To excuse these acts of revenge and violence Futih Khan sent a petition to Shah Jehan, representing that he had thus acted on purpose to testify his regard for the imperial service, and that he had raised the son of the deceased to the vacant throne, until the Emperor's pleasure should be known.

Shah Jehan, in reply, affected to believe this representation; and although he considered the remaining districts of the kingdom almost subdued, and about to be annexed to the empire, yet, as it would have been difficult to obtain possession of many of the forts by force, he pretended to grant them to the orphan, on condition of his sending the best elephants and the most valuable of the jewels, belonging to the Nizam Shahee family, to the imperial court. Great honours were at the same time conferred on Futih Khan; considerable districts were promised to him in Jagheer, and amongst others, some of those formerly granted to Shahjee Bhonslay.

Upon the breaking out of hostilities with Beejapoor, large reinforcements were poured into the Deccan; and Asif Khan, as chief in command, passing through the Nizam Shahee territory, thus unexpectedly detached from the alliance, invaded the territory of Mohummud Adil Shah, laid it waste, and besieged his capital. But supplies having been cut off, and the operations artfully protracted, Asif Khan was obliged to desist; and after plundering and destroying the country as far west as Merich,[1] he returned with his army. Mohabet Khan, who had been appointed governor of the Moghul territory in the Deccan, when Khan Jehan Lodi was removed to Malwa, now took upon himself the conduct of the war. It was intended to prosecute the reduction of the Beejapoor territory, but circumstances changed the scene of action.

A.D. 1632.—Futih Khan at first shewed some reluctance to part with the elephants and jewels demanded of him, but compliance being enforced, he was confirmed as regent, and allowed to retain the promised districts. Shahjee Bhonslay, disgusted by this treatment, made overtures to the Beejapoor government

[1] [Mirāj, in 16° 49′ N. and 74° 41′ E.]

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through Morar Punt, an able Bramin, and a principal minister of Mohummud Adil Shah.

A projected enterprise against Doulutabad formed a part of Shahjee's proposals to Morar Punt; and he so strongly represented the unprepared state of the garrison, the general defection of the nobility, and the readiness with which all who had suffered in the late commotions would join against both Futih Khan and the Moghuls, that the king consented.

Futih Khan, on hearing of the march of the Beejapoor army reinforced by Shahjee, sensible of the general hatred towards himself throughout the country, proposed to place himself under the protection of the Moghul general, Mohabet Khan, and to give up the fort. Mohabet Khan, much pleased with an offer so advantageous, marched as soon as possible towards Doulutabad. The army of Beejapoor, however, arrived first, and, to prevent communication with the fort, threw themselves between it and the Moghuls. A battle, of course, ensued; the ground was obstinately contested by the Beejapoor army, and Shahjee creditably supported the leading part he bore in the cause; but they were finally driven back and forced to encamp sixteen miles on the opposite side of Doulutabad.

The Beejapoor chiefs, who, like all the Deccanees, were adepts at intrigue and negotiation where force was ineffectual, sent messages to Futih Khan, representing how much he should sacrifice by surrendering the fortress; and that if he would agree to remunerate Shahjee, and not deliver up Doulutabad to the Emperor, they would support him and maintain the former alliance. The proposal being acceded to, both in conjunction, without any previous declaration, opened a fire on the Moghuls, which so enraged Mohabet Khan, that he determined on regularly investing the place and punishing this unparalleled breach of faith on the part of Futih Khan. Having a fine army with many experienced officers, he formed a part of it into three divisions: one to oppose the Beejapoor army; another to cover the supplies of his own camp; and the third to prevent any provisions or stores from being thrown into the fort. Each was to support the other as necessary, whilst the main body, under his own superintendence, was destined for active operations against the fortress.

Feb. A.D. 1633.—The attack was maintained with vigour

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and perseverance, and was met by an equally vigorous defence; but the garrison, being indifferently provisioned, were obliged to capitulate after an eventful siege of fifty-eight days. Futih Khan was divested of all power, and became a pensioner of the Moghul government.[1] The child whom he had set up was placed in perpetual confinement in Gwalior, being the second prince of this house immured in that fortress.

Shahjee was one of the best partizans on the side of the Beejapoor army; and it became an object to check his activity by any means. Whilst the siege of Doulutabad was in progress, Mhaldar Khan, the Nizam Shahee governor of the fort of Trimbuck, offered his services to the Emperor through Mohabet Khan; by whom he was told, that if he would seize Shahjee's wife and family, then residing near Byzapoor, he might have a still better opportunity of proving his zeal for the cause he had embraced, and of doing a very acceptable piece of service. The Killidar accordingly made an attempt, and succeeded in taking the wife of Shahjee, together with a great deal of property. The object, however, was not answered, from circumstances hereafter explained; and some of the relations having become security, obtained Jeejee Bye's release and conveyed her to the fort of Kondaneh.[2]

After the fall of Doulutabad, Mohabet Khan left Khan Dowran to protect that neighbourhood, and marched in pursuit of the Beejapoor troops. They retired before him, but maintained their usual desultory mode of warfare, and several sharp skirmishes took place, in one of which, Nagojee,[3] a Mahratta officer of distinction, was killed: some overtures for peace were made by Morar Punt; probably with a view of throwing the Moghul general off his guard; for when Mohabet Khan had advanced a considerable distance into the Beejapoor territory, a large detachment set off secretly and by forced marches endeavoured to surprise Doulutabad, but the attempt was unsuccessful. Towards the end of the year, Mohabet Khan was superseded by the

[1] He afterwards became mad, and died from the effects of an old wound in the head.

[2] Beejapoor MSS. Khafee Khan mentions that the daughter of Shahjee was captured on this occasion, but I cannot find that he had a daughter.

[3] Supposed to be Nagojee Ghatgay Joojhar Rao, who was killed in a battle with the Moghuls. (Buker of the Ghatgay family.)

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appointment of Sultan Shuja, the Emperor's second son, to the government of the Deccan. Mohabet Khan remained as his director in the management of affairs; but still he was only second in command, and the war, from that time, did not prosper under this administration. Both Mohabet Khan and Sultan Shuja were recalled in the ensuing year, in consequence of their having failed to reduce the fortress of Purinda; where they were not only repulsed, but, after raising the siege, they were compelled to retreat to Burhanpoor.

A.D. 1634.

In the meantime Shahjee, after the surrender of Doulutabad, the removal of Futih Khan, and the confinement of the young prince, aspired to the regency, and accordingly proclaimed another prince as the lawful heir of Nizam Shah. By the assistance of some Bramins, he commenced regulating the country, got possession of most of the forts, occupied the districts in the name of the new king, and collected troops from all quarters. The whole of that part of the Concan which had belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednugur, and the districts as far east as Ahmednugur, extending from the Neera river on the south to the Chandore range on the north, with the exception of a few of the garrisoned places, were for a time overrun by Shahjee.[1]

A small detachment from the army was at first considered sufficient for his suppression; but his party continued to gain strength, and on the defeat of the Moghuls at Purinda, he extended his power in the manner we have mentioned.

After the removal of Prince Shuja, Aurungzebe, the Emperor's third son, being very young, and Shah Jehan considering the conquests in the Deccan too extensive to be placed under any one officer not of the royal family, resolved, as a temporary measure, to separate them into two governments. To those districts of Candeish, which had been long in possession of the Moghuls, Galna was added; together with that part of Berar, termed Berar Payeen Ghaut,[2] which lies to the north, below the range of hills. These constituted one of the new governments, and the lately acquired districts in the Nizam Shahee territory formed the

[1] There is evidence of these facts in Mahratta MSS., as well as in Khafee Khan. This is no doubt the regency of Shahjee, which we find mentioned in all the Mahratta MSS. as having taken place during a minority in the family of Nizam Shah.

[2] [Pāyānghāt (Payeen Ghaut) signifies 'lowlands' as distinct from Bālāghāt, the 'hill country.']

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other. Khan Dowran and Khan Zuman were appointed to the charge of them, and directed to co-operate in the settlement of the western districts, and in the reduction of Shahjee. This last, however, was an operation of difficulty. Shahjee had collected a large army, was intimately connected with Morar Punt and Rendoollah Khan, and supported by the Sultan, their master.

The Emperor was exasperated at the opposition made, in a country which he had considered as subdued on the capture of Doulutabad, and being highly incensed against Mohummud Adil Shah, he prepared a great army with the determination of bringing affairs in the Ahmednugur territory to a speedy settlement, even if it should involve the reduction of the other kingdoms in the Deccan; to which Shah Jehan, in his deliberate judgment, was always averse. Whether this moderation proceeded from policy or a sense of justice, it is difficult to determine; but his hostilities against both Beejapoor and Golcondah were always commenced in the spirit of personal anger. On the present occasion he sent an ambassador to Beejapoor, directing him to demand the restitution of the forts lately belonging to the Nizam Shahee state, of which the Sultan of Beejapoor had obtained possession: their guns and military stores were likewise to be delivered up, particularly the large cannon called Mullik-i-Mydan,[1]

[1] 'The sovereign of the plain.' The natives of Beejapoor insist on calling it moolk-i-mydan, which, they say, signifies 'the lion of the plain.' This gun, of which the muzzle is four feet eight inches in diameter, and the calibre two feet four inches, was cast at Ahmednugur, A.D. 1549, by a native of Constantinople, named Hoosein Khan. Aurungzebe put an inscription upon it to commemorate the conquest of Beejapoor in 1685, which has led to the mistake of supposing it to have been cast at that time. It is alike curious from its dimensions and its history: the Bombay government in 1823 was particularly desirous of sending it to the King of England, and an engineer was sent to examine it for the purpose, but the present state of the roads renders the difficulty of transporting such a huge mass of metal to the coast almost insuperable. [The *Malik-i-Maidān* (Mullik-i-Mydan), which is now located on a special bastion in the western rampart of Bijāpur town, is a dumpy piece of ordnance of the howitzer type. The muzzle is fashioned in the likeness of a lion's head with open jaws, between the curved fangs of which on either side is a small elephant. The tip of the nose forms the foresight. The gun is fourteen feet four inches long, with a maximum diameter of four feet eleven inches. Three inscriptions on the top record the name of the maker, Muhammad son of Hasan Rumi (Turk), the date of the casting, and the capture of Bijāpur by Aurangzeb (1097 A.H. = A.D.

which had been conveyed from Purinda to Beejapoor. But above all, the envoy was directed to insist upon the Sultan's renouncing Shahjee, and affording no countenance or protection to him or to those persons by whom disturbances were excited. To induce a compliance with these demands, a promise of the fort and district of Sholapoor, together with the whole of the Nizam Shahee Concan, and a vaunting threat of annihilation in case of refusal were at once held out. Both proved ineffectual; and Shah Jehan, according to his usual practice of dividing his attacks, broke his army, of which forty eight thousand were select cavalry, into four divisions; two to act against Shahjee, and two against Mohummud Adil Shah. Of the two former, one under Shaisteh Khan and Aliverdy Khan was destined to besiege Shahjee's forts about Chandore, Sungumnere and Nassuck; and another, consisting of 20,000 horse under Khan Zuman, was to drive him from the field, to pursue him, to take possession of his strongholds in the Concan, and to expel him from every quarter of the Nizam Shahee territory. Of the two latter, one under Khan Dowran was originally ordered to take up a position near Nandere, owing to suspicions entertained of Sultan Abdoollah Kootub Shah of Golcondah; but on these doubts being removed, and his paying the arrears of tribute for which the Emperor's envoy was then settling, and which he did before the campaign opened, Khan Dowran's division became available both for the capture of the forts to the eastward and for hostilities in the heart of the Beejapoor dominions.

A.D. 1635. The other detachment, which at first composed the reserve under Syud Khan Jehan, was also destined for Beejapoor.

A part of the besieging division of Shaisteh Khan, under Aliverdy Khan, speedily reduced twenty-five of the forts about Chandore and Nassuck, which, though places of strength, made little resistance.[1] Shaisteh Khan himself proceeded towards

1685–6). In 1854 the gun was sold by auction for about £15 by the local subordinate magistrate, but the sale was subsequently cancelled by 'the Sātāra Commissioner.' In 1623 Pietro della Valle noted the superstitious reverence paid to the gun, which is still a regular object of worship by the people of Bijāpur. (*A.S.I.*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 29, 30.)]

[1] Khafee Khan mentions the capture of the son and family of Shahjee in one of these forts, of which I can find no confirmation, and consider it a mistake, connected with the report of the former

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the borders of the Beejapoor dominions, where he reduced Nuldroog, and occupied the districts between Sholapoor and Beder; but the forts of Trimbuck, Sewneree, and Kondaneh above the Ghauts, with many in the Concan, were still in possession of Shâhjee's adherents.

Shahjee maintained a desultory warfare against Khan Zuman for a considerable time, but was driven from the territory about Ahmednugur, Chunargoondee, and Baramuttee successively, and pursued across the Neera into the Beejapoor territory, towards Merich and Kolapoor. Assisted by the Edil Shahee troops, he there continued to harass by his attacks, or elude by his vigilance, the army in pursuit of him: and Khan Zuman was therefore directed to give over a fruitless pursuit, and lay waste the country about Kolapoor, Merich, and Raeebagh. He accordingly took and destroyed the towns, carried off the inhabitants prisoners, and continued every species of depredation, until an armistice was concluded with Beejapoor, when he again resumed the pursuit of Shahjee.

Khan Dowran marched from Candeish towards Beejapoor, in the direction of Beder and Kulburga, surprised and took several forts; plundering the mercantile towns, and spreading ruin wherever he appeared. He was attacked by some divisions of the Beejapoor army in their usual manner, but they did not prevent his advance. When he approached Beejapoor, Mohummud Adil Shah adopted the resolution of emptying the reservoirs of water beyond the walls of the fort, and collected or destroyed the whole of the grain and forage within a circuit of twenty miles.[1] Khan Dowran, therefore, did not attack the capital, but continued his plan of plundering and devastating the country.

capture of Jeejee Bye. The same author mentions Sivajee's escape to a fort in the sea on this occasion; and this also may allude to the former circumstance. Jeejee Bye after her first capture seems to have been principally at Kondaneh, Sewneree, and perhaps, from the year 1633 to 1636, occasionally at Maholy in the Concan.

[1] The neighbourhood of the capital of Beejapoor is very sterile on three sides, but four miles to the south of the city there is a rich, deep, black soil, which in good seasons produces very extraordinary crops. The soil extends several miles on each side of the small river Dhone, the water of which is strongly impregnated with salt. The Mahrattas have a very expressive rhyme in regard to this small tract:

> Should the crop on Dhone grow, who can eat it?
> Should it fail, who can eat?

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The division of Syud Khan Jehan adopted the same system, and the march of the Moghuls was everywhere marked by flames and desolation.

The Beejapoor troops, however, frequently acted with great vigour. Syud Khan Jehan was repeatedly attacked by Rendoollah Khan with success, and forced at last to effect a junction with the division of Khan Dowran.

A.D. 1636.—But the ruin spread throughout the country compelled Mohummud Adil Shah to sue for peace; and a treaty was concluded on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect. Though an enumeration of all the articles be unnecessary, the general terms of this pacification, and the partition of the Nizam Shahee territory, deserve the reader's particular attention, being intimately connected with the rise of Sivajee.

It was settled that the forts of Purinda and Sholapoor, with their dependent districts,[1] should be given up to Mohummud Adil Shah. He was likewise to retain undisturbed possession of the districts of Nuldroog, Kalliannee, and Beder east of Sholapoor; and the huge piece of ordnance pertaining to Purinda was thus left on the works of Beejapoor, where it remains at this day. The province of Kalliannee in the Concan, which extended the Beejapoor possessions on the coast as far north as the Bassein river, was also ceded; and the whole of the country lying between the Beema and the Neera, which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednugur, as far north as Chakun, was now annexed to Beejapoor. The principal condition attached to this cession was, the payment of an annual tribute of twenty lacks of pagodas. By an article of the treaty, the Emperor promises to pardon Shahjee and his adherents, if he will deliver up the forts in his possession, together with all his artillery and warlike stores; but in case of non-compliance, he is to be expelled from the territory of Beejapoor, and declared the common enemy of both states.

Shahjee, as soon as the Beejapoor government began to treat, retired towards the Concan; and as he at first evaded the

[1] [Sholāpur and five and a half districts had been ceded to Bijāpur as Chānd Bībī's dowry, when she married Alī Adil Shāh. In 1624 Malik Ambar seized them from Bijāpur. (*Shivdigvijaya Bakhar*, quoted by Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, i. 120.)]

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surrender of his forts, Khan Zuman continued to prosecute the war against him. But in the course of a few months Trimbuck, Sewneree, and most of his forts in the Concan being reduced, Shahjee solicited a pardon, and petitioned for admission into the Emperor's service.

A.D. 1637.

In reply to this application he was told that he might retire into the service of Mohummud Adil Shah, which he accordingly did, and Kondaneh [1] was probably surrendered by Shahjee to Beejapoor.

The young prince whom, in imitation of Mullik Umber and Futih Khan, Shahjee had set up, was taken by Khan Zuman in one of the forts, and sent off to be confined with the others in the state prison at Gwalior.

This event completed the subjugation of the Ahmednugur state, and finally ended the Byheree dynasty.

Before quitting this chapter I have to acknowledge my obligations to Captain Alexander Gordon, first assistant to the resident at Nagpoor, and Mr. William Erskine, late of Bombay: the former has translated Khafee Khan to the end of the reign of Jehangeer; and the latter has translated all such parts of the reign of Shah Jehan from the same author, as bear reference to Deccan history. Both these gentlemen allowed me the free use of their labours, and thus far materially shortened mine.

I have had access to two or three copies of the original of Khafee Khan; the best is in the library of Moonshee Mohummud Huneef, late of the Poona residency.

[1] Kondaneh came into Shahjee's possession by his being at the head of the government. Kondaneh and Poorundhur were two of those forts, which under the Mahomedan governments were reserved by the king, and not entrusted to the care of Jagheerdars.

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CHAPTER III.

FROM A.D. 1637 TO A.D. 1648.

A.D. 1637.—WHEN Shahjee was finally driven to seek refuge under the Beejapoor government, his resources and abilities being known to Morar Punt and all who had served with him, he was readily received and confirmed in possession of Poona and Sopa,[1] two of the districts belonging to his family Jagheer, which by the late treaty had been ceded to Beejapoor.

[1] From this period I have recourse principally to Mahratta manuscripts. Those to which I shall have immediate occasion to refer are as follow :—

1. A Life of Sivajee, procured from the late Raja of Kolapoor, written by Kistnajee Anund Subhasud. There are several copies of this work ; one is in possession of Mr. Hale, the judge and magistrate of the Southern Concan, to which I had access. I returned the original copy to the Raja of Kolapoor, and lodged a copy of it with the Literary Society of Bombay. [This work was compiled by Krishnājī A. Sabhāsad at Tanjore in 1694 to the order of Rājā Rām, Sivājī's second son. It was translated into English and published by Jagannāth Lakshman Mānkar in 1884, a second edition appearing two years later. Copies of this translation are now exceedingly rare. Mānkar states in his introduction that the original Marāthī manuscript was found by Mr. T. Bosanquet, I.C.S., with the Patel of Pachad, a village in the Mahād (formerly Raigarh) *tāluka*, Kolāba District, and appeared, from the style and language used, to be a copy of a much older document. Mānkar, who was Head Accountant in the Kolāba Collector's office, prepared the translation for Mr. Bosanquet under the direction of Mr. J. Elphinstone, I.C.S., who succeeded Mr. Bosanquet as Collector of that District.

Professor J. Sarkar describes K. A. Sabhāsad's work as 'the most valuable Marāthi account of Sivājī and our only source of information from the Marāthā side. All later biographies in the same language may be dismissed as they have copied this *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (at places word for word), and the additional matter they furnish is either incorrect or trivial, often mere 'loose traditions.' None of them are based on any contemporary document, though a few have recorded some correct traditions of true events (as we know from non-Marāthi sources). But they have padded out their source (Sab-

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Morar Punt was employed, at this period, in the settlement of the newly acquired districts between the Neera and Beema, in which he appears to have been principally assisted by Shahjee. During their intercourse, Morar Punt had additional proofs of his talents and genius; in consequence of which, he loaded him with encomium and favour, and on their return to court strongly recommended him to the king.

An expedition being then projected against the Carnatic, Shahjee was nominated second in command under his friend Rendoollah Khan; and was at the same time promised a Jagheer in that quarter, consisting of the districts of Kolhar, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor, and Sera, which were afterwards made over to him, and probably with a view of securing him by an interest in different parts of the kingdom, Mohummud Adil Shah conferred on him a royal grant, for the Deshmookhee of

hāsad) by means of Sanskrit quotations, miracles, rhetorical flourishes, emotional gush and commonplace remarks and details added from the probabilities of the case or from pure imagination.' (*Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), p. 500). Professor Rawlinson has also remarked in a letter to Dr. V. A. Smith that K. A. Sabhāsad's *bakhar* 'contains many details not to be found in other *bakhars*, notably an account of the sack of Surat.']

2. Lives of the Rajas, and History of the Mahratta Empire, from the earliest period to the present time; compiled by Mulhar Ram Rao Chitnees, from original memoranda, and originals, or copies of many authentic papers, written or transcribed by his ancestors, who were all persons highly distinguished at the Courts of Raigurh, Ginjee, and Satara. Mulhar Ram Rao's life of Sivajee is very voluminous; but I do not think he has made a good use of the valuable letters and records in his possession. Sivajee's instructions to officers and departments are very complete and satisfactory. Some of the original copies of these instructions are in the hand-writing of Ballajee Aujee, and I have had them authenticated from another quarter, as will be mentioned. I lodged a copy of Mulhar Ram Rao's work with the Literary Society of Bombay.

3. A Life of Sivajee, procured from the descendant of Chunder Rao Moray, Raja of Jowlee.

4. A Life of Sivajee, partly translated into English, by Thomas Coats, Esq., late superintending surgeon of the Poona auxiliary force.

5. A Life of Sivajee, partly translated, in the hand-writing of the late Sir Barry Close. Received from the Hon. M. Elphinstone.

6. A Life of Sivajee, obtained from the Koolkurnee of Kolhar, near Beejapoor.

7. A History of the Mahrattas, including an account of the Kings of Beejapoor, by the Deshpandya of Kuttao Desh.

When reverting to Moghul history, Khafee Khan continues my principal authority.

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twenty-two villages in the district of Kurar,[1] the right to which had by some means devolved on government.

Shahjee's political connection with his relations, the Jadows, Deshmookhs of Sindkheir, which had never been intimate, was entirely dissolved from the time of his quitting the imperial service; and Jugdeo Rao Jadow, his wife's uncle, acted on the side of the Moghuls during the war carried on against him. Domestic affairs have great influence on the public conduct of Mahrattas; and there may have been private reasons for Jugdeo Rao's animosity. Shahjee, in the year 1630, married into another family, named Mohitey, which was resented by Jeejee Bye,[2] his first wife; and she retired to some of her own relations, with whom she appears to have been residing when taken in 1633.

By this lady, the daughter of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, Shahjee had two sons: the elder was named Sumbhajee, and the younger Sivajee. The elder was his father's favourite, and accompanied him from early infancy; but the younger remained with his mother. Sivajee was born in the fort of Sewneree,[3] in the month of May, 1627[4]; and during the turbulent period in which his childhood was passed, he had frequently escaped, by his mother's vigilance, from falling into the hands of their Mahomedan enemies. It is not known where he was concealed when his mother was made prisoner; but it is probable her release was obtained on the plea of her husband's neglect, and the disgrace, which many

[1] Kurar is situated thirty miles south of Satara. [The modern Karād (Kurar) is situated at the confluence of the Koyna and the Krishna, thirty-one miles south-east of Sātāra. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 553–4). The districts of Kolhar, Bangalore, Uskotte, Bālāpur and Sera lie in the central and eastern parts of the modern Mysore State.]

[2] Bye [Bāi] adjoined to a woman's name, designates her being a lady.

[3] It is situated about fifty miles north of Poona. The town is called Joonere, the fort Sewneree.

[4] [Kincaid and Parasnis (*History of the Marāthā People*) give April 10, 1627, as the date of Sivājī's birth, as stated in the Marāthi *Itihāsānche Sangraha*, but offer no reasons for differing from Grant Duff, who is supported by Mānkar in his introduction to Krishnājī Anant Sabhāsad's life of Sivājī (English translation).

The *Tārīkh-i-Shivājī*, a Persian MS. in the India Office, translated by Prof. J. Sarkar, and the *Shivdigvijaya* and *Chitnis bakhars* place his birth on April 6, 1627, or near about that date. The *Zedhe Chronology*, which gives original and surprisingly correct dates about later events in Shivājī's history, places his birth in February 1630. (J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), p. 23.)]

of the relations, both Jadows and Bhonslays, in the Moghul service would conceive, attached to themselves until they had procured her enlargement.

To the disagreement that arose between Sivajee's parents, in consequence of the new connection formed by Shahjee, and the troubled state of the country, we may ascribe the circumstance of Sivajee's not having seen his father for a period of seven years, or from the year 1630 to 1636, inclusive. When Shahjee went with Morar Punt to Beejapoor, Jeejee Bye accompanied him, but only remained until the celebration of Sivajee's marriage to Suhyee Bye, the daughter of Nimbalkur; after which event Shahjee set out upon the Carnatic expedition, and Sivajee, with his mother, was sent to reside at Poona.

By Tooka Bye Mohitey, his second wife, Shahjee had one son, Venkajee; he had likewise an illegitimate son by a dancing girl, whom he named Suntajee.

All Mahratta officers of consequence invariably retain a number of Bramins in their service, as writers and men of business.[1] Shahjee had a vast number of this description, some of whom had followed his fortunes and contributed to his success at a more prosperous period; and others, who had been displaced by the Moghuls on occupying the country, now naturally adhered to him, in hopes of finding employment and subsistence. Among all these, his most confidential men were Naroo Punt Hunwuntay and Dadajee Konedeo[2]; the former he appointed to the manage-

[1] These Bramins, when occupied by ordinary duties, are termed Carcoons, or clerks; but when sent on public business, on the part of any great man, they are, in common with all envoys, styled Wukeels. This remark applies to Bramin writers in the service of an individual, and to subordinate clerks. Bramins at the head of offices, or employed in particular departments of the state, are designated according to the name of the office, or situation they hold. Every Mahratta owner of land, money, or even of two or three horses, has his Carcoon, who ostensibly attends to all his orders in the most respectful manner; but the Carcoon has generally the whole property at his disposal. He contrives to lend his master money at usurious interest, soon runs him in debt to himself; and the poor Mahratta is thus completely in the Bramin's power. But each frequently becomes necessary to the other, and many Bramin Carcoons in Mahratta families, on very trying occasions, have shewn the most devoted attachment and fidelity to the person and interests of their masters.

[2] [Dādājī Kōndēv (Konedeo), who was born in Poona District, belonged to the Deshasth division of Brahmans (Ranade). He had been *Kulkarni* (village-accountant) of Mālthan in Patas subdivision,

ment of his districts in the Carnatic, and the latter had charge of his family and Jagheer at Poona.

Dadajee was an able revenue officer, and under his superintendence the cultivation was soon improved, and the population increased. Further scope for his talents was afforded by the acquisition of the districts of Indapoor and Baramuttee; which, together with several of those mountain valleys near Poona, known by the name of Mawuls, were added to Shahjee's Jagheer in consequence of his eminent services in the Carnatic, and entrusted to the management of Dadajee Konedeo.[1]

An ambition of extending their boundaries in the Carnatic became prevalent, both at Golcondah and Beejapoor. These states were at peace, but they vied with each other in pursuing aggrandisement, by the easy conquests which the dissensions of the petty Rajas in the south afforded; without reflecting on their own precarious situation, or seeking in a league of common defence against the Moghuls that security, which rivalry or jealousy had already so much undermined. A step towards union was, however, made by the marriage of the king of Beejapoor to the daughter of Kootub Shah in 1641.

A.D. 1641.

Mohummud Adil Shah was personally not a warlike prince. He seldom quitted the neighbourhood of Beejapoor; and his armies were entrusted to his generals. He improved his capital by the construction of an aqueduct still in existence, and ornamented it with several magnificent buildings.[2]

The Emperor Shah Jehan, after the peace of 1636, endeavoured to arrange and improve the lately conquered territory. The two governments in the Deccan were united, and the prince Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy; but at this time he only remained a very short period, and nothing of note was achieved excepting the conquest of a Buglana,[3] great part of which was afterwards relinquished.

according to the *Shivdigvijaya* and *Chitnis Bakhars*; but the *Tārikh-i-Shivājī* says he was formerly *Kulkarni* of Hingne Khurd, a village four miles south-west of Poona, and Dhuligaon. (J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times* (1919), p. 26.)]

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Beejapoor MSS. I have enumerated those manuscripts in the preceding chapter.

[3] [Bāglān (Buglana) is a tract of country of historical importance, ying north of the Sātmāla hills, and now represented by the Bāglān

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The grand innovation occasioned by the Moghul conquests in Maharashtra, under Shah Jehan, was the introduction of the revenue system of Todur Mull, whose name must be familiar to the generality of oriental readers as an eminent Hindoo statesman, who, by his financial arrangements and his regulations in the mint department during the reign of Akber, had acquired a character of no inconsiderable celebrity.

In acting on Todur Mull's plan, the lands were in the first instance assessed with reference to their fertility, in a proportion varying from one half to one seventh of their gross produce, according to the expense of culture or to the description of the article cultivated. The government share was then commuted for a money payment; and in time, when a measurement, classification, and registry had taken place, the regulated assessment was fixed at a fourth of the whole produce of each field throughout the year,[1] and thus became the permanent rent of the land. Such was the method now introduced by Shah Jehan in the districts north of the Beema, under the superintendence of Moorshed Koolee Khan, an able officer who was employed for nearly twenty years in its completion.

The system is known by the name of *Tunkha*,[2] an appellation

and Kālvān *tālukas*, Nāsik District. (See Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii; *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 192–4.]

[1] Mr. Grant's Pol. Analysis. [For a brief account of this revenue system, see *O.H.I.*, pp. 371, 374.]

[2] [*Tanka* (*Tunkha*) is probably derived from a Sanskrit word signifying a weight of silver equivalent to four *māsas*, and was the popular name of the chief silver coin of the Delhi sovereigns during the thirteenth and early part of fourteenth centuries. The *tanka* was substantially the same as the rupee of later days. Ibn Batuta describes the gold coin of Muhammad Tughlak (1333–43) as a *tanka* or *dīnār* of gold, while at a later period (1488–1577) the word was applied to copper coins, of which twenty went to the old silver *tanka*. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke, 1903, s.v. Tanga.) According to Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole (*B.M. Catal. Mughal Coins*, 1892, p. xciii) 'the term *tankah* [or *tanka*] appears to be used just as vaguely as *fulūs*, both for *dāms* of 315 to 325 grs., and double *dāms* of 618 to 644 grs. Mr. Rodgers states that his weights prove that the *tankah* was equal to two *dāms*; but I do not draw the same inference. All [that] his weights prove is that some *tankahs* weighed about 630 grs. and others about 320. He publishes a coin specifically named an *eighth* of a *tankah*, weighing nearly 40 grs., which brings the *tankah* to 320 grs., and also *sixteenths* of 38·5 grs., which would make it 616 grs.' See also for further references and remarks, V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, Clarendon Press, 1917, p. 139 n.]

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derived from the name of the silver coin in which Todur Mull collected the revenues, in lieu of the *Tukha*, a copper coin, previously used in revenue accounts throughout the empire.[1] It was likewise at this period (or 1637–38) that the Fusslee[2] year was introduced into the Mahratta country.

Dadajee Konedeo, whose districts adjoined those of the Moghuls, continued the system of Mullik Umber. He levied a proportion of the actual produce of each cultivated field, fixing the proportion every year, or when not collected in kind, he substituted a money payment. This plan differed from the permanent land assessment, as it was not only variable according to the state of the crops, but the rate was probably higher in particular instances. It appears, however, to have been suited to the state of the country, as the districts flourished; and great praise is invariably bestowed on his management. The mountain valleys, or Mawuls, were inhabited by a hardy, poor race of people, whose industry, exerted at all seasons, scarcely procured them subsistence. In the early part of Dadajee's administration they were in more than usual distress; though armed to defend themselves against wild beasts, they were destitute of clothing; and the few miserable huts of which their villages were composed,

[1] Khafee Khan. I give this definition as the historian has recorded it; I have no reason to doubt its correctness, but I have not found it in any other authority. Village revenue accounts, in the Deccan, are to this day, not unfrequently, stated in Tukhas by the Koolkurnees.

[2] [*Faslí* (Fusslee) is an Arabic and Persian word, meaning 'relating to the *fasl*, "season" or "crop,"' and was applied to certain solar eras established for use in revenue and other civil transactions under Muhammadan rule, in order to obviate the difficulties of the lunar calendar of the Hijra, which did not correspond with the natural seasons. Akbar established at least three of these eras, for application to different parts of his dominions, each of them commencing with the Hijra year of his accession (963 A.H. = A.D. 1556), though the month of commencement varies. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke, 1903, p. 359.) The Muhammadan year consists of twelve lunar months of 30 and 29 days alternately. The common year, therefore, consists of only 354 days. But, when intercalary days in certain years are allowed for, the mean year consists of $354\frac{11}{30}$ days. Inasmuch as a solar year consists of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, the difference amounts to nearly 11 days, and any given month in the Muhammadan year consequently goes the round of the seasons in course of time. (Sleeman's *Rambles*, &c., ed. V. A. Smith, 1915, p. 482 n.) See Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, No. xxiii, p. 82 (Calcutta, 1883), and Prinsep's Tables in *Essays*, ed. Thomas, 1858, vol. ii.]

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were insufficient to cover them from the inclemency of the weather. Dadajee endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the Mawulees. For several years no rent was demanded for their lands: a number of them were entertained in his service as peons to assist in collecting the revenue; for which they received a trifling sum as pay, and some very coarse grain as subsistence.

The family of Shahjee continued to live under the care of Dadajee. Their residence was fixed at Poona, where Dadajee built a large house for Jeejee Bye's accommodation, and gave the son of his master such an education as was proper for a person of his birth. Mahrattas seldom can write or read; they consider all such learning the business of a Carcoon, and if not degrading, at least undignified. Sivajee could never write his name, but he was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the spear, and of the various swords and daggers common in the Deccan. His countrymen have always been celebrated for horsemanship; and in this accomplishment Sivajee excelled. By the care of his guardian, he was fully instructed in all the ceremonies and observances enjoined by the rules of his cast; and such parts of the sacred histories as are generally known were explained to him. The fabulous exploits detailed in the Mahabharat, the Ramayan, and the Bhagwut were the delight of Sivajee's youth; and such was his partiality for Kuthas,[1] that many years after he became famous in the country, he incurred great danger in his anxiety to be present during an entertainment of that description.

The religious and natural feelings of a Hindoo were strongly implanted in Sivajee, and he early imbibed a rooted hatred to the Mahomedans. These feelings in part supplied the want of a more exalted patriotism; but although they may have tended to stimulate his own love of enterprise, he did not employ them to animate others, until success had taught him to plan new schemes, and to apply such powerful and natural auxiliaries in their execution.

His first designs were formed merely with a view to personal advantage. From about his sixteenth year he began to associate with persons of lawless habits, and to talk of becoming an independent Polygar. These circumstances, on being made known to his guardian, produced remonstrances; and Sivajee was

[1] See page 19, *ante*, for explanation of this word.

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obliged to be more cautious in his conversation ; he was, however, frequently absent in the Concan for several days ; and Dadajee Konedeo endeavoured to wean him from such excursions by showing him more attention at home and confiding much of the affairs of the Jagheer to his superintendence.[1]

There were several Carcoons under Dadajee, intimate companions of Sivajee, who afterwards became his agents and advisers. As he was intrusted with a larger share of power, he used to pay and receive visits among the respectable Mahrattas in the neighbourhood of Poona ; and he obtained general good-will in that part of the country by an obliging and conciliatory deportment ; but, even at this time, it was whispered that Shahjee's son was a sharer in the profits of some extensive gang robberies committed in the Concan.

Sivajee was always partial to the Mawulees ; he observed, that although clownish and stupid in appearance, they were active and intelligent in anything to which they had been accustomed, and remarkably faithful in situations of trust. He was attentive to those in Dadajee's service ; they accompanied him on his excursions, and in hunting ; and he became extremely popular, not only with them, but with the whole of their countrymen in the Mawuls. In his visits to these valleys and to different parts of the Ghaut-Mahta and Concan, he grew familiar with the paths and defiles of that wild tract, where he afterwards established himself. He had marked the condition of the adjoining strongholds, and began to devise schemes for getting one of them into his possession.

[1] [There is ground now for suspecting that, far from remonstrating with Sivājī for his rebellious activities, Dādājī Kōndēv himself instilled ideas of independence into his ward's mind, and was privy to all his actions. The late Professor H. G. Limaye, in a review published at pages 155–168, *Fergusson College Magazine*, February 1919, draws attention to papers published by Mr. Rājawāde in the fifteenth volume of his materials for the history of the Marāthās, which indicate that Dādājī was not opposed to Sivājī's activities, and that possibly Shāhjī also was a consenting party, despite the fact that Sivājī's revolt was bound to place him in a position of some difficulty. It is just possible that the traditional view of Dādājī's attitude, recorded by the author, may have to be modified in the light of further research. On the other hand a leading authority, Professor Jadunāth Sarkar, in his *Shivaji and His Times*, published 1919 (p. 35), entirely supports Grant Duff's account of Dādājī Kōndēv's attitude, and pending the production of unimpeachable evidence to the contrary, his view demands acceptance. See page 105, *post*.]

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The hill forts under all the Mahomedan governments were generally much neglected. Some of the best had, as already mentioned, a Killidar appointed by the king or some of his ministers, and when war was expected, a portion of the garrison was composed of good troops. At other times, less care seemed necessary, and the generality of the forts were intrusted to the Mokassadars, Aumildars, Jagheerdars, or Deshmookhs of the districts in which they were situated.

The reason given for their being seldom garrisoned by Mahomedans was their insalubrity, particularly during the rains; and as they had always been reduced with extraordinary facility, they were not estimated in proportion to their real importance. At the period at which we have arrived, the Beejapoor government, being at peace with the Moghuls and engaged in plundering or reducing the Carnatic, had removed all their best troops to that part of the country. There was no hill fort in Shahjee's Jagheer, committed to the care of Dadajee Konedeo. The strong fort of Kondaneh[1] had a Mahomedan Killidar; and Poorundhur was under charge of a Bramin appointed by Morar Punt. Shahjee's family were on terms of intimacy with both Killidars, particularly Neelkunt Rao of Poorundhur, who was originally under the Nizām Shahee government and had adhered to Shahjee.

In the Mawuls were three persons with whom Sivajee constantly associated; their names were Yessjee Kunk, Tannajee Maloosray,[2] and Bajee Phasalkur. The last was Deshmookh of Moossay Khora; the other two had also some hereditary rights among their native hills. These three were the first known adherents and military followers of Sivajee. Assisted by them, he held communication with the Killidar of Torna, a hill fort exceedingly difficult of access, twenty miles south-west of Poona, at the

[1] Now Singurh.

[2] [Tānājī Mālūsrē (Tannajee Maloosray) was possibly not a Marāthā, but a Kolī belonging to the Rāj or Mahādev division, which claims to have settled in the Deccan and Konkan about A.D. 1300. (Pres. Address, Bomb. Anth. Soc., 1919.) He was a native of Godāvlī, a village at the foot of the Mahābaleshwar hills, Sātāra, and was originally appointed by Sivājī to keep the Kolīs of that neighbourhood in order, and check their constant depredations. (Acworth, *Ballads of the Marathas*, p. 121.) As a leading Kolī, he may have been employed by Sivājī on the same principle which led to Rāmosī Nāyaks being appointed to keep their own caste-fellows in check.]

source of the Neera river; and by means the particulars of which are not known induced him to give over the place. This event happened in the year 1646.[1] As soon as they had got possession, Sivajee, who pretended that he was acting for the advantage of government, sent Wukeels to Beejapoor to represent what he had done, and the many benefits likely to result to the king from having a faithful servant in that sequestered part of the country, the value of which had never been ascertained owing to the farming of districts to Deshmookhs whose interest lay in concealing their resources. As a proof of this statement, he offered a much larger rent than had been paid during the ten years which that tract had been in possession of Beejapoor. The answers to these applications were put off from day to day, which suited Sivajee's purpose, as his object was merely to gain time. His representations were seconded by bribes to the courtiers, as usual on such occasions, and for several years little notice was taken of him.[2]

A.D. 1646.

Whilst the Wukeels were thus amusing the government at Beejapoor, Sivajee was collecting Mawulees and strengthening and repairing Torna. When digging up some ruins in that fort,[3] he accidentally discovered a large quantity of gold, which had been buried at some remote period: a piece of good fortune attributed to a miracle worked in his favour by the goddess Bhowanee, which afforded great support and encouragement in prosecuting his plans. Arms and ammunition were purchased; and he resolved on employing the money thus bestowed in building another fort. For this purpose he pitched on the Mountain of Mhorbudh, three miles south-east of Torna, and used astonishing exertion in fortifying it. When finished he gave it the name of Rajgurh. During its progress, reports of what was going forward from

A.D. 1647.

[1] Mahratta MSS. [Sivājī is supposed to have occupied Torna unawares, while the *Killedār* and garrison were encamped in the valley during the height of the south-west monsoon. (Kincaid and Parasnis, p. 134.) Krishnājī A. Sabhāsad does not mention the capture of Torna, and Persian accounts, mentioned by Professor J. Sarkar, declare that Chandan was the first fort taken by him. (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 38 n.)]

[2] Khafee Khan. Beejapoor MSS., and some evidence in Mahratta MSS.

[3] Mahratta MSS. Sivajee called it Pruchundgurh. I have retained the ancient name by which it is still known.

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time to time reached Beejapoor; the work was forbidden, and letters were dispatched to Shahjee in the Carnatic, calling upon him to account for these proceedings: Shahjee replied that his son had not consulted him; but as he himself and all his family were devoted servants of the king's government, Sivajee, without doubt, had been acting for the improvement or security of the Jagheer. Shahjee, at the same time, wrote to Dadajee Konedeo and his son, censuring the proceedings of the latter, desiring an explanation, and calling upon him to desist. Dadajee Konedeo, with the deepest interest in his welfare, urged every argument to induce Sivajee to abandon his designs; he represented the probable ruin and the certain risk he incurred, by such daring and unjustifiable conduct. He likewise set forth great prospects which his father's name and respectability presented, in a faithful adherence to the government of Beejapoor. Sivajee answered by fair words; but the old man saw that his purpose was unshaken. Infirm by age, worn out by disease, and now a prey to anxiety for the fate of his master's house, Dadajee did not long survive. But just before his death he sent for Sivajee; when so far from dissuading him in his accustomed manner, he advised him to prosecute his plans of independence; to protect Bramins, kine, and cultivators; to preserve the temples of the Hindoos from violation; and to follow the fortune which lay before him. After this, having recommended his family to his young master's care, he expired.

The dying injunctions of Dadajee Konedeo served to confirm Sivajee in his designs, and gave them a sanction in the eyes of the subordinate officers of the Jagheer, which must have tended materially to raise his character, and perhaps in some degree to elevate his motives of action.

He took charge of the Jagheer in his father's name; but very shortly after, on the arrival of messengers from Shahjee to Dadajee Konedeo, requiring the payment of some arrears of revenue, Sivajee sent them back with news of his guardian's death; and on this, and several subsequent occasions, evaded all payments, till at last he informed his father that the expenses of that poor country had so much increased, that he must depend on his more extensive and fertile possessions in the Carnatic.

There were two officers in the Jagheer whom it was of much consequence to gain or to remove, as neither of them, in the

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first instance, acceded to the views of Sivajee: the one Phirungajee Nursalla, in charge of the fort of Chakun; the other, Bajee Mohitey, the brother of Tooka Bye, Shahjee's second wife, manager of the district of Sopa.

Sivajee's emissaries succeeded in corrupting Phirungajee, who tendered his services to their master and was confirmed in the command of Chakun. He likewise received charge of the revenue management of the adjoining villages, on condition that he should maintain the system of Dadajee Konedeo.

But a more important acquisition than any hitherto made, was obtained by the possession of Kondaneh. It was given up by the Mahomedan Killidar for a large bribe, and Sivajee changed or restored its name to Singurh, or the lion's den[1]; by which appellation it is still known.

Bajee Mohitey had three hundred good horses: he occupied Sopa: and though he sent civil answers to all messages, he refused to pay the revenue or listen to any overtures unauthorized by Shahjee. Sivajee, concealing his approach, surrounded Sopa with a party of Mawulees in the middle of the night, surprised Bajee Mohitey and his whole party, took them prisoners, and sent Mohitey, together with all who did not choose to enter his service, to join his father in the Carnatic.

The revenue officers of Baramuttee and Indapoor, whilst nothing interrupted the usual routine of affairs, appeared to have realized the collections and paid them over at Poona for some time after Dadajee Konedeo's death, without disputing the authority of Shahjee's son; but these districts, as well as the Pergunna of Sopa, were at a distance from the hills, and too much exposed to be always maintained by Sivajee.

The demise of the Killidar of the fort of Poorundhur happened about the same time as that of Dadajee Konedeo. He left three sons, the eldest of whom, without confirmation from Beejapoor, assumed command of the garrison. The two younger sons claimed an equal right to command, jointly with their brother, and to share in the profits of some fields and pasture lands

[1] The literal signification would be lion's fort, but the lion's den was the meaning intended by the name which Sivajee gave to Kondaneh: so say the Mahrattas, and it is proved by Sivajee's own words, as we shall find recorded.

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attached to the fort. They wished Sivajee to assist in arbitrating their differences: and he took a lively interest in their affairs, secretly supporting the younger brothers.

Whilst these disputes were pending, Sivajee at a fit time, giving out that he was on his route towards Sopa, encamped under Poorundhur, and was, as he had hoped, invited into the fort with a few attendants. When the eldest of the three had retired to rest, Sivajee, in conversation with the other two, represented that the best expedient for inducing their brother to submit to a fair arbitration was to make him prisoner; to which the young men eagerly acceded. Sivajee, on pretence of granting them means of completely overawing every attempt at resistance, despatched a messenger to his troops below, and long before morning had a band of Mawulees in possession of the upper and lower forts, the eldest brother a prisoner, and the younger, with the whole garrison, completely in his power. Sivajee attempted to excuse this treachery by avowing his designs of independence [1]; and although he removed the whole from Poorundhur, he had the address to reconcile them by grants of Enam villages, and to persuade all the brothers to enter his service; in which they afterwards attained some distinction.

All these acquisitions were made without stir or bloodshed; the government districts were not molested. Mohummud Adil Shah was building palaces and mausoleums, or intent on acquisitions in the Carnatic; and the irregularities in the Jagheer of Shahjee, if fully known, were not deemed of magnitude, whilst the Jagheerdar himself was in the power of the king.

Thus did Sivajee obtain possession of the tract between Chakun and the Neera; and the manner in which he established himself, watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring on his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power, when his progress had attracted notice and longer concealment was impossible.

[1] [Kincaid and Parasnis quote Ranade and the *Shedgāvkar* and *Shivdigvijaya Bakhars* for alternative accounts of Sivāji's action. They all lend colour to Grant Duff's view that the fort was secured by treachery. The *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (Mānkar's trans. 5) confirms the general outline of the account given in the text. (See Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times* (1919), p. 40.)]

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CHAPTER IV.

FROM A.D. 1648 TO A.D. 1657.

THE details contained in the foregoing chapters have probably enabled the reader to form a sufficiently clear idea of the state of the Deccan, so far as relates to the different great powers which divided it; but, for the sake of perspicuity in what follows, it is necessary to offer a few remarks respecting the various local authorities under the Beejapoor government, in the immediate neighbourhood of the tract occupied by Sivajee.

A.D. 1648.—The south bank of the Neera, as far east as Seerwul and as far south as the range of hills north of the Kistna, was farmed by the hereditary Deshmookh of Hurdus Mawul, named Bandal; and the fort of Rohira was committed to his care. Having early entertained a jealousy of Sivajee, he kept up a strong garrison and carefully watched the country adjoining Poorundhur. The Deshmookh was a Mahratta, but the Deshpandya was a Purbhoo (or Purvoe [1]), a tribe of the Shunkerjatee, to whom Sivajee was always partial.

[1] [The Prabhūs (Purbhoo or Purvoe) are found in Bombay and the Central Provinces, and style themselves Chandraseniya Kāyasth Prabhūs, the first word alluding to their supposed descent from Chandra Sen, a Kshatriya King of Oudh, and the second to their professional occupation of clerks, writers and accountants. The name Prabhū signifies 'lord,' and apart from their claim to have held official positions under the Gupta kings (A.D. 320–490), stone inscriptions exist to prove that they were civil officials in the Konkan and Deccan from the eleventh century. A branch of the caste, known in Bombay as Pātāre Prabhūs, appears to have reached the Konkan from Gujarāt during the rule of the Silāhāras of Thāna (A.D. 810–1260), and played an important part in the early days of British dominion, being employed by the East India Company as clerks, secretaries, writers and rent-collectors. They are frequently referred to as 'Purvoes' or 'Parus' in the accounts and documents of that period. The surnames of some Prabhū families, e.g. Gupte, Rāje, Pradhān, Chaturbal or Chaubal, Rānadip or Rāndive, are held to denote their official importance in

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Waee [1] was the station of a Mokassadar of government who had charge of Pandoogurh, Kummulgurh, and several other forts in that neighbourhood.

Chunder Rao Moray, Raja of Jowlee, was in possession of the Ghaut-Mahta from the Kistna to the Warna.

The Kolapoor district, with the strong fort of Panalla, was under a Mahomedan officer appointed by government.

The ancient possessions of the Beejapoor state in the Concan were held in Jagheer, or farmed to the hereditary Deshmookhs, with the exception of the sea ports of Dabul, Anjenweel, Ratnaguiry, and Rajapoor, which, with their dependent districts, were held by government officers. The principal hereditary chiefs were the Sawunts of Waree; they were Deshmookhs and Jagheerdars of the strong tract adjoining the Portuguese territory at Goa, and their harbours were the resort of pirates, early known by the name of Koolees. Next in consequence to the Sawunts were the Dulweys [2] of Sringarpoor, who, from occupying an unfrequented tract, were, like the Raja of Jowlee, nearly independent.

the Gupta period, while other common surnames, such as Chitnāvīs or Chitnis, Phadnīs, Potnīs and Sabnīs, are evidence of the official position of the caste in later years. Several of them held the hereditary post of Deshpānde during Muhammadan and Marāthā rule in the Deccan, and Sivājī himself had no more faithful supporters than the Prabhūs Murār Bājī, Bālājī Avjī Chitnis, Khando Ballāl and Prayāgjī Anant. At the present time many Prabhūs have adopted the professions of law, medicine and engineering, while others are owners of landed estates (*jāgīrdārs* and *ināmdārs*), and hold office in Native States. (Russell, *T. and C.C.P.*, iv; *B.E.S.*, Monograph 4; *B.C.G.*, vol. i, pp. 241 ff.) For brief details of a long-standing dispute between Prabhūs and Brahmans under Marāthā rule, see Ranade, pp. 264–5.]

[1] [Wai (Waee), which lies twenty miles north-west of Sātāra, is one of the most sacred spots on the Krishna, and was probably an early Buddhist settlement. Between 1453 and 1480 it was a military outpost of the Bahmanī Sultanate. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 565–6.)]

[2] [Dalvī (Dulweys), which Mr. B. A. Gupte states is a shortened form of Dalapatī, is a Prabhū surname. Note, however, that in South India the head of an army was termed 'Dalaway,' i.e. 'leader of an armed force,' from Sanskrit *dala* (army), *vah* (to lead). Fryer speaks of the 'Delvi' (ed. 1912, ii. 6). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1912, p. 292. Dalapatī would mean the same as Dalaway, the latter being the more correct derivation of the surname. The Sūrvē (Soorway) family were managers (*Kārbhāris*) under the Dalvīs at Shringarpur. (See page 144, *infra*.) (*B.E.S.*, Monograph 4.)]

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The province of Kalliannee,[1] formerly belonging to the kings of Ahmednugur, and ceded to Beejapoor by the treaty of 1636, was principally confided to two authorities; the northern part of it, extending from Bheemree (or Bhewndy) to Nagotna (or Nagathanna) was under a respectable Mahomedan officer appointed by the king and stationed at the town of Kallian Bheemree. He had an extensive charge, comprehending several strong forts both above and below the Ghauts; but these forts from the causes we have endeavoured to explain were much neglected. The southern part of the province was held in Jagheer by an Abyssinian[2]; the condition of his tenure, as far as can be ascertained, was the maintenance of a marine for the protection of the trade, and conveying pilgrims to the Red Sea. His possessions were not considered hereditary, but were conferred on the most deserving Abyssinian officer of the fleet, and the chief so selected was styled Wuzeer. The crews of his vessels were in part composed of his countrymen; and a small African colony was thus formed in the Concan. The great maritime depôt was the harbour of Dhunda Rajepoor, in the middle of which stands the small fortified island of Jinjeera.[3] In the vulgar

[1] [The modern Kalyān, an ancient town of historical importance, in Thāna District, situated on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, thirty-three miles north-east of Bombay. For early history see *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 378; *B.C.G.*, ii (1909). In 1636 it passed from the rule of Ahmadnagar to that of Bijāpur. In 1648 the Marāthās surprised it; the Mughals recovered it in 1660, but lost it again in 1662. At the time of Fryer's visit in 1675 it was a mass of ruins. Its trade had departed to Thāna, as the increased burden of ships made it difficult for them to pass up the river. Fryer's *Travels*, Hakluyt (1909), i. 309 n.; Maclean, 100 f.; *B.G.*, xiv. 113 ff.)]

[2] It is not exactly known at what period the power of his predecessors commenced; but Hubush Khan and Seedee Umber were Abyssinian admirals of the Nizam Shahee fleet, during the time of Mullik Umber; and an Abyssinian officer named Seedee Bulbul was at that time in command of Rairee. Beejapoor MSS. [Abyssinian rule in Janjīra was founded about 1490, when the island and the fort of Danda-Rājpuri were seized by a stratagem from Rām Pātel, the Kolī commandant of the island. Rājpuri is the name of the creek at the entrance of which stands the island and fort of Janjīra. Danda is a port on the mainland to the south-east of Janjīra. Rājpuri town, also on the mainland, lies half a mile east of Janjīra. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, pp. 488–90.)]

[3] Jinjeera, the name by which the place is known in the Deccan, is the Mahratta corruption of the Arabic word *Juzeerah*, an island. [Janjīra, known locally as *Habsān* ('the Abyssinian's land'), contains a considerable African element in its population, descended from

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language of the Deccan, all natives of Africa are termed Seedees. The name of the principal Abyssinian at this time was Futih Khan, commonly styled the Seedee,[1] an appellation assumed by the chief and his successors, by which they have been best known to Europeans. The Seedee had charge of several forts, amongst which were Tala, Gossala, and Rairee; they were all intrusted to the care of Mahrattas.[2]

Thus much being premised, we return to Sivajee, who was secretly, but actively, employed in very extensive plans, in prosecution of which he was himself busy in collecting and arming Mawulees, whilst some of his Bramins were detached into the Concan, to gain intelligence and forward his views in that quarter.

Having heard that a large treasure was forwarded to court by Moolana Āhmed, governor of Kallian, Sivajee put himself at the head of three hundred horse, taken at Sopa, now mounted with Bargeers on whom he could depend, and, accompanied by a party of Mawulees, he attacked and dispersed the escort, divided the treasure amongst the horsemen, and conveyed it with all expedition to Rajgurh. This daring robbery completely unmasked his designs; but the news had scarcely reached the capital, before it was known that Sivajee had surprised and taken the forts of Kangooree, Toong, Tikona, Bhoorup, Koaree, Loghur, and Rajmachee.[3] Tala, Gossala, and the strong hill of

slaves and soldiers of fortune. From these and from the Sīdī population of Bombay City, the P. and O. steamers and the coasting vessels recruit a portion of their crews. The Nawābs of Janjīra and Sachīn both trace their descent from the Sīdī admirals of Janjīra, the latter belonging to an elder branch which was expelled from Janjīra at the close of the eighteenth century. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, 488–90; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke, 1903, s.v. Jungeera.)]

[1] Seedee, when assumed by Africans themselves, has an honourable import, being a modification of the Arabic word *syud*, a lord; but, in the common acceptation, it is rather an appellation of reproach than of distinction.

[2] Khafee Khan, Orme, and a loose traditionary Persian MS. procured from the collector and magistrate of the southern Concan.

[3] The manner of surprising these forts is not satisfactorily explained; but a traditionary account of one of Sivajee's exploits suggested a like attempt by a body of insurgents in the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, who took up arms against the Peishwa's government in modern times, during the administration of Trimbukjee Dainglia. It was usual for the villagers, in the vicinity of the hill-forts, to contribute a quantity of leaves and grass for the purpose of thatching the houses

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Rairee, were given up to his emissaries: several rich towns were plundered in the Concan; and the booty with great regularity conveyed by the Mawulees to Rajgurh.

But this was not the extent of his designs; or of his success. Abajee Sonedeo, one of the Bramins, educated by Dadajee Konedeo, who had already distinguished himself as much by his boldness as by his address, pushed on to Kallian, surprised the governor, took him prisoner, and procured the surrender of all the forts in that quarter.

As soon as Sivajee received this joyful intelligence, which exceeded his expectations, he hastened to Kallian, and, bestowing the highest encomium on Abajee Sonedeo, appointed him Soobehdar or governor of the country comprised in this important acquisition. No time was lost in commencing revenue arrangements. Ancient institutions were revived wherever a trace of them could be found; and all endowments to temples or assignments to Bramins were carefully restored or maintained. As the Seedee was a formidable neighbour, Sivajee, to secure the hold already obtained on his Jagheer, gave orders for building two forts, Beerwaree near Gossala, and Linganah near Rairee.

Moolana Ahmed, made prisoner by Abajee Sonedeo, was treated by Sivajee with the utmost respect; and, being honourably dismissed, he returned to court. The news of his capture and the surrender of the forts had arrived before him, and although permitted to pay his respects to the king, he was not reinstated in any place of trust or emolument.

Sivajee's rebellion, in consequence of the report of Moolana Ahmed, began to create general anxiety at Beejapoor; but Mohummud Adil Shah, impressed with an idea of its being secretly incited by Shahjee, took no active measures to suppress it by force. The power of Shahjee in the Carnatic, which had

in the fort, a practice said to have prevailed from before the time of Sivajee. The insurgents having corrupted one or two persons of the garrison, a party of them, each loaded with a bundle of grass, having his arms concealed below it, appeared at the gate in the dress of villagers, to deposit, as they pretended, the annual supply; and admittance being thus gained, they surprised the garrison and possessed themselves of the place. The fort was Prucheetgurh, and the circumstance will be alluded to in its proper place; it is only mentioned here as a stratagem, the original merit of which is ascribed to Sivajee. [The position of the more important forts is given against their names in the Index at the end of Vol. II.]

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greatly increased by his being left as provincial governor, on the return of Rendoollah Khan to court, may have tended to occasion such a suspicion, strengthened also by the circumstance of its having begun in his Jagheer and spread over a province where his power had so lately been suppressed.[1]

The king, therefore, sent private orders to Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole, then serving in the same part of the country with Shahjee, to seize and confine him. This object Ghorepuray effected by treachery: he invited Shahjee to an entertainment, and made him prisoner.[2]

A.D. 1649.—On being brought to court, Shahjee was urged to suppress his son's rebellion; for which purpose freedom of correspondence was allowed between them. Shahjee persisted in declaring that he was unconnected with his son; that Sivajee was as much in rebellion against him as against the king's government; and recommended his being reduced to obedience by force of arms. Nothing he urged could convince Mohummud Adil Shah of his innocence; and, being enraged at his supposed contumacy, he ordered Shahjee to be confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was built up, except a small opening; and he was told, that if within a certain period his son did not submit, the aperture should be for ever closed.

Sivajee, when he heard of the imprisonment and danger which threatened his father, is said to have entertained thoughts of submitting; but if he ever seriously intended to adopt such a plan, it was overruled by the opinion of his wife, Suhyee Bye, who represented that he had a better chance of effecting Shahjee's liberty by maintaining his present power, than by trusting to the mercy of a government notoriously treacherous.[3]

The alternative which Sivajee adopted develops a principal feature of his early policy. He had hitherto carefully refrained from molesting the subjects or territory of the emperor, probably from an opinion of the great power of the Moghuls, and from a design he appears to have contemplated of throwing himself on the imperial protection in case of being pushed to extremity by the government of Beejapoor.

He accordingly, at this time, entered into correspondence with Shah Jehan, for the purpose of procuring his father's enlargement.

[1] Mahratta MSS., Khafee Khan, Beejapoor MS., and tradition.
[2] [See note 3 on p. 115, *post.*] [3] Mahratta MSS.

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The proposals made by Sivajee are not known, but the Emperor agreed to forgive the former misconduct of Shahjee, to admit him into the imperial service, and to give Sivajee a munsub of five thousand horse.[1]

It is probable that the Emperor's influence and the friendship of Morar Punt[2] were the means of saving Shahjee from a cruel death. He was released from his dungeon on giving security; but he was kept a prisoner at large in Beejapoor for four years.[3]

A.D. 1650.—Sivajee, whose immediate object was effected by his father's reprieve, artfully contrived to keep his proposal of entering the Moghul service in an unsettled state, by preferring a claim on the part of his father or himself to the Deshmookhs' dues in the Joonere and Ahmednugur districts, to which he pretended they had an hereditary right. Sivajee's agent, who went to Agra with this ostensible purpose, did not, as was probably foreseen, succeed in obtaining a promise of the Deshmookhee; but he brought back a letter from Shah Jehan, promising that the claim should be taken into consideration upon Sivajee's arrival at court.[4]

A.D. 1651 and 1652.—During the four years Shahjee was detained at Beejapoor, Sivajee, apprehensive perhaps for his father's safety, committed few aggressions, and the king was probably deterred from sending a force against him, lest it should induce Sivajee to give up the country to the Moghuls, which the Emperor had sufficient excuse for receiving, on account of arrears of tribute. In this interval, a feeble attempt was made to seize Sivajee's person. It was undertaken by a Hindoo named Bajee Shamraje. Sivajee frequently resided at the town of Mhar in the Concan; and the party of Shamraje, passing through the territory of Chunder Rao Moray, lurked about the

[1] Original letters of the Emperor Shah Jehan to Sivajee.

[2] Colonel Wilks says Rendoollah Khan. His name in Mahratta MSS. is certainly always mentioned with Morar Punt's, but Rendoollah Khan died in 1643, as appears on his tomb. He had a son or relation who had the same title, but he never attained sufficient rank or influence to have obtained Shahjee's release. [See note 3 on p. 115.]

[3] Mahratta MSS.

[4] Original letter from Shah Jehan. The original letters, from Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, to Sivajee, are in the possession of the Raja of Satara. Copies of them are lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

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Phar Ghaut until an opportunity should offer; but Sivajee anticipated the surprise, attacked the party near the bottom of the Ghaut, and drove them in great panic to seek safety in the jungles.[1]

A.D. 1653.—Shahjee had in vain endeavoured by every means to obtain permission to return to his Jagheer in the Carnatic, when, at last, the great disturbances which became prevalent in that quarter induced the king to listen to recommendations in his favour. Previously, however, to granting his complete enlargement, Shahjee was bound down by solemn engagements to refrain from molesting the Jagheerdar of Moodhole; and, in order to induce both parties to bury what had passed in oblivion, Mohummud Adil Shah made them exchange their hereditary rights and enams as Deshmookhs, Shahjee giving those he had received in the districts of Kurar, and Bajee Ghorepuray what he possessed in the Carnatic.[2]

This agreement, however, was not acted upon; and the first use Shahjee made of his liberty was to write to Sivajee, 'If you are my son, punish Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole'; an emphatic injunction to vengeance, which Sivajee at a fit time carried into terrible execution.[3]

A.D. 1653.—On his return to the Carnatic, Shahjee found that the accounts of the disturbed state of the country were not exaggerated; every petty chief endeavoured to strengthen

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Copy of the original instrument, and Mahratta MSS.

[3] [According to the *Shivdigvijaya Bakhar*, quoted by Kincaid and Parasnis, p. 148, the letter ended as follows: 'May God crown your hopes with success and increase your prosperity. You will not fail to be courteous always to Bājī Ghodpadē, for you know the great obligations under which he has laid me.' The *double entente* was not lost upon Sivājī. The statement of the author (p. 113) that Bājī Ghodpadē effected Shāhjī's capture by treachery is not corroborated by fresh evidence quoted in Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 44, 45. According to this evidence Bājī captured the fugitive Shāhjī after a fair chase. Further, Sarkar states that Sivājī never corresponded with the Delhi Emperor regarding his father's release (p. 114, *ante*), but with Prince Murād Bakhsh, then viceroy of the Deccan; and that in all probability Shāhjī's final release was due not to Mughal efforts for his liberation, but to the friendly mediation of Sharza Khān and Rendulla Khān, two leading nobles of Bijāpur. Professor Sarkar holds that Shāhjī was probably kept in prison till the capture of Jinji on December 17, 1649. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 43–9.)]

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himself and weaken his neighbour by plunder and exaction. His own Jagheer had been subject to depredations; and he sent his eldest son Sumbhajee to punish one of these aggressions on the part of the Killidar of Kanikgeeree.[1] On this service Sumbhajee was killed and his detachment defeated. Shahjee afterwards took Kanikgeeree by assault, and avenged his death; but the loss of Sumbhajee was a source of much affliction; and the event was followed by the demise of his principal agent in the Carnatic, Naroo Punt Hunwuntay, a Bramin educated in the school of Mullik Umber, who had served Shahjee for many years. His place was fortunately well supplied by his son, Rugonath Narrain, a person of considerable talent, whom we shall have occasion to notice at a future period. Disturbances became more and more prevalent in the Carnatic, and quite diverted the attention of the Beejapoor government from Sivajee; but no sooner was his father released than he began to devise new schemes for possessing himself of the whole Ghaut-Mahta and the remainder of the Concan.

A.D. 1655.—He had in vain attempted to induce the Raja of Jowlee[2] to unite with him against the Beejapoor government; Chunder Rao, although he carried on no war against Sivajee and received all his messengers with civility, refused to join in rebellion against the king. The permission granted to Shamraje's party to pass through his country, and the aid which he was said to have given him, afforded Sivajee excuse for hostility; but the Raja was too powerful to be openly attacked with any certain prospect of success; he had a strong body of infantry, of nearly the same description as Sivajee's Mawulees; his two sons, his brother, and his minister, Himmut Rao, were all esteemed

[1] [One Mustafa Khān was the Killedār of Kanakgiri (Kanikgeeree) (literally, 'golden hill'), and, according to one account, was instigated to revolt by Afzal Khān, the Bijāpur general. Professor Sarkar regards this as a late legend, and the *Chitnis* and *Shivdigvijaya Bakhars* which embody it as very untrustworthy. (*Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 85, 501.)]

[2] [This was Krishnājī Bājī More, whose predecessors had obtained the possessions of the Sīrkē family, including Jāvlī, from Yusūf Ādil Shāh after the downfall of the Bahmanī Kingdom. The hereditary title of Chandra Rāo ('Moon-lord') was conferred on them at the same time. In 1524 Yeshvant Rāo More was granted the title of Rājā (of Jāvlī) by Ismail Ādil Shāh. The Mores ruled at Jāvlī for eight generations. Krishnājī Bājī, who succeeded about 1652, was the last of the family. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 51.)]

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good soldiers; nor did there appear any means by which Sivajee could create a division among them.

Under these circumstances, Sivajee, who had held his troops in a state of preparation for some time, sent two agents, a Bramin and a Mahratta, the former named Ragoo Bullal, the latter Sumbhajee Cowajee, for the purpose of gaining correct intelligence of the situation and strength of the principal places, but ostensibly with a design of contracting a marriage between Sivajee and the daughter of Chunder Rao.

Ragoo Bullal with his companion proceeded to Jowlee, attended by twenty-five Mawulees. They were courteously received, and had several interviews with Chunder Rao, the particulars of which are not mentioned, but Ragoo Bullal seeing the Raja totally off his guard, formed the detestable plan of assassinating him and his brother, to which Sumbhajee Cowajee readily acceded. He wrote to Sivajee [1] communicating his intention, which was approved, and in order to support it, troops were secretly sent up the Ghauts, whilst Sivajee, pretending to be otherwise engaged, proceeded from Rajgurh to Poorundhur.

[1] [Kincaid and Parasnis (*History of the Marāthā People*) endorse the statement of Rāo Bāhādur D. B. Parasnis (*Mahābleshwar*, p. 25) that Sivājī was not privy to the plot against the life of Chandra Rāo More. Mr. Parasnis's statement is based upon 'more authentic and reliable documents' than were available in Grant Duff's time, 'which exonerate Sivājī from the charge of murder.' No information, however, is vouchsafed by these writers as to the origin, nature and credibility of these documents, and Professor J. Sarkar pours scorn upon them, pointing out that all Sivājī's old Hindu biographers are agreed that Sivājī committed a most unjustifiable murder for purely personal gain. (*Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 54,.55.) As a reviewer in the *Times* has pointed out, the authoritative *Sabhāsad Bakhar* of Krishnāji Anant (Mānkar, 2nd ed.) contains the following passage: 'His kingdom could not be obtained unless Chandra Rāo was put to the sword. Sivājī, therefore, called Raghunāth Pant to him and said, "It is only you who can perform this piece of work: go to Chandra Rāo as on an embassy. . . ." The next day he (Raghunāth) again went to Chandra Rāo and had a private interview, when Chandra Rāo and his brother Suryājī Rāo fell dead under the blows of a dagger.' Until definite and trustworthy evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, Grant Duff's view must be accepted. (See article 'Creator of a Nation,' in *Times Literary Supplement* of February 6, 1919.) According to the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (Mānkar's Trans., p. 6) Chandra Rāo had a second brother, Hanmant Rāo, who was also treacherously assassinated under Sivājī's express orders by Santājī Kuvajī Mahāldār. The whole story is clearly set forth by Professor Sarkar at pp. 50–57 of *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919).]

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From the latter place he made a night-march to Mahabyllisur[1] at the source of the Kistna, where he joined his troops assembled in the neighbouring jungles. Ragoo Bullal, on finding that the preparations were completed, took an opportunity of demanding a private conference with the Raja and his brother, when he stabbed the former to the heart, and the latter was despatched by Sumbhajee Cowajee. Their attendants being previously ready, the assassins instantly fled, and darting into the thick jungles, which every where surrounded the place, they soon met Sivajee, who, according to appointment, was advancing to their support.

Before the consternation caused by this atrocious deed had subsided, Jowlee was attacked on all sides; but the troops headed by the Raja's sons and Himmut Rao, notwithstanding the surprise, made a brave resistance until Himmut Rao fell, and the sons were made prisoners.

Sivajee lost no time in securing the possessions of the late Chunder Rao, which was effected in a very short period. The capture of the strong fort of Wassota[2] and the submission of Sewtur Khora completed the conquest of Jowlee.

The sons of Chunder Rao, who remained prisoners, were subsequently condemned to death for maintaining a secret correspondence with the Beejapoor government; but the date of their execution has not been satisfactorily ascertained. Sivajee followed up this conquest by surprising Rohira, which he escaladed in the night at the head of his Mawulees; Bandal the Deshmookh, who was in the fort at the time, stood to his arms on the first

[1] [Mahābaleshwar (Mahabyllisur) is now the well-known sanitarium, situated thirty miles north-west of Sātāra, which is the head-quarters of the Bombay Government during the hot season. The first Englishman to visit Mahābaleshwar was Sir Charles Malet, who accompanied the Pēshwā thither in 1791. It was first established as a hot weather retreat by Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, in 1824. The name is a compound of three Sanskrit words meaning 'god of great power'—a synonym of Mahādev. Mahābaleshwar is 4,500 feet above sea-level. (Parasnis, *Mahableshwar*, Bombay (1916); *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i.)]

[2] Sivajee called it Wurjgurh, a name which it has not retained. [Vāsota (Wassota) in the Jāvlī *tāluka*, Sātāra, stands on the edge of the Western Ghāts, and is supposed to have been built by the Silāhāra chief, Bhoj II (1178–93). The immense blocks of unmortared trap, which form the older portions of the wall, prove its antiquity. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 564–5.)]

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moment of alarm; and although greatly outnumbered, his men did not submit until he was killed. At the head of them was Bajee Purvoe the Deshpandya; Sivajee treated him with generosity, received him with great kindness, and confirmed him in all his hereditary possessions. He had relations with Sivajee, and afterwards agreed to follow the fortunes of his conqueror; the command of a considerable body of infantry was conferred upon him; and he maintained his character for bravery and fidelity to the last.

A.D. 1656.—To secure access to his possessions on the banks of the Neera and Quyna, and to strengthen the defences of the Phar Ghaut, Sivajee pitched upon a high rock near the source of the Kistna, on which he resolved to erect another fort. The execution of the design was entrusted to a Deshist Bramin, named Moro Trimmul Pingley, who had been appointed a short time before to command the fort of Poorundhur. This man, when very young, accompanied his father, then in the service of Shahjee, to the Carnatic, whence he returned to the Mahratta country about the year 1653, and shortly after joined Sivajee. The able manner in which he executed everything entrusted to him, soon gained him the confidence of his master, and the erection of Pertabgurh,[1] the name given to the new fort, confirmed the favourable opinion entertained of him.

The principal minister of Sivajee at this period was a Bramin named Shamraje Punt,[2] whom he now dignified with the title of Peishwa; and, as is common amongst Mahrattas, with persons filling such a high civil station, he likewise held a considerable military command.

A.D. 1657.—Hitherto, Sivajee had confined his usurpations and ravages to the Beejapoor territory; but become more daring by impunity, and invited by circumstances, he ventured to depart from his original policy, and to extend his depredations to the

[1] [Pratāpgarh (Pertabgurh), 'the fort of glory,' stands eight miles south-west of Mahābaleshwar and 3,543 feet above sea-level. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i, 561.)]

[2] His full name was Shāmrāj Nīlkanth Ranjhekar. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 37, 43, 57.) Pant (Punt) is a diminutive of Pandit. Peishwā, i.e. Pēshwā, is a Persian word, meaning 'leader.' Shāmrāj was succeeded in the office of Pēshwā by Moro Trimal Pingle who, while commanding the Marāthā forces, is constantly referred to in the Bombay Records. (Forrest, *Home Papers*, i. 67, 96, 115.)]

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imperial districts. To explain the motives which actuated him we must revert to the proceedings of the Moghuls.

1636.—Since the peace of 1636, they had held undisturbed possession of their conquests in the Deccan, and had been laudably employed in improving these acquisitions.

1650.—The prince Aurungzebe, after an expedition against Kāndahar, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan for the second time in the year 1650, and for several years abated nothing of the active measures which had been adopted for fixing equitable assessments and affording protection to travellers and merchants. He established the seat of government at Mullik Umber's town of Khirkee, which, after his own name, he called Aurungabad.[1] But, however capable of civil government, Aurungzebe was early habituated to the interest which is generally excited in the human mind by having once acted as a leader in war; and

1655. in the year 1655 he readily seized an opportunity of fomenting dissensions at the neighbouring court of Golcondah, with the hope of involving the Emperor in the dispute. At this period the prime minister of Kootub Shah was the celebrated Meer Joomleh[2]; he had attained that situation by his ability and his wealth; but he had considerable influence, and was held in very general esteem at every Mahomedan court in Asia. He was originally a diamond merchant, and his occupation brought him acquainted with princes and their countries. His talents, his riches, and the extent of his dealings, had made him familiarly known at the imperial court, long before he rose to be vizier at Golcondah.

[1] Futih Khan had before changed the name to Futihnugur, which it did not retain. Beejapoor MS.

[2] [Mīr Jūmla (Meer Joomleh) was a Persian adventurer from Ardistān, who began his career as a successful trader, and eventually made himself virtual master of the Golkonda (Hyderābād) Kingdom, as prime minister of Abdullah Kutb Shāh. He also conquered and annexed the Kanarese country under the rule of the Rājā of Chandragiri, the representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty, thus acquiring a considerable dominion, yielding a revenue of 4,000,000 rupees and supporting an army which included artillery manned by European gunners. Mīr Jūmla ultimately attached himself to the Mughal service, and accepted high office from Shāh Jahān. He died in 1663, during the reign of Aurangzeb, from the effects of the hardships of a campaign conducted against Assam (1661–3). (*O.H.I.*, 405, 407, 410, 423–4; see also Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*; Manucci, i. 226 n., and other references in Irvine's *Index*.)]

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His son, Mohummud Amin, was dissolute, but he possessed his father's confidence. This youth, having been guilty of some disrespect to the person or authority of Abdoollah Kootub Shah, the latter thought fit to punish him. This treatment being resented by Meer Joomleh, altercation arose between him and the king, which at length led to a formal petition on the part of the former for the Emperor's protection. The application being warmly seconded by Aurungzebe, laid the foundation of that friendship between him and Meer Joomleh, which greatly contributed to Aurungzebe's elevation.

Shah Jehan espoused the cause of Meer Joomleh as ardently as Aurungzebe could have desired, and addressed an imperious letter to Kootub Shah on the subject. The king, exasperated by this interference, threw Mohummud Amin into prison, and sequestrated his father's property. Such a proceeding, exaggerated by the colouring which Aurungzebe gave to it, could not fail to rouse the anger of Shah Jehan, and he immediately determined on enforcing compliance with the orders he had sent in favour of Meer Joomleh. A choleric despot is prompt in his commands: Aurungzebe was ordered to prepare his army, to demand the release of Mohummud Amin, and satisfaction to Meer Joomleh. In case of refusal, he was directed to invade the territory of Golcondah.

As the king would not acknowledge the Emperor's right of interference, Aurungzebe, on his rejecting the mandate, without any declaration of war, sent forward his eldest son, Sultan Mohummud, with a considerable force, on pretence of passing Hyderabad on the route to Bengal, whither it was given out he was proceeding to espouse his cousin, the daughter of Sultan Shuja. Aurungzebe followed with the main army.

Abdoollah Kootub Shah did not discover the artifice until the young prince appeared as an enemy at his gates; when he solicited succour from his neighbours, and made concessions to the Moghuls, in the same breath. The citadel was attacked, and the town of Hyderabad plundered of great riches; the advancing succours were intercepted, and the king reduced to the greatest distress.

Shah Jehan, the first ebullition of his anger being subsided, began to repent of his hasty orders. Fresh instructions were dispatched to Aurungzebe, desiring him to accept of reasonable

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concessions from Abdoollah Kootub Shah, and not to proceed to extremities; but Aurungzebe would not relinquish the advantage which his successful surprise had established, until he had extorted the most humiliating submission.

The king of Golcondah had in the first instance, on the prince's arrival, released Mohummud Amin and restored his father's property. He was now compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohummud, and to pay up all arrears of tribute, fixed by Aurungzebe at the annual sum of one crore of rupees; but Shah Jehan, in confirming these proceedings, remitted twenty lacks of the amount.

1656.—Meer Joomleh and Aurungzebe concurred in their ideas of the facility and expediency of reducing the kingdoms of Beejapoor and Golcondah into provinces of the Moghul empire, and of spreading their conquests over the whole peninsula; but Aurungzebe pretended to be actuated more by the hope of propagating the Mahomedan faith in that region of idolatry than swayed by a desire of possessing its resources. Meer Joomleh having been invited to the imperial court was shortly after raised to the rank of vizier, and took every opportunity of urging the fitness of a plan, in which both he and Aurungzebe probably calculated their own future advantage. A very short period had elapsed when an event occurred which drew the Emperor partially to accede to their schemes of conquest, and induced him to authorize a war. This was the death of Mohummud Adil Shah, who, after a lingering illness, expired at Beejapoor, 4th November, 1656.[1]

The deceased king, although his tribute was not paid with regularity, had, since the peace of 1636, cultivated a good understanding with Shah Jehan, whom he courted through the influence of his eldest and favourite son, Dara Shekoh. This proceeding, in consequence of a secret jealousy between the brothers, drew upon Beejapoor, independent of its being an object of his ambition, the personal enmity of Aurungzebe.

Mohummud Adil Shah was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ali Adil Shah II.; who, immediately after his father's death, mounted the throne of Beejapoor, in the nineteenth year of his age. The resources of his kingdom were still considerable; he had a large treasury, a fertile country, and his army, had it been properly concentrated, was powerful. The troops, however, were

[1] Beejapoor MSS.

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greatly divided, and large bodies of them were then employed in reducing the refractory Zumeendars in the Carnatic.[1]

As the throne was filled without complimentary reference, or the observance of any homage to which the Emperor pretended a right of claim, agreeably, as he maintained, to an admission on the part of Mohummud Adil Shah, it was given out by the Moghuls that Ali Adil Shah was not the son of the late king, and that the Emperor must nominate a successor. The same circumstance is noticed in the works of contemporary European travellers[2]; but probably obtained from Moghul reports of that period, as nothing of the kind is alluded to in any of the Beejapoor writings or in Mahratta manuscripts. This war, on the part of the Moghuls, appears to have been more completely destitute of apology than is commonly found, even in the unprincipled transactions of Asiatic governments.

Meer Joomleh, by the Emperor's express appointment, and for a cause hereafter explained, was at the head of the army destined for the reduction of Beejapoor, in which Aurungzebe was only second in command. But Aurungzebe and Meer Joomleh had a secret understanding; the authority of the latter was nominal, that of the former supreme.

On the unexpected approach of the Moghuls, hasty preparations were made by the court of Beejapoor; but no army could be assembled sufficient to cope with them in the field. Strong garrisons were therefore thrown into the frontier places expected to be invested, whilst, in order to succour them with such horse as were in readiness, Khan Mohummud, the principal general, and several Mahomedan officers of note, took the field with all expedition. Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, Bajee Ghorepuray, Nimbalkur, and other Mahratta Jagheerdars promptly joined him with their troops.[3]

A.D. 1657.—Aurungzebe was prepared to advance by the

[1] Beejapoor MS

[2] Tavernier. Bernier It is perhaps the same vulgar story, which Fryer relates regarding the son of Ali Adil Shah, and probably equally unfounded. See Fryer, p. 169. [Fryer's story is that Alī Ādil Shāh was the natural son of an elephant-keeper (*mahout*), who privily obtained access to Muhammad Ādil Shāh's queen. (Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, original edition, begun 1672, and finished 1681, ch. iv, p. 169. The story is without foundation.]

[3] Beejapoor MS.

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month of March 1657, and proceeded towards the frontier of the Beejapoor territory by the eastern route. The fort of Kallian was reduced almost immediately, and Beder, the garrison on which most dependence was placed, fell to the Moghuls in one day, owing, it is said, to an accidental explosion of the principal magazine. Aurungzebe[1] was greatly elated by this unexpected success; and his progress was expedited by every possible exertion. Kulburga was carried by assault, and no time was lost in prosecuting his march. The attack of the horse, who now began to annoy him, presented greater obstacles than any he had yet experienced; but he succeeded in corrupting Khan Mohummud, the prime minister and general of Beejapoor, who shamefully neglected every opportunity by which he might have impeded the march of the Moghuls.[2]

Some of the officers continued to exert themselves until they had suffered by an entire want of support, when the road was left open for Aurungzebe, by whom the capital was invested before the inhabitants had leisure to make their usual preparations of destroying the water and bringing the forage from the neighbourhood within the gates.

The siege was pressed with great vigour, and the king sued for peace in the most humble manner, offering to pay down one crore of rupees and to make any sacrifice demanded; but Aurungzebe was aiming at nothing short of the complete reduction of the place, when an event occurred which suddenly obliged him to change his resolution. This circumstance was the supposed mortal illness of the Emperor, news of which, at this important moment, reached Aurungzebe, having been privately dispatched by his sister Roshunara Begum.[3]

Shah Jehan had four sons, Dara Shekoh, then with his father at Agra, Sultan Shuja, viceroy of Bengal, Aurungzebe employed as we have seen, and Sultan Moraud, governor of Guzerat. As

[1] In a letter to Sivajee he thus announces it: 'The fort of Beder, which is accounted impregnable, and which is the key to the conquest of the Deccan and Carnatic, has been captured by me in one day, both fort and town, which was scarcely to have been expected without one year's fighting.' Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee.

[2] Beejapoor MS.

[3] [Roshanārā Bēgam, or Roshan Rāi, supported Aurangzeb in the contest for the Mughal throne in 1658, while Jahānārā Bēgam supported Dārā Shikoh. Both were daughters of Mumtāz Mahall, to whose memory Shāh Jahān built the Tāj Mahāl.]

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all the sons aspired to the crown, each of them now assembled an army to assert his pretensions. Dara Shekoh, as soon as his father's life was in danger, assumed the entire powers of the state; but he had previously been vested with great authority. To his influence was ascribed the order which obliged Aurungzebe to desist from the siege of Golcondah, and also the appointment of Meer Joomleh over his brother to the command of the army, at this time employed against Beejapoor. He was jealous of all his brothers, but he dreaded Aurungzebe. His apprehensions were well founded; the ambitious character of that prince, masked under the veil of moderation and religious zeal, was an over-match for the open and brave, but imprudent and rash, disposition of Dara. The latter openly professed the liberal tenets which the court of Agra had derived from Akber, but which ill-accorded with the religious feelings of most of the Mahomedans in the imperial service. Aurungzebe perceived and took advantage of this circumstance, carrying his observances of the forms enjoined by the Koran to rigid austerity, and having, or pretending to have, nothing so much at heart as the interests of religion and the propagation of the faith of Islam. One of the first acts of Dara was to issue an order recalling Meer Joomleh and all the principal officers serving in the Deccan; a measure to which he may have been in some degree induced by partiality towards Beejapoor, as well as by hatred to his rival brother. Aurungzebe, by the advice of Meer Joomleh, immediately resolved on counteracting this order by marching to the Moghul capital. His first step was to accept the overtures of Ali Adil Shah, from whom he obtained a considerable supply of ready money, and concluded a treaty, by which he relinquished the advantages he had gained, and in a few days was on his march towards the Nerbuddah. As the family of Meer Joomleh were at Agra in the power of Dara, the former suffered himself to be confined by Aurungzebe in the fort of Doulutabad, where Aurungzebe also lodged his own younger children and the ladies of his family. His second son, Sultan Mauzum, was left in charge of the government of Aurungabad. Aurungzebe's first care was to deceive his brother Moraud Bukhsh into a belief of his having no design upon the crown for himself; that such views were wholly inconsistent with the religious seclusion he had long meditated; that self-defence against the enemy, their brother Dara, obliged him to take up arms, and that he would join to assist

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in placing Moraud Bukhsh on the throne. Accordingly, their forces having united, they defeated the Imperial armies in two pitched battles. Dara became a fugitive; and although he afterwards assembled an army, he was again defeated, and at last betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, by whose orders he was put to death. Shah Jehan, contrary to expectation, recovered from his illness, and during the advance of his sons sent repeated orders, commanding them to return to their governments; but to these mandates they paid no attention, as they pretended to consider them forgeries by Dara. As soon as Aurungzebe had his father in his power, he imprisoned Moraud Bukhsh, gained over his army, deposed the Emperor, and mounted the throne in the year 1658.[1] Having sent for Meer Joomleh from the Deccan, they marched against his brother Shuja, discomfited his army, and forced him to fly to Arracan, where he was murdered, and Aurungzebe was thus left undisputed master of the empire.

A.D. 1658.

[1] There is a good deal of confusion in the dates of the reign of Aurungzebe, owing to its commencement having been frequently reckoned from 1659. Khafee Khan is, in consequence, sometimes thrown out one or two years. Aurungzebe appears to have begun by reckoning his reign from the date of his victory over Dara, to have subsequently ascended the throne in the following year, and then changed the date, which he again altered, by reverting to the former date, at some later and unknown period. [Aurangzeb went through an informal ceremony of enthronement, equivalent to the coronation in European monarchies, on July 21, 1658. After the final defeat of his brothers he re-entered Delhi, and was enthroned for the second time in June 1659. His name was then read in the *Khutbah*, or 'bidding prayer,' and coins were issued with his superscription. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 410, 422–3.) For the chronology of Aurangzeb's reign, see Professor Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*.]

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CHAPTER V.

FROM A.D. 1657 TO A.D. 1662.

A.D. 1657.—At the time when Aurungzebe was on the point of commencing the war against Beejapoor, Sivajee, professing himself a servant of the Emperor, entered into a correspondence with that prince, who readily listened to his overtures, assented to his keeping what he had wrested from Beejapoor, and, with the alleged right of the Emperor to dispose of that kingdom, consented to a proposal from Sivajee of taking possession of Dabul and its dependencies[1] on the sea coast.

Aurungzebe was particularly desirous of having an interview with Sivajee, for the purpose of explaining how essentially their interests were allied, and the vast advantages the latter might expect to reap by uniting with him.[2] But Sivajee, although he professed obedience and humbly demeaned himself towards Aurungzebe, no sooner saw the army at a distance, and ready to engage in what he hoped would prove a long struggle, than he resolved on seizing this opportunity of augmenting his resources by plunder and increasing his cavalry. Of the latter, he at this time had but a small number, and partly from want of confidence in his countrymen, as well as want of funds, he did not at first attempt to raise them on the usual footing of Sillidars.[3]

The first act of hostility which Sivajee committed against the Moghuls was in May, 1657, when he one night surprised and plundered the town of Joonere, carrying off three lacks of pagodas in specie, two hundred horses, some valuable clothes, and other articles. This booty he escorted as far as Poona, where he gave it in charge to a party prepared for the purpose, who conveyed

[1] Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee.
[2] Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee. Mahratta MSS.
[3] Mahratta MSS.

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it to Rajgurh. Sivajee himself marched by unfrequented roads to Ahmednugur, in hopes of surprising the Pettah: but in this attempt he was only partially successful; he was attacked whilst his men were plundering; but he had secured seven hundred horses and four elephants, with which he got clear off, although several of his party were killed by a detachment from the fort, which had, on the first alarm, been sent out to protect the town.

On Sivajee's return to Poona, he used great exertions to increase his cavalry; he purchased horses in all quarters, and mounted them with Bargeers of his own: he now also commenced entertaining Mahratta Sillidars. Mankojee Dutonday, an old officer who had served with his father, had commanded his small body of horse for several years, with the title of Surnobut; but, at his death, Sivajee appointed as his successor Netajee Palkur, an enterprising officer, who had considerable influence with the Sillidars in various parts of the country, but a man naturally cruel and unprincipled.

The unexpected success of the Moghuls and the danger which threatened Beejapoor alarmed Sivajee. He made every preparation to augment his army, but he wrote to Aurungzebe in the most humble strain, begging forgiveness for what had passed, and promising to continue stedfast in his allegiance for the future. Rugonath Punt, one of his confidential wukeels, was dispatched to reiterate these assurances.

The news from Agra, the peace with Beejapoor, and the march of Aurungzebe to the northward, altered the face of affairs. Sivajee sent another ambassador, Kistnajee Bhaskur, professing as before his extreme regret for what had happened; mentioning his having prepared a body of horse, offering to assist Aurungzebe in the present exigency, and to protect the imperial territories during his absence; but he at the same time revived his pretensions to certain hereditary claims within the Moghul districts, and pointed out the Deshmookhee, and some part of the family Jagheer, as a fit recompense for serving with his troops. The ambassador was likewise instructed to represent how much many parts of the Concan were mismanaged by Adil Khan, and the great advantage of transferring the whole to Sivajee.

A.D. 1658.—Aurungzebe was in no condition to resent such arrogant demands; but conceiving that security to the Imperial territory would be best consulted by encouraging Sivajee's

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aggressions on the Beejapoor government, and by amusing him with hopes of obtaining what he claimed in the Moghul districts, he wrote to him, artfully acknowledging in the same letter the communications made by Rugonath Punt and Kistnajee Bhaskur, condescending to pardon his crimes, assenting to his taking possession of the Concan, and desiring that Sona Pundit (Abajee Sonedeo) might be sent to discuss his hereditary claims; that when the terms were concluded, Sivajee should send five hundred horse to join his army, and be prepared with the rest of his troops to maintain order and tranquillity in the imperial districts.[1]

It is not probable that either party was deceived, as no further agreement was concluded. Sivajee, however, prepared his troops for the purpose of reducing the Concan, and occupied several neglected strongholds on the sea coast, where he afterwards collected boats for purposes of piracy. He acquired a considerable accession to his force by being joined by seven hundred Patan infantry, whom the Beejapoor government discharged immediately after the departure of Aurungzebe. Sivajee hesitated in entertaining these Mahomedans; but his scruples were overruled by the judicious arguments of Gomajee Naik, an old retainer of his maternal grandfather, Jadow Rao, who had been the faithful adherent of Jeejee Bye during the many dangers of her eventful life. Sivajee from this time admitted a portion of Mahomedans into his service, and the advice of Gomajee afterwards proved of infinite importance to the success of the Mahrattas. The body of Patans were placed under a Bramin commander, Ragoo Bullal, the murderer of Chunder Rao Moray.[2]

The government of Beejapoor was distracted and weakened by a treacherous, factious nobility, and Ali Adil Shah's youth was ill-calculated to control them. As soon as Aurungzebe retired, when they might have sent an army to crush Sivajee's formidable rebellion, their time was occupied in plotting the ruin of each other. Khan Mohummud, the prime minister, who had betrayed the cause of his king, was justly condemned, but, instead of being tried in any regular manner, he was invited to court under promise

[1] Mahratta MSS., and original letter from Aurungzebe written immediately after the battle with Jeswunt Sing and Kassim Khan, which happened, not near the Nerbuddah, as Colonel Dow seems to conclude, but within twelve miles of Oojein.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

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of protection, attacked by a band of assassins at the gate of the city, torn down from the elephant on which he sat, and put to death in the most barbarous manner.

Khan Mohummud was originally an Abyssinian slave, named Rehan, given by Ibrahim Adil Shah to his son Mohummud, whose minister he afterwards became. The young king did not, as is usual on such occasions, sequestrate his estate; it was bestowed on his son Khowaus Khan, but the execution of his father rankled in the bosom of the son, who was always suspicious of the king, and necessity alone reconciled them to each other.[1]

Sivajee, in pursuance of his plan for reducing the Concan, sent a large force under the Peishwa, Shamraje Punt, to invade the possessions of the Seedee. But Shamraje Punt was unfit for such an undertaking; Futih Khan was prepared, anticipated the attack, and defeated the Peishwa's army with great slaughter.

A.D. 1659.

This reverse was the first that Sivajee had experienced, and he was proportionally disappointed; but every exertion was used to repair the disaster. He sent a fresh body of troops to join the fugitives; Rugonath Punt was directed to assume command of the whole: Shamraje Punt was recalled, disgraced, and removed from the office of Peishwa, which was now bestowed on Moro Trimmul Pingley. Previously to the defeat of Shamraje Punt, the Sawunts (Deshmookhs and Jagheerdars of Waree), on learning the great preparations of Sivajee and supineness of their own government, sent a wukeel for the purpose of negotiating a treaty, to which Sivajee readily assented, and it was settled that one half the revenue should belong to Sivajee and be collected by his agents, whilst the other half, exclusive of their Deshmookhee rights, which were also yielded to them, should remain to the Sawunts. For these concessions they became bound to keep up garrisons in the forts and a body of three thousand infantry, liable to be called upon for service at the shortest notice.[2] But they soon repented of this alliance; and although they did not act against Sivajee in the ensuing season, they did not abide by the terms of their agreement, and shortly after resumed their allegiance to Beejapoor.

The Seedee maintained his ground against Rugonath Punt, and both parties retired on the setting in of the monsoon. During

[1] Beejapoor MSS.

[2] Copy of the original treaty.

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the rains, a great army was prepared under the joint command of the Peishwa and Netajee Palkur; but as the season continued unusually severe, the Seedee's possessions remained unmolested; and in the meantime Sivajee was threatened by a more formidable enemy, to whom all his attention was directed.

The Beejapoor government had at last become sensible of the necessity of making an active effort to subdue him, and for this purpose an army was assembled, consisting of five thousand horse, and seven thousand choice infantry, a good train of artillery, or what was considered as such, besides a large supply of rockets, a number of swivels mounted on camels, and abundance of stores. Afzool Khan, an officer of high rank, volunteered to command the expedition, and at his public audience of leave, in the vaunting manner particularly common to Mahomedan natives of the Deccan, pompously declared that he should bring back the insignificant rebel and cast him in chains under the footstool of the throne.

Sept.—To avoid impediments which present themselves on the straight route from Beejapoor, and the heavy rains which seldom subside in the neighbourhood of the hills till the end of October, the army proceeded to Punderpoor and thence marched towards Waee.

Sivajee, on its approach, took up his residence in Pertabgurh, and sent the most humble messages to Afzool Khan. He pretended to have no thought of opposing so great a personage, and seemed only anxious to make his peace with the Beejapoor government through the Khan's mediation; he affected the utmost sorrow for his conduct, which he could hardly persuade himself would be forgiven by the king, even if the Khan should receive him under the shadow of his protection; but he would surrender the whole of his country to the Khan, were it possible to assure himself of his favour.

Afzool Khan had all the vanity of a Mahomedan noble; he had also a thorough contempt for his enemy; but having formerly been in charge of the Waee district, as Soobehdar of the province, he was aware of the exceeding difficulty he should experience on his advance through the wild country which he must penetrate.

With such considerations, and mollified by Sivajee's submission, Afzool Khan, in answer to repeated applications, dispatched a Bramin in his own service, named Puntojee Gopinat, with suitable attendants to Pertabgurh. On his arrival at Phar, a village

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below the fort, Sivajee came down to meet him. The Bramin stated that the Khan his master and Shahjee were intimate friends, that the Khan bore no enmity towards his son, but on the contrary would prove his desire to assist him by interceding for pardon, and even endeavouring to get him confirmed as Jagheerdar in part of the territory he had usurped. Sivajee acknowledged his obligation, although his reply at this public meeting was not couched in the same humble strain he had used in his messages. He said that if he could obtain a part of the country in Jagheer it would be all he could expect; that he was the king's servant, and that he had been of considerable use to his government in reducing several Polygars, whose territory would now come under the royal authority. This was the substance of what passed at their first interview.

Oct.—Sivajee provided accommodations for the envoy and his suite, but assigned a place for the Bramin at some distance from the rest. In the middle of the night Sivajee secretly introduced himself to Puntojee Gopinat. He addressed him as a Bramin, his superior. He represented, that 'all he had done was for the sake of Hindoos and the Hindoo faith; that he was called on by Bhowanee herself to protect Bramins and kine, to punish the violators of their temples and their gods, and to resist the enemies of their religion; that it became him as a Bramin to assist in what was already declared by the deity; and that here, amongst his cast and countrymen, he should hereafter live in comfort and affluence.' Sivajee seconded his arguments with presents and a solemn promise of bestowing the village of Hewra, in Enam, on him and his posterity for ever. No Bramin could resist such an appeal, seconded by such temptation; the envoy swore fidelity to Sivajee, declared he was his for ever, and called on the goddess to punish him if he swerved from any task he might impose. They accordingly consulted on the fittest means for averting the present danger. The Bramin, fully acquainted with Afzool Khan's character, suggested the practicability of seducing him to a conference, and Sivajee at once determined on his scheme. He sent for a confidential Bramin already mentioned, Kistnajee Bhaskur,[1]

[1] [Doubts have been raised whether Krishnājī (Kistnajee) was agent of Sivājī or Afzal Khān, and one of the arguments used by Kincaid to discredit Grant Duff's account of Sivājī's treachery is a statement, based on the *Shedgāvkar* and *Shivdigvijaya Bakhars*, that

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informed him of what had just passed, and of the resolution which he had in consequence adopted. After fully consulting on the subject, they separated as secretly as they had met.

Some interviews and discussions having taken place, merely for the purpose of masking their design, Kistnajee Bhaskur, as Sivajee's wukeel, was dispatched with Puntojee Gopinat to the camp of Afzool Khan. The latter represented Sivajee as in great alarm; but if his fears could be overcome by the personal assurances of the Khan, he was convinced that he might easily be prevailed upon to give himself up. With a blind confidence Afzool Khan trusted himself to Puntojee's guidance. An interview was agreed upon, and the Beejapoor troops, with great labour, moved to Jowlee. Sivajee prepared a place for the meeting below the fort of Pertabgurh; he cut down the jungle and cleared a road for the Khan's approach; but every other avenue to the place was carefully closed. He ordered up Moro Punt and Netajee Palkur from the Concan, with many thousands of the Mawulee infantry. He communicated his whole plan to these two and to Tannajee Maloosray. Netajee was stationed in the thickets a little to the east of the fort, where it was expected that a part of the Khan's retinue would advance, and Moro Trimmul, with the

Krishnājī was Afzal Khān's envoy and that Pantojī Gopīnāth was an officer of Sivājī. This suggestion helps towards shifting the charge of treachery from the shoulders of Sivājī, and disposes at once of the story that Sivājī bribed the Khān's envoy, P. Gopīnāth, to assist in the betrayal of his master.

But the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* distinctly supports Grant Duff. It states that Afzal Khān 'sent for Krishnājīpant (i.e. K. Bhāskar), one of the envoys, and instructed him to go to Sivājī,' and try to persuade him to agree to a personal interview with the Khān. Krishnājī may well have been an envoy from Sivājī, whom the Khān sent back with a message to his master, or he may, as Kincaid states, have been one of A. Khān's officials, whom the Khān selected as his first messenger. Professor Sarkar calls him Afzal Khān's 'land-steward.' Anyhow, the identity and behaviour of Pantojī Gopīnāth are in no wise doubtful. After describing Sivājī's plans for ambuscading the Bijāpur forces, the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* proceeds: 'In the meanwhile Pantojīpant, an envoy of the Khān, arrived. . . . At night Pantojīpant was sent for, for a secret conference at which the king (Sivājī) and Pantojīpant were alone present.' It then details the bribery of the Khān's envoy, and the treacherous manner in which the latter persuaded the Khān to comply with Sivājī's plans as to the *locale* and circumstances of the interview. (Krishnājī Anant Sabhāsad's *Life of Sivaji*, trans. Mānkar, pp. 9, 11, 12.)]

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old and tried men, was sent to conceal himself in the neighbourhood of the main body of the Beejapoor troops, which remained, as had been agreed upon, in the neighbourhood of Jowlee. The preconcerted signal for Netajee was the blast of a collerie horn,[1] and the distant attack by Moro Trimmul was to commence on hearing the fire of five guns from Pertabgurh, which were also to announce Sivajee's safety.

Fifteen hundred of Afzool Khan's troops accompanied him to within a few hundred yards of Pertabgurh, where, for fear of alarming Sivajee, they were, at Puntojee Gopinat's suggestion, desired to halt. Afzool Khan, dressed in a thin muslin garment, armed only with his sword and attended, as had been agreed, by a single armed follower, advanced in his palanquin to an open bungalow prepared for the occasion.

Sivajee had made preparations for his purpose, not as if conscious that he meditated a criminal and treacherous deed, but as if resolved on some meritorious and desperate action. Having performed his ablutions with much earnestness, he laid his head at his mother's feet and besought her blessing.[2] He then arose, put on a steel chain cap and chain armour under his turban and cotton gown, concealed a crooked dagger, or *beechwa*,[3] in his right

[1] [A long brass horn, giving a hideous and strident sound, which is used at funerals in the Peninsula (Deccan and Southern India). Anglo-Indians corrupted the name into *Cholera-horn*. Herklot (*Qanoon-e-Islam*) states that *Tooree*, or *Toorrtooree*, commonly designated by Europeans 'collery-horn,' consists of three pieces fixed into one another, of a semi-circular shape. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Collery-Horn.) *Tooree* is the Kanarese word *Tūrya* (a horn), and may be identical with *Tarai* in Tamil (mentioned in Dubois and Beauchamp, ed. 1899, p. 503). Collery (plur. Colleries) is also the Anglo-Indian corruption of *Kallar*, a non-Aryan tribe of professional robbers inhabiting a tract to the east of Madura. (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, p. 236.)]

[2] [Kincaid and Parasnis, p. 160, state that Jījābāī, as Sivājī left her, said, 'Be careful, my son, be careful and take vengeance for Sambhājī, your brother.' Such a parting injunction from a mother would be regarded by a devout Hindu as a sacred command. According to the *Sabhāsad Bakhar*, 'the mother blessed him saying, "May success attend thee."' (Mānkar's trans., 11.)]

[3] The Beechwa, or scorpion, is aptly named in its resemblance to that reptile. [The Marāthī word for 'scorpion' is *vinchu*, which is the usual name of the weapon. It is a double-bladed dagger—two curved blades, about half an inch apart and parallel to each other, projecting from the same handle. (Acworth, *Ballads of the Marathas*, note 12, p. 120.)]

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sleeve, and on the fingers of his left hand he fixed a *wagnuck*,[1] a treacherous weapon well known among Mahrattas. Thus accoutred, he slowly descended from the fort. The Khan had arrived at the place of meeting before him, and was expressing his impatience at the delay, when Sivajee was seen advancing, apparently unarmed, and like the Khan, attended by only one armed follower, his tried friend Tannajee Maloosray.[2] Sivajee, in view of Afzool Khan, frequently stopped, which was represented as the effects of alarm, a supposition more likely to be admitted from his diminutive size. Under pretence of assuring Sivajee, the armed attendant, by the contrivance of the Bramin, stood at a few paces distant. Afzool Khan made no objection to Sivajee's follower, although he carried two swords in his waistband, a circumstance which might pass unnoticed, being common amongst Mahrattas; he advanced two or three paces to meet Sivajee; they were introduced, and in the midst of the customary embrace the treacherous Mahratta struck the wagnuck into the bowels of Afzool Khan, who quickly disengaged himself, clapped his hand on his sword, exclaiming treachery and murder, but Sivajee instantly followed up the blow with his dagger. The Khan had drawn his sword and made a cut at Sivajee, but the concealed armour was proof against the blow; the whole was the work of a moment, and Sivajee was wresting the weapon from the hand of his victim before their attendants could run towards them.[3] Syud Bundoo, the follower of the Khan, whose name

[1] The Wagnuck, or tiger's claws, is a small steel instrument, made to fit on the fore and little finger. It has three crooked blades which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand.

[2] [Professor J. Sarkar states that Sivājī was accompanied by two companions—Jīv Mahāla, an expert swordsman, and Sambhuji Kavjī, the murderer of Hanumant Rāo Morē. Tānājī Mālūsrē was not a member of the party. Jīv Mahāla subsequently slew Sayyid Bandū, Afzal Khān's follower, while Sambhuji Kavjī cut off the head of Afzal Khān, while he was being carried away dying from the encounter with Sivājī. (*Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 76, 79.)]

[3] [Kincaid and Parasnis, pp. 157–63, endeavour to show that Sivājī was not guilty of treachery, and merely acted in self-defence, basing their opinion upon the account given in the *Shivdigvijaya*, *Shedgāvkar* and *Chitnis Bakhars*, and upon the Afzal Khān ballad which can scarcely be regarded as sound historical evidence. Sir George Forrest recalls the fact that Grant Duff did not depend wholly upon Khāfī Khān's account, but was conversant with seven Marāthi lives of Sivājī, which he collated and utilized, and with more than a hundred Persian and Marāthī MSS., which were purposely translated for his history.

deserves to be recorded, refused his life on condition of surrender, and against two such swordsmen as Sivajee and his companion maintained an unequal combat for some time before he fell. The bearers had lifted the Khan into his palanquin during the scuffle, but by the time it was over, Khundoo Malley and some other followers of Sivajee had come up, when they cut off the head of the dying man and carried it to Pertabgurh. The signals agreed on were now made; the Mawulees rushed from their concealment and beset the nearest part of the Beejapoor troops on all sides, few of whom had time to mount their horses, or stand to their arms. Netajee Palkur gave no quarter; but orders were sent to Moro Punt to spare all who submitted; and Sivajee's humanity to his prisoners was conspicuous on this, as well as on most occasions.[1] Many of those that had attempted to escape were brought in for several days afterwards in a state of great wretchedness, from wandering in wilds where they found it impossible to extricate themselves. Their reception and treatment induced many of the Mahratta prisoners to enter Sivajee's service. The most

In Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), vol. i (1885), pp. 1–22, is a translation of a memoir of Sivājī, which clearly indicates that Sivājī made a treacherous attack upon Afzal Khān. (*Times Lit. Supp.*, April 3, 1919.) Some authorities, however, reject this memoir as untrustworthy.

Further, Ranade (p. 98) agrees substantially with the opinion of Grant Duff, while the following statement appears in Krishnājī Anant's life of Sivājī (Mānkar's trans., 2nd ed., 1886): 'The King then sent word to Netājī Pālkar . . . to be ready with his army for an attack at a signal given (which would be the blast of a collirie horn), for the next day he would have an interview with the Khān and accomplish his object of assassinating him.' This evidence confirms Grant Duff's view of Sivājī's treachery, which is accepted by the best modern authorities. (*Times Lit. Supp.*, February 6, 1919; *O.H.I.*, p. 426.)

The *Sabhāsad Bakhar* mentions three times that Afzal Khān's object was merely to seize Sivājī and carry him prisoner to Bijāpur (Mānkar, pp. 8, 9, 12.) That Afzal Khān tried to wound Sivājī, while they were locked together, is possible. He may have suddenly awakened to his danger and sought the only means of self-protection. Anyhow, there is no evidence that the Khān premeditated murder, but rather the reverse. On the other hand Sivājī's resolve to murder the Khān is only rendered more certain by the statement in this *bakhar* (Mānkar, 10), that 'the goddess Bhowānī of Tuljāpur showed herself to him in a dream and assured him that she would help him in every way, saying that she would have Afzalkhān killed by him.']

[1] The occasions where Sivajee was ever known to exercise cruelty to prisoners, were those where he supposed them to be obstinately concealing wealth, which he was determined to extort.

distinguished Mahratta taken was Joojhar Rao Ghatgay, whose father had been the intimate friend of Shahjee; but Sivajee could not induce him to depart from his allegiance to Beejapoor; he was therefore permitted at his own request to return, after he had been honourably dismissed with valuable presents. The son and family of Afzool Khan were taken by Khundoojee Kakray, one of Sivajee's officers; but, on being offered a large bribe, he agreed to guide them to a place of safety, and led them by unfrequented paths across the mountains and along the banks of the Quyna, until he safely lodged them in Kurar. The circumstances, however, became known to Sivajee, and Kakray was, in consequence condemned to lose his head; a sentence which was promptly executed.

This success among a people who cared little for the means by which it was attained, greatly raised the reputation of Sivajee; and the immediate fruits of it were four thousand horses, several elephants, a number of camels, a considerable treasure, and the whole train of equipment which had been sent against him.

Such of his troops as were wounded, he on this occasion distinguished by honorary presents of bracelets, necklaces, chains of gold and silver, and clothes. These were presented with much ceremony, and served to stimulate future exertion amongst his soldiers, as well as to give greater effect to the fame of his exploit. It is worthy of remark that the sword of Afzool Khan is still a valued trophy in the armoury of Sivajee's descendant. Puntojee Gopinat received the promised grant in reward for his treachery, and was afterwards promoted to considerable rank in the service.[1]

[1] Mahratta and Persian MSS., and English Records. The English Records, referred to during the seventeenth century, are principally in the East India House, London. [Sivājī presented the gold tops of the poles of Afzal Khān's tent to the Mahābleshwar temple, where they are still preserved. (Parasnis, *Mahableshwar*, p. 28.)
Afzal Khān was buried upon the slopes of Pratāpgarh, close to the spot where he was killed. His mausoleum, which, according to the usual custom, he had constructed during his lifetime, still stands outside the walls of Bijāpur. 'The tomb appears never to have been completed, and was, no doubt, still in the hands of the architect when Afzal Khān was ordered away on that ill-fated campaign against the treacherous Sivājī. It is said that the astrologers predicted that he would never return; and so impressed was he by their words, that he set his house in order before starting, and put up the date of that year, 1069 A.H., in the cenotaph, and he is also said to have drowned his sixty-four wives. His death really occurred one month after

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Sivajee prepared his troops as if to attack the Seedee, who, on the approach of Afzool Khan, had laid siege to Tala and Gossala; but on the report of his discomfiture and the destruction of the Beejapoor army, he hastily retired. Sivajee, although he pretended to meditate an attack on him with his whole force, was engaged in an intrigue with the officer in charge of Panalla, from whom he had received overtures for surrendering that important place.[1] The terms having been agreed on, and their future operations determined, Sivajee could scarcely assure himself of its not being some stratagem contrived by the Beejapoor government, in order to draw him into their power. To guard against this, as well as to neglect nothing for securing a place of much importance, Sivajee sent forward Annajee Dutto, one of his most confidential Bramins, with a strong body of Mawulees, whilst he himself secretly drew together a large force, both of horse and foot, to act as the occasion might require.

Annajee Dutto was successful; both Panalla and Powangurh were surrendered, and Sivajee followed up this acquisition by surprising the fort of Wussuntgurh, levying contributions along the banks of the Kistna, and leaving a *Thanna*[2] or garrison with

the expiry of that year, i.e. in 1070 A.H. (A.D. 1659). . . . The central, unpaved space in the floor of the cenotaph, where his grave should have been, remains undisturbed to this day.' (Cousens, *A.S.I.*, xxxviii, 1916, p. 97.) Sarkar (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 85) states that Afzal Khān was slain in September, 1659; and he calculates 1069 A.H. as running from Sunday, September 19, A.D. 1658, to Wednesday, September 7, 1659. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, p. 85.) No more precise date than this is given anywhere.]

[1] The name of the person who gave up Panalla is no where mentioned. One Beejapoor MS. states that Sivajee took it by stratagem; another, that a Hindoo in charge surrendered it, which so far corresponds with the Mahratta account. Panalla was one of those forts to which the king generally appointed the Killidar, but it was situated within the Jagheer of Roostum Zuman, one of the Beejapoor generals, whom we shall have occasion to mention in our progress. The Jagheer of Roostum Zuman comprehended Merich and Kolapoor above the Ghauts, and Carwar and Rajapoor in the Concan. There is reason to suppose that Roostum Zuman was bribed by Sivajee at a very early period; the English merchants of the factories of Rajapoor and Carwar repeatedly accuse him of being in league with Sivajee, and of sharing in the plunder of some towns in his own Jagheer.

[2] *Thanna* literally signifies a garrison, but it also means, more especially in Deccan history, the military post at which the inferior revenue officers are stationed to protect the country, aid the police, and collect the revenue; whether the station be a fort or an open

a revenue collector in the Gurhee[1] of Buttees Serala. On his arrival at Panalla, his first object was to send off troops to reduce the neighbouring forts both above and below the Syhadree range, which in general submitted without resistance; but Rangna and Kelneh were taken by assault, and the latter got the name of Vishalgurh, which it still retains.

Dec.—Roostum Zuman, an officer of Beejapoor, stationed at Merich, was directed to march when too late, for the protection of the Kolapoor district: he had only three thousand horse with a small body of infantry, with which he was permitted to advance to the neighbourhood of Panalla, when Sivajee in person attacked him with his cavalry, routed his party with great slaughter, and pursued him across the Kistna.[2] Thence having written to Annajee Dutto to assemble all the spare infantry at Vishalgurh, Sivajee continued his route, plundered many of the villages as far as the neighbourhood of Beejapoor, levied contributions from most of the market towns, spread terror over the whole country, and retired with such celerity as to evade even an attempt at pursuit.

A.D. 1660. Jan.—On joining his troops at Vishalgurh, he marched straight to Rajapoor on the coast, where he appeared a few hours after the news of his being in the neighbourhood of the capital had been received. He levied a contribution from Rajapoor, possessed himself of Dabul[3] and its dependencies,

village. The cultivators consider him their master who is in possession of the thanna; for this reason *garrison* does not convey the full meaning of thanna, and I have therefore been sometimes obliged to use it in preference to the English word.

[1] Gurhee means a small, or sometimes a weak fort. Buttees Serala is called a Gurhee, although it is a mud fort, extensive, but of no strength.

[2] Mahratta MSS. A letter from the English factory at Rajapoor states that Roostum Zuman sent on a small party of his troops, under the son of Afzool Khan, and betrayed them into the hands of Sivajee; but the intelligence then obtained by the factors, all of which they wrote off just as it was received, cannot be relied on; indeed they frequently add, that reports are so contradictory, they know not what to believe. Their letters, however, are very important for fixing dates; and in corroborating facts, admitted by native authorities, they are invaluable.

[3] [Dābhol (Dabul), now a small port in Ratnāgiri District, was the principal port of the south Konkan from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, carrying on a large trade with Persia and the Red Sea ports. Under Yusūf Ādil Shāh it was the capital of a province of Bijāpur, including nearly the whole of the modern Ratnāgiri District (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 163.)]

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acquired considerable booty, and safely conveyed it to Rajgurh.

The destruction of Afzool Khan and his army, the capture of Panalla, the defeat of Roostum Zuman, and above all, the appearance of Sivajee at the gates of the capital, created such an alarm at Beejapoor, that even faction amongst the nobles was in some measure allayed; but, as it was difficult to assign the precedency to any one in particular, it was suggested that the king in person should take the field against him. This proposition, however, was over-ruled, and a fit commander appeared in an Abyssinian officer, Seedee Johur, then commanding at Kurnoul, who had particularly distinguished himself on various services in the Carnatic.

Although he did not then rank among the nobility, his appointment excited less jealousy than if he had been one of either party; but he did not long escape their envy. His army was twice as large as that lately commanded by Afzool Khan; and Fazil Mohummud Khan, the son of Afzool Khan, who was anxious to avenge his father's murder, volunteered to accompany him. It was determined to open the campaign by the siege of Panalla; but before the march of the troops Seedee Johur was dignified with the title of Sulabut Khan.[1] Futih Khan the Seedee was prepared to attack Sivajee's possessions in the Concan, on the advance of Seedee Johur; and the Deshmookhs of Waree, whose fears prompted them to act vigorously, were directed to cooperate for the same purpose.

Sivajee, on the other hand, made arrangements for defending the Concan. Rugonath Punt was opposed to Futih Khan; Abajee Sonedeo protected the fort and districts of Kallian Bheemree; and Bajee Rao Phasalkur, the surnobut or commander-in-chief of the infantry, maintained the war against the Sawunts of Waree. In the upper country, Moro Punt was charged with the care of Poorundhur, Singurh, Pertabghur, and the adjoining country. Sivajee, esteeming Panalla a place of greater strength than it really was, imprudently resolved to defend it in person.

[1] I have retained his name of Seedee Johur; but in all Beejapoor writings his name is henceforth changed to Sulabut Khan. The supposition of his being at all connected with the Seedees of Jinjeera is a mistake, into which it would be very easy to account for Mr. Orme's having fallen.

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He made no attempt to dispute the approach of the Beejapoor army; but as soon as they encamped in the neighbour-
May. hood of the fort, Netajee Palkur, with the horse, began to ravage the surrounding country, to cut off their supplies, to avoid encountering their cavalry, but to harass them by night attacks, in which he was supported by the garrison. Parties of Mawulees under cover of the ravines approached the camp, sprung on the besiegers sword in hand, where they found them unprepared, or threw rockets when they were discovered.

In this manner they did great mischief, and with little loss on their part killed numbers of the Beejapoor troops. Seedee Johur ordered that no quarter should be given to men who practised such warfare. He personally headed the attacks, drove in the whole of the out-posts, closely invested the place, and for several months, in the worst season of the year, persevered in vigorous efforts to reduce it.

The war was likewise actively prosecuted in the Concan. The Seedee, by means of his fleet, having made several successful descents on different parts of the coast, had gained some advantages over his opponent Rugonath Punt; and Bajee Rao Phasalkur, one of Sivajee's earliest followers, fought a drawn battle with Kye Sawunt of Waree, in which both commanders were slain.

Sept.—The siege of Panalla had lasted four months; the place was still tenable, but every avenue was vigilantly guarded, and Sivajee saw the fault he had committed in allowing himself to be shut up in a manner which effectually obstructed all communication, and prevented his either knowing or directing affairs in other parts of the country. To extricate himself from this dilemma required address and boldness.

The besiegers were in high hopes and exceedingly alert. Sivajee first endeavoured to throw them off their guard. He began his scheme by proposals for surrendering; negotiations were commenced, and Sivajee, who well knew that he could trust Seedee Johur,[1] on receiving his promise not to molest him, came down, slightly attended, to one of the batteries, where he was met by Seedee Johur, and soon made him believe that he intended to submit. All firing ceased, and everything was adjusted except a few trifling points artfully reserved by Sivajee till next

[1] The Seedees, in general, have in the present day a high character among the Mahrattas for fidelity to their promise.

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morning; and in the meantime, as the evening closed, he was permitted to return to the fort, which the whole army, now lulled into security, considered as if in their possession.

But in the darkness of night, Sivajee with a chosen band of Mawulees descended the hill, passed the unsuspecting guards, and was on full march towards Rangna[1] before his flight was suspected. When discovered, Fazil Mohummud Khan and Seedee Uzeez, the son of Seedee Johur, pursued him with the cavalry, followed by infantry. They did not overtake him till the morning was far advanced, and he was entering a ghaut within six miles of Rangna. To cover his retreat, Sivajee stationed a party of Mawulees in the pass, and confided the command to his former enemy, Bajee Purvoe, Deshpandya of Hurdus Mawul, desiring him to maintain the post, until a signal of five guns announced the arrival of the main body at the fort. The Deshpandya was worthy of the honourable trust: the cavalry, in attempting to advance, were driven back; and on the arrival of the infantry, two successive assaults with fresh troops were gallantly repulsed. About noon a third party of infantry, headed by the son of Afzool Khan, advanced in a most determined manner. Their attack was desperate, and the brave defenders, after the loss of half their numbers, amongst whom was the gallant Deshpandya, were at last obliged to retreat. But not without effecting their object. Bajee Purvoe heard the signal guns before he fell, and died expressing his satisfaction. The Mawulees proved their regard for him, as well as their own steadiness, by bearing off his body in the face of their numerous pursuers.

Fazil Khan advanced and halted at Rangna: but Seedee Johur's plans were completely disconcerted. He hesitated whether to proceed to Rangna or to continue the siege of Panalla. Ali Adil Shah, disappointed in his hopes and impetuous in his disposition, was easily induced to believe that Seedee Johur had been bribed by Sivajee. The king accused him of this, and Seedee Johur equally disposed to anger and now in a state of irritation, denied the charge in terms which were construed into disrespect

[1] [Kincaid and Parasnis (p. 168) give reasons for believing that Sivājī fled to Vishālgarh, not to Rangna. Vishālgarh is twenty-seven miles from Panhāla via Malkāpur. Professor Sarkar conjectures that the *ghāt* or pass in which Bājī Prabhū made his heroic stand was near Malkāpur. (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 88.)]

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and disloyalty. Ali Adil Shah took the field in person, and marched to Kurar. All the district authorities in the neighbourhood, some of whom had submitted to Sivajee, attended in the royal camp for the purpose of tendering their adherence. Seedee Johur apologized to the king; but dreading the malice of the courtiers, excused himself from coming to camp, and withdrew towards Kurnoul, the place of his government and Jagheer.

Jan. 1661.

The king again invested Panalla, of which, as well as of Pawungurh, he obtained possession. The whole of the forts in the neighbourhood, taken by Sivajee during the former year, excepting Rangna and Vishalgurh, likewise submitted. The setting in of the monsoon induced the king to withdraw from the neighbourhood of the Syhadree range and encamp at Chimulgay on the banks of the Kistna.

Sivajee, in the meantime, although he made no attempt to oppose the king's army, did not remain inactive. In the beginning of the year he again appeared before Rajapoor, which he took and plundered. On this occasion the English sustained some loss, and several of their factors were seized and confined in a hill fort for two years, on an accusation, never substantiated, of having assisted Seedee Johur with mortars and shells at the siege of Panalla.[1] On the reduction of Rajapoor, Sivajee attacked the possessions of the Mahratta Polygar Dulwey. Sringarpoor, his capital, was surprised and taken; but Dulwey continued to resist, until he was killed in an action where Sivajee in person commanded against him. Neither this conquest nor that of Jowlee was

[1] Mahratta MSS. Beejapoor MSS., and English Records. The unfortunate Englishmen were not finally released without paying a ransom. There appears to have been some reason for Sivajee's suspicion, though the fact was never fully ascertained [The names of the factors seized and imprisoned by Sivājī were Henry Revington, Richard Taylor, Randolph Taylor and Philip Gyfford. They were taken first to Waisāti, then to Songarh, three miles north-west of Mahād, Kolāba District, and finally to Raigarh. They were eventually released about February 5, 1663, after more than three years' captivity. Professor J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, ch. xiv., gives a full account of the protracted negotiations regarding the Rājāpur factory carried on between the English and Sivājī. (See Bruce, *Annals*, ii. 364 f., in which he quotes Oxinden's 'Narrative of the Negotiations with Sevajee, May 13 to June 13, 1674.' The reference and other details will be found in Crooke's note on page 198 of Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt), ii). Courten's Association founded a factory at Rājāpur in 1637–8. (Bruce, *Annals*, i. 358, 444; Birdwood, *Report*, 27, 216.)]

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viewed throughout the country with the same favour as his successes against the Mahomedans; and although the present advantage was not acquired by any atrocious deed, such as disgraced several of Sivajee's successes, yet some of the most respectable Hindoos of Sringarpoor preferred emigrating to the territory of the Seedee to residing under the government of the conqueror. It required all Sivajee's address to persuade them to return, and he only effected it by gaining over a family named Soorway, the members of which had been principal managers under Dulwey. Sivajee, to obliterate this odium and to make amends for his past conduct, assumed a greater regard for the forms enjoined by the Hindoo faith, to which he was probably induced, as much from superstition as from policy. Precluded by the situation of the celebrated temple of Dewee Bhowanee at Tooljapoor from paying his devotions there, he, this year, during the rains, dedicated a temple to that deity with great solemnity in the fort of Pertabgurh. His religious observances from this period became exceedingly rigid: he chose the celebrated Ramdass Swamy[1] as his Mahapooroosh,[2] or spiritual guide, and aspired to a high character for sanctity.

But the devotions in which he was engaged did not impede the activity of his troops. During the rains, his whole strength was directed against Futih Khan; and although his operations were much obstructed by the weather, he drove back the troops of the

[1] [Rāmdās Swāmi (1608–81), whose original name was Narayan, son of Suryājī Pant, established himself as a youth in Chaphal, Sātāra District, and claimed to be an incarnation of Hanumān, the monkey-god, who assisted the hero of the *Rāmāyana* in his search for Sītā. Hence the name Rāmdās, or 'slave of Rāma.' Sivājī's meeting with the *Swāmi* is supposed to have taken place in 1649, and subsequently Sivājī bestowed upon him the hill-fort of Parli (or Sajjangarh) in Sātāra, where Rāmdās resided until his death. The date of Sivājī's meeting with Rāmdās has recently been discussed in the vernacular press of the Deccan, some writers holding that it took place only a year or two before Sivājī's coronation. Brahman admirers of Sivājī accept the earlier date, and prefer to give to Rāmdās the chief credit of Sivājī's political achievements. The evidence so far available is not sufficiently definite to warrant the rejection of the view that the meeting took place before Sivājī's twenty-fifth year. (Professor H. G. Limaye's review in *Fergusson College Magazine*, February 1919, pp. 155–68.) Professor J. Sarkar is of opinion that Rāmdās's influence was purely spiritual, and that the evidence as to his political influence is 'neither adequate nor free from suspicion.' (*Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 474–5.)]

[2] [For a discussion of this feature of Hinduism, the devotion to a *guru* or *swāmi* (*Mahāpurush*), see Barth, *Religions of India*, pp. 227–30.]

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Seedee, and had captured Dhunda Rajepoor before the season was sufficiently open to enable the Beejapoor government, or the Deshmookhs of Waree, to relieve the place. He opened batteries against Jinjeera; but a want of guns, and of men who could use them with effect, prevented his making any impression on the works; and he was soon called away to oppose an expected attack from Beejapoor.[1]

During Ali Adil Shah's stay at Chimulgay, he sent several persons to Seedee Johur, assuring him of a favourable reception. He was at last prevailed upon to pay his respects at the royal camp, where he was received with every mark of civility and distinction; but as Ali Adil Shah was much under the influence of Ibrahim Khan, his personal enemy, Seedee Johur doubted the king's sincerity, and embraced the earliest opportunity of returning to his Jagheer. There were at this time several petty rebellions in the northern part of the Carnatic, and as the king's first intention was to prosecute the war against Sivajee, Seedee Johur was commissioned to suppress them; but as he showed no readiness to comply, it was supposed he secretly aided the insurgents, and that he was even connected with Sivajee.

In consequence of this state of affairs, the king's advisers were divided in opinion, whether to direct their principal efforts to the prosecution of the war against Sivajee or to re-establish order in the Carnatic. During their indecision, the Deshmookhs of Waree sent proposals for reducing Sivajee, provided they were properly supported. It was therefore determined that the king should march into the Carnatic, whilst Bahlole Khan and Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole were directed to prepare an army to co-operate with the Sawunts against Sivajee. The king marched and the troops destined for the latter service were assembling, when Bajee Ghorepuray, for some purpose of preparation, proceeded to his Jagheer. Sivajee, who had early intelligence of all that took place, and who had returned to Vishalgurh, no sooner heard of Ghorepuray's being at Moodhole, entirely off his guard, than he chose this moment for anticipating the attack and avenging his father's wrongs. He made a rapid march across the country, surprised and killed Ghorepuray with most of his relations and followers, plundered Moodhole, left it in flames, and returned to Vishalgurh with the greatest expedition.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

Khowaus Khan was appointed to replace Ghorepuray as second in command to Bahlole Khan; and the army had advanced as far as the passes into the Concan, when they were recalled to reinforce the army in the Carnatic.

A.D. 1662.—The king found it necessary to reduce Raichore and Toorgul; both places made an obstinate resistance, and Ali Adil Shah evinced great personal bravery in the attacks.

Seedee Johur at first did not act decidedly as a rebel; but as he foresaw the danger of putting himself again in the power of a sovereign who suspected him, he at last determined openly to oppose the king. He chose an opportunity of attacking the troops of Joojhar Rao Ghatgay and the Naik of Phultun, when they were separated from the rest of the king's camp by the Toongbuddra river. They were at first thrown into confusion and fell back on the camp in great disorder; but on being reinforced by Bahlole Khan, and on recovering from their panic, they retrieved their discomfiture by following up and routing the troops that had attacked them. Seedee Johur maintained the war a very short time, owing to the treachery of his followers, by whom he was put to death, in order to secure their own pardon. The king extended forgiveness to his son; and some time after, by the advice of his minister Abdool Mohummud, who succeeded Ibrahim Khan,[1] Seedee Uzeez was received into favour. But the suppression of this rebellion did not re-establish order; the refractory were numerous, and the war was long protracted. After two whole years spent in different parts of the Carnatic, the campaign was ended by enforcing tribute from the Soonda Raja[2]; and Ali Adil

[1] Ibrahim Khan accompanied the king's mother to Mecca; the usual resort of displaced Mahomedan ministers, as Benares is of Bramins, under similar circumstances.

[2] [The Rājās of Sonda (Soonda), now a small village in Sirsi *tāluka*, north Kanara District, were a branch of the Vijayanagar dynasty and settled at Sonda between 1570 and 1580. On the destruction of Sonda by Haidar Alī in 1764, the chief fled to Goa, where his descendants still hold a position of honour. It is possible that both the Sonda chiefs and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar belonged to the great Bēdar tribe of the Kanarese districts. If this hypothesis is true, writes Dr. V. A. Smith, it would account for the extraordinary diet of the Vijayanagar kings recorded by contemporary Portuguese travellers. See *O.H.I.*, pp. 314–5. For full account of the Bēdars, see Thurston, *C. and T.S.I.*, 1909. Sewell (p. 13) suggests that the Vijayanagar kings may have belonged to the Kuruba tribe, who are shepherds.]

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Shah returned to Beejapoor, having only partially accomplished his object.[1]

The employment of the whole force in the Carnatic proved in many respects of the utmost consequence to Sivajee. He had, on the whole, lost considerably by the campaign of the former season; but he soon recovered more than an equivalent. As soon as Bahlole Khan and Khowaus Khan were recalled, Sivajee attacked the Deshmookhs of Waree, who thus imprudently left to their fate scarcely offered resistance: their territory was speedily occupied, and the Sawunts accompanied by Ram Dulwey, a near relation of the late Polygar of Sringarpoor, fled to Goa for protection, where they were at first received; but the Portuguese, very different from those of their nation who so greatly distinguished themselves a century before, were intimidated by the threats of Sivajee, and forced the fugitives to quit the place.

The Sawunts, abandoned by their government and driven from Goa, threw themselves on the clemency of Sivajee, by whom their Deshmookhee rights were restored, and they afterwards became faithful servants. Ram Dulwey likewise joined Sivajee; and, although his relations were sometimes troublesome, Sivajee might reckon the resources of the southern part of the Concan and the services of some good infantry and officers at his disposal.

Sivajee, however, kept his own garrisons in the territory of the Sawunts,[2] and drew their infantry to distant quarters. He likewise built Rairee, and Sindeedroog[3] or Malwan, and having seen the advantage which the Seedee derived from his fleet, he used great exertions to fit out a marine. He rebuilt or strengthened Kolabah[4]; repaired Severndroog[5] and Viziadroog[6]; and

[1] Beejapoor MS. The campaign of Ali Adil Shah, in the Carnatic, is celebrated by Nusserut, in his Ali Namu, already mentioned.

[2] The territory, generally, is now called Sawunt-Waree.

[3] [Sindhudrug ('ocean fort'), the ramparts of which were two miles in circumference, contains a shrine in which an image of Sivājī is still worshipped by the Marāthā population of Mālwān, Ratnāgiri District. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 148, 165.)]

[4] [Kolāba fort, about twenty miles from Bombay, is built on an island close to the shore of Alībāg, Kolāba District. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 113, 127.)]

[5] [Suvarndrug ('golden fort'), lying to the north of Harnai, Ratnāgiri District, was built in the fifteenth century by the Bijāpur Sultāns. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 164.)]

[6] [i.e. Vijayadrug ('victory fort'). (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 113, 162, 170.)] Or Gheriah.

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prepared vessels at all these places. His principal depôt was the harbour of Kolabah, twenty miles south of Bombay. He gave the command of his fleet to two persons, named Dureea Sagur and Mynak Bundaree,[1] and soon began to commit acts of piracy. The Portuguese, in order to prevent the ravages of the Mahratta fleet, sent an ambassador to Sivajee, who readily promised to refrain from molesting them, on condition of being supplied with some guns and warlike stores, to which they consented; and the demand, as might have been expected, was very frequently renewed.[2]

After the Sawunts were reduced, the minister of Ali Adil Shah, Abdool Mohummud, entered into a secret compact with Sivajee.[3] The particulars of this agreement, or the means by which it was brought about, are totally unknown; but it is not improbable that it may have been effected through the intervention of Shahjee. It is certain, that about this period, Shahjee, who had been delighted with the exploit of his son against the treacherous Ghorepuray, came from the Carnatic, accompanied by his other son Venkajee, and visited Sivajee, with the consent and approbation of his own government. Sivajee treated his father with the greatest distinction, and on hearing of his approach, according to Mahratta notions of profound respect, went several miles to meet him, dismounted from his horse, and saluted him with the obeisance due by a servant to his sovereign; insisted on walking by the side of his father's palanquin, and would not sit in his presence until repeatedly commanded. After some weeks spent in conviviality, and visiting various parts of Sivajee's territory, Shahjee, highly gratified, returned to Beejapoor, the bearer of presents from Sivajee to the king[4]; and what strengthens the supposition of Shahjee's having been the mediator, hostilities from that time were suspended between Sivajee and Beejapoor during the life

[1] [Darya Sarang, i.e. 'sea-commander,' was probably the correct title of this sea-captain. In Mānkar's translation of Krishnājī Anant's life of Sivājī he appears both as Darya Sarang and (p. 102) as Darya-sawat Sāgar. *Darya* is Persian for 'ocean.'

Mynak is clearly a corruption of Māi Nāik or Nāyak, mentioned by Mānkar as a naval commander; and Sarkar points out that *Maa* is Arabic for 'water,' and that the title Māi Nāik or Nāyak signifies 'water-leader.' (*Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), p. 336) He was evidently by caste a Bandhārī (Bundaree), for an account of whom see footnote on *Hetkaris*, p. 175 f. *infra*, and *B.G.*, x. 124.]

[2] Mahratta MSS. [3] Beejapoor MS. [4] Mahratta MS.

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of Shahjee; nor, when they were renewed, was Sivajee the aggressor.

It is an opinion of some of the Mahrattas, that it was by Shahjee's advice that Sivajee changed his principal residence from Rajgurh to Rairee. It is certain that he, at this time, changed the name of the latter to Raigurh; and Abajee Sonedeo was instructed to commence erecting a complete set of public buildings within the fort, with accommodation for the different officers and departments of his immediate government; a work which was not completed for several years: considerable labour was also for some time used in strengthening the natural defences of the mountain, for the purpose of rendering it impregnable.

Sivajee now possessed the whole of the continent of the Concan, from Kallian to Goa, a length of coast about four degrees of latitude; and the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta from the Beema to the Warna, a distance of about 160 English miles. His territory, at its greatest breadth, or between Sopa and Jinjeera, did not exceed one hundred English miles. He had an army proportionally much larger than the size of his territory; but, when we consider the predatory means he took for supporting it, the number, when stated at fifty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, is probably not exaggerated. His power was formidable, and the truce with Beejapoor gave him an opportunity of directing it against the Moghuls.

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CHAPTER VI.

FROM A.D. 1662 TO A.D. 1667.

A.D. 1662.—SINCE the departure of Aurungzebe, Sivajee had been so much occupied in the war with Beejapoor, that he was not only unable to take advantage of the events passing in Hindoostan, but in May, 1661, when the Moghuls possessed themselves of Kallian Bheemree, Sivajee was not in a condition to resent the aggression. He now, however, prepared a large force; the infantry under Moro Punt, and the horse headed by Netajee Palkur. The former, during the rains, possessed himself of several strongholds, north of Joonere, but there is no satisfactory account of the particulars. Netajee Palkur, as soon as the state of the roads permitted, ravaged the Moghul districts without mercy; he was ordered to plunder the villages and levy contributions from the towns; but he even exceeded these orders, swept the country to the environs of Aurungabad, spread terror in all directions, and, by moving rapidly from one direction to another, returned safe and unopposed to Poona.

Shaisteh Khan,[1] who, with the title of Umeer Ool Oomrah, had been appointed to succeed the prince, Sultan Mauzum, as viceroy of the Deccan, was ordered by the Emperor to punish this daring incursion, to carry the war into Sivajee's territory, and to reduce his forts.

Shaisteh Khan accordingly marched from Aurungabad with a great force, and pursuing the high road by Ahmednugur and Pairgaom, turned from the latter place westward towards Poona. On his route, he sent a detachment to take possession of Sopa,

[1] Maternal uncle of Aurungzebe, and nephew of the celebrated Noor Mahal, whose name is probably more generally known at present from Mr. Moore's Lalla Rookh, than from the history of India. The fact of our being indebted to Noor Jehan's mother for the discovery of utter [*attar*] of roses is gravely recorded by the historian Khafee Khan.

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and pitched on Jadow Rao, Deshmookh of Sindkheir, Sivajee's relation, to occupy the districts.[1] Sivajee, on the approach of the Moghul army, left Rajgurh, and made Singurh his principal residence. Shaisteh Khan took Poona, and sent out strong detachments to occupy the Katruje Ghaut and the village of Sewapoor. Parties were also detached to reconnoitre the forts; and as Chakun lay between him and Joonere, which was inconvenient, and as he expected that so small a place would surrender on the first summons, he moved against it with the main body of his army; but Phirungajee Nursalla, who had remained in command of Chakun since the year 1646, refused to surrender and made an excellent defence. Chakun held out against the Moghul army for nearly two months. At last, on the fifty-sixth day of the siege, a mine having been sprung under the north-east bastion, a very large, practicable breach was made, and many of the garrison were killed by the explosion. The Moghuls being prepared for the assault rushed forward, but were met by the remains of the garrison, headed by their gallant Havildar in the breach, which was so well defended that the assailants could make no impression. The besieged maintained their post till night-fall, when the attack ceased; and in the morning, Phirungajee Nursalla capitulated. Shaisteh Khan, in admiration of his conduct, treated him with great respect, and made him considerable offers if he would enter the imperial service, but Nursalla did not disgrace the fame he had acquired by accepting them; Shaisteh Khan dismissed him with honour, and he rejoined Sivajee, by whom he was commended and rewarded.[2]

The Moghuls, by their own account, lost nine hundred in killed and wounded before Chakun, which, considering the length and obstinate nature of the defence, does not appear a great number; but Shaisteh Khan became impressed with an idea of the insur-

[1] Khafee Khan.

[2] [He was appointed commandant of Bhupālgarh in Sātāra District. The very untrustworthy *Shivdigvijaya Bakhar*, which according to Professor Sarkar was fabricated at Baroda in 1895, and is falsely described as written by Khando Ballāl, son of Bālājī Avjī, in 1718, states that Sivājī dismissed Firangjī Narsāla for capitulating to a Moslem, and that the latter in disgust joined Shāyista Khān. Sivājī had him subsequently brought back by force to his side. This account is untrustworthy. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 95, 96.) Bhupālgarh lies ten miles south-east of Khānapur, Sātāra District, and is known by its modern name of Basrūr.]

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A.D. 1663. mountable difficulty of reducing the hill forts. Aurungzebe, on the contrary, considered their reduction a matter of easy accomplishment; and long after this period, continued to entertain the greatest contempt for the Mahrattas as enemies. Raja Jeswunt Sing, the Rajpoot prince of Joudpoor was, however, ordered to join the Khan with a large reinforcement. The fair season was far advanced before his arrival, and the whole army lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Poona, whilst Netajee Palkur again appeared about Ahmednugur and Aurungabad, burning and plundering the districts.[1]

A party was immediately detached to intercept him, and on this occasion succeeded in surprising and killing several of his men. They afterwards continued the pursuit, Netajee was himself wounded, and it was supposed he would have been taken had not the Beejapoor general, Roostum Zuman, favoured his escape.[2]

Shaisteh Khan in the meantime had taken up his abode in the town of Poona, and had fixed his residence in the house built by Dadajee Konedeo.[3] From Sivajee's being in the neighbourhood, of whose character for stratagem he was well aware, the Khan took many of those precautions which frequently invite what they are intended to prevent. No armed Mahratta was permitted to enter Poona without a passport, and no Mahratta horsemen were entertained excepting under such chiefs[4] of their own as held their lands from the Emperor.

Sivajee, watchful of all that passed, resolved to surprise the Khan, and sent two Bramins to make such arrangements as were necessary to gain admission. When his preparations were complete, Sivajee left Singurh one evening in the month of April,[5] a little after sunset, at the head of a considerable body of infantry whom he posted in small parties along the road, but Yessjee Kunk, Tannajee Maloosray and twenty-five Mawulees were all that entered.[6] His emissaries[7] had gained a Mahratta foot-

[1] Mahratta MSS., Khafee Khan.
[2] Mahratta MSS., and English Records.
[3] Mahratta MSS.
[4] Khafee Khan.
[5] Mahratta MSS., and letter from the English factors, then prisoners at large in Rajapoor, dated April 12, 1663.
[6] Mahratta MSS.
[7] The means his emissaries took to obtain him admission is omitted in the Mahratta MSS., but Khafee Khan's account bears every mark of probability. It is also confirmed by Catrou.

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soldier in the Khan's service, who, on pretence of celebrating a marriage, obtained permission to beat through the town with the noisy instruments used on such occasions, and also for some of his companions, who always carry their arms, to join in the procession. Poona being an open town, Sivajee with his party, favoured by the contrivance of his emissaries, easily slipped undiscovered into the crowd and joined in the moving assemblage.

When all was quiet, Sivajee and his companions, familiar with every avenue and every accessible part of the Khan's residence, proceeded with a few pick-axes to the cook-room, above which there was a window slightly built up. Through this place they soon made themselves a passage, but not without alarming some of the women of the Khan's family, who immediately ran and awoke their master. Shaisteh Khan was hurrying out, and in the act of lowering himself from a window, when he received a blow on the hand which cut off one of his fingers.[1] He was fortunate in escaping without further injury, as his son Abool Futih Khan and most of the guard at his house were killed.

Sivajee and his men retired before it was possible to intercept them, and gradually collected their parties on their route to Singurh. When they got to the distance of three or four miles, they lighted torches, previously prepared, to occasion deception as to their numbers, and to express their defiance and derision. In this manner they ascended to the fort in view of the Moghul camp, from which they might be distinctly seen.

No action of Sivajee's is now talked of with greater exultation among his countrymen than this exploit;—to complete the triumph, a body of Moghuls came galloping towards Singurh next morning, and were permitted to approach close to the fort,

[1] [Elliot and Dowson (vol. vii, pp. 270–1) relate that three Māvalīs forced their way into Shāyista Khān's room, but two fell into a cistern of water and the third, though he cut off the Khān's thumb, was killed by his spear. Two slave-girls dragged Shāyista Khān to a place of safety. The Bombay Secretariat Records (Selections I, i. 15) support Grant Duff's account. The *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (Mānkar, 32) states, 'The Nawāb, however, received sword blows which cut off three of his fingers.' Kincaid and Parasnis (p. 199) following the *Shivdigvijaya Bakhar*, state that Shāyista Khān lost a thumb while trying to stem the rush of Sivājī's men into the women's apartments. Sarkar (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 101) states that Sivājī cut off the Khān's thumb, that the lights were then put out, and that in the darkness Shāyista Khān was hurried by the slave-girls to a place of safety. Two Marāthās fell into a cistern which increased the confusion.]

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which they did in a vaunting manner, beating their kettle drums and brandishing their swords ; when the guns opening upon them, they retired in the greatest confusion. Kartojee Goozur,[1] who commanded a party of Sivajee's horse, left in the neighbourhood by Netajee Palkur, took this opportunity of falling upon them, which he did so unexpectedly as to complete their flight and disgrace.[2] This is the first time we find the Moghul cavalry pursued by the Mahrattas. Kartojee Goozur, encouraged by his success, cut off several small parties, and obliged the Moghuls to strengthen their out-posts.

Trifling reverses contributed to dishearten Shaisteh Khan in his present state of grief and mortification. Instead of acting with the spirit that became an officer, he accused Jeswunt Sing of neglect, complained of the state of his army, and wrote to the Emperor stating suspicions of Jeswunt Sing's having been bribed by Sivajee. Aurungzebe was preparing for a journey to Kashmeer when news of the Khan's disaster, and the want of union between him and Jeswunt Sing, reached Delhi. He at first recalled both the principal officers, and appointed Sultan-Mauzum viceroy of the Deccan ; but he afterwards conferred the government of Bengal on Shaisteh Khan, and directed Jeswunt Sing to remain as second in command under the prince.

Jeswunt Sing made a feeble attempt to invest Singurh, but he did not prosecute the siege. Strong detachments were left at Chakun[3] and Joonere, whilst the main body of the army retired to Aurungabad.

[1] [The surname is derived from the name of the race (Gurjar) which entered India in the trail of the White Huns in A.D. 452, and by A.D. 600 had overrun north-eastern Kāthiāwār and set up a branch at Broach in Gujarāt. Broughton (*Letters from a Mahratta Camp*) mentions 'Goojurs' as bands of marauders inhabiting the hilly parts of Rājputāna. The Gūjar (Goozur) caste is most numerous in the Panjāb and the upper districts of the United Provinces, small colonies of Gūjars being also settled in the Hoshangābād and Nīmār Districts of the Central Provinces. The Gūjars, who are inveterate cattle-lifters, are regarded as about equal in rank with the Ahīrs, and rather below the Jāts. Many sections of the Gūjars are Musalmans. (Sleeman's *Rambles*, ed. Smith (1915), p. 192 n.)]

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] It was about this time, when the army had retired, that Sivajee, having gone to hear a Kutha by Tookaram in the town of Poona, narrowly escaped being made prisoner by the garrison of Chakun. The Mahratta MSS. particularly mention the miraculous interference of the god Pandoorang, by whom he was saved.

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Sivajee, who always spread false reports of his intentions, assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Kallian, and another near Dhunda Rajepoor, gave out that he meant to attack the Portuguese at Bassein and Choule, or make a grand effort to reduce the Seedee. But his real design was on Surat, at that time one of the richest cities in India, and Byherjee Naik, a famous spy in his service, was already on the spot making such preparatory observations as were necessary. On pretence of paying his respects at a temple near Nassuck, and of visiting the forts lately taken by Moro Trimmul, Sivajee proceeded to the northward, but when supposed to be engaged in devotions, he made a rapid march with four thousand horse towards Surat, which he surprised, and having systematically plundered it for six days of great riches, he leisurely conveyed his booty unmolested to Raigurh, which being now completed became the future seat of his government. The plunder of Surat was great, and it would have been more considerable had the English and Dutch factories fallen into his power, but they stood on the defensive, and the English in particular behaved so manfully, that they not only saved their own property, but a part of that of the citizens: Sir George Oxenden was then chief or governor at Surat.[1]

A.D. 1664. Jan. 5.

[1] The sack of Surat, on this occasion, is most minutely described in the Records of the English factory, now in the East India house. In consequence of their generous defence of the property of others, Aurungzebe granted to the English a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat. During the time the Mahrattas were plundering the town, Sivajee remained outside. A person named Smith, an Englishman, was taken prisoner and carried before Sivajee, whom he represented as seated in a tent, ordering heads and hands to be chopped off in cases where persons were supposed to be concealing their wealth.

The walls of Surat, up to this period, were of mud. They were now ordered to be built of brick. Thevenot, who was at Surat in the early part of 1666, mentions that they were then in progress.

[Sir George Oxinden was subsequently Governor of Bombay, resident in Surat, from September 1668, when he took charge of the Island from the King's representative, until his death in July 1669. He was born in 1620, son of Sir James Oxinden of Dene, co. Kent. He was knighted at the Restoration. The mausoleum containing his remains and those of his brother Christopher (*ob.* April 18, 1659), which is one of the chief objects of interest in Surat, bears a long Latin inscription describing him as 'Anglorum in India, Persia, Arabia, Præses, Insulæ Bombayensis Gubernator.' (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 348.) See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xliii. 9 f.; Hedges, *Diary*, ii. 223, 241, 250, 303; Bruce, ii. 107.

Sarkar (*Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), p. 106) gives a

On Sivajee's return he heard of the death of his father, which happened by an accidental fall from his horse, when hunting,[1] in January, 1664, at the village of Buswuputtum on the banks of the Toongbuddra near Bednore, where he had joined the Beejapoor army to assist in reducing some refractory Zumeendars.

Shahjee possessed at his death not only the districts originally conferred upon him in Jagheer by the Beejapoor government, but the fort of Arnee, Porto Novo,[2] and the territory of Tanjore.[3] He continued in obedience to Ali Adil Shah, who seems to have allowed him to retain his new acquisitions unquestioned.

Some days were spent by Sivajee in the observance of the usual obsequies which he performed at Singurh, where he remained for some time, and afterwards came to Raigurh. He spent some months revising and arranging the departments and affairs of his government, assisted by his principal officers; and on this occasion, first assumed the title of Raja, and struck coins in his own name.[4]

Netajee Palkur regularly returned at the commencement of the

full list of authorities for this first sack of Surat; which is described by him in detail on pp. 104–18. Sivājī carried off plunder to the extent of one million rupees.

The chief record, referred to by Grant Duff, is a general letter from the President and Council of Surat to the East India Company, dated January 28, 1663–4, and signed by Geo. Oxinden, Henry Gary, John Goodyer, and Ger. Aungier, which is included in Forrest's *Selections* (*Bombay series*). See also letter of February 16, 1663–4, in Forrest, *Home Papers*, i. 34 f. Smith's account of Sivājī's cruelty at Surat is corroborated by a letter of January 26, 1663–4, from a Mr. L'Escaillot (or Escaliot), minister in Norwich, to Sir Thomas Browne, now registered in No. 1860, Folio 5 of the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum. (Vincent A. Smith in *Times Lit. Supp.*, May 15, 1919.)]

[1] Some Mahrattas, very old men, join in all sorts of hunting; the present Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkur must be nearly as old as Shahjee was, and is still a keen sportsman.

[2] The English records mention the capture of Porto Novo by Shahjee in July 1661.

[3] All the Mahratta MSS. state the conquest to have been made by Shahjee. No Mahrattas or Bramins, conversant with their own history, seem to think otherwise; the doubt seems to have arisen in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, and it was natural to have done so, owing to the apprehension which the Tanjore Raja must have entertained, of being called to account for half his revenue; proofs, however, of what is stated, will ultimately appear.

[4] [See page 204, *post*. Coins struck in Sivājī's name are not known to be extant. Copper coins known as *Shivrāis* have been found, but belong to later members of Sivāji's line (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xx, pp. 112 ff. and 191 ff.) See *Prog. Rep. A.S.W.C.*, 1919, pp. 6 and 48, for account of unique gold coin of 'Chhatrapati Mahārāja Sivājī' found in Phaltan.]

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rains, and was almost invariably successful. Sivajee's fleet had also succeeded in making considerable captures. Amongst others, they took some Moghul ships bound to Mocha, and exacted ransoms from all the rich pilgrims proceeding to the shrine of their prophet. In the month of August Sivajee in person surprised and plundered the Pettah of Ahmednugur, and carried his depredations to the vicinity of Aurungabad. During his absence, the Beejapoor army, stationed at Panalla under the command of two generals, broke the truce, made a vigorous effort for the recovery of the Concan, and had retaken several places; when Sivajee, who, as the English records of the period observe, seemed to be everywhere and prepared for every emergency, appeared

Oct. in the field at the head of a large force, with which he gave them battle, and defeated them with great slaughter.[1] Vingorla, the inhabitants of which seem to have risen on his garrison, Sivajee burnt to the ground, and hastened back to Singurh to watch the motions of the Moghuls, from whom he apprehended an attack, as they had sent a strong

A.D. 1665. reinforcement to a camp formed at Joonere. But having discovered that they did not intend to act on the offensive, he sent off a part of his horse to plunder in the Beejapoor territory south of the Kistna, and immediately devised a new enterprise. Preparatory to its execution, he caused it to be believed that he had a design of surprising the Moghul camp. Whilst this report was current, he secretly drew together

Feb. a large fleet,[2] suddenly set off for the coast, embarked from Malwan, made a descent on the rich town of Barcelore,[3] about 130 miles below Goa, and sailed back as far as Gocurn with four thousand men, before it was fully ascertained that he had quitted his capital. There, having dismissed the greater part of his fleet, he paid his devotions at a temple in the neighbour-

[1] The English factors at Carwar and Rajapoor mention that 6,000 of the Beejapoor troops were killed.

[2] According to a letter from the Carwar factory, this fleet consisted of eighty-five frigates and three great ships. By the frigates are probably meant, the small vessels with one mast, from 30 to 150 tons burthen, common on the Malabar coast; and by the great ships, three masted vessels.

[3] [Barcelore is the modern Basrūr, four miles east of Kūndapur in south Kanara District. It used to be the principal seaport of the Rājās of Bednūr. In the Marāthi *bakhars* the name is also spelt Basnūr and Hasnūr. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 311.)]

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hood, and afterwards, having divided his troops into parties, scoured the whole country, and acquired immense booty from several of the rich mercantile towns in that neighbourhood; Carwar [1] stood on the defensive, and Sivajee had only time to exact a contribution [2]; after which, having dispatched his troops by land, he hastily re-embarked on his return to Raigurh.[3]

On this voyage Sivajee was detained longer than he expected, a strong gale drove him down the coast, and the north-west winds prevented his return for many days. This delay was one of the several circumstances by which his tutelary goddess is said to have shown her displeasure at this expedition; the only naval enterprise on which he in person embarked.

But a more serious case of uneasiness than the inconveniences of adverse winds and sea-sickness, awaited the return of Sivajee; which was no less than the approach of a very formidable army under two officers of note, Mirza Raja Jey Sing, a Rajpoot prince, and Dilere Khan, an Afghan.

On first view it appears extraordinary that Aurungzebe, after what had occurred, did not prosecute the war against Sivajee with greater vigour; but his own insecurity, the apprehensions of a usurper, especially during his father's life, and the natural distrust of a jealous disposition, sufficiently account for the delay, independent of discussions with the court of Persia, his ultimate views of subjugating the whole Deccan at once, and the contempt he entertained for 'the mountain rat,'[4] as it is said he affected to style Sivajee.

[1] [The old town of Kārwār lies three miles to the east of the modern town, the head quarters of the north Kanara District, Bombay. During the first half of the seventeenth century the Desāi of Kārwār was an important official of the Bijāpur Kingdom, and the town had a large export trade in fine muslins, woven at Hubli and other inland places, pepper, cardamoms, cassia and coarse cotton cloth. The fame of the pepper of Sonda induced Sir William Courten's Company to open a factory at Kārwār in 1638. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 103–5.)]

[2] The English factory paid 112*l.* sterling of this contribution.

[3] Mahratta MSS. and English Records. The former mention that Sivajee, on this expedition, acquired vast plunder at Hussnoor, the latter say at Barcelore. The Mahrattas say that Hussnoor (with the situation of which I am unacquainted) is a town in Bardez, in the Goa territory. [See note 3, p. 157.]

[4] Fryer [The phrase occurs in Chapter IV of Fryer's *New Account* (1675). ''Tis undeniable he hath taken and maintains against the Moguls Sixty odd strong Hills: But the Cause is, the Moguls are unacquainted with, and their Bodies unfit for such barren and uneasy Places; so that they rather chuse to desert than to defend them: Whereby it

The assumption of the title of Raja, the privilege of coining, the numerous aggressions committed, or even the plunder of Surat, did not call forth the resentment of Aurungzebe so forcibly as robbing the holy pilgrims proceeding to Mecca; and the religious zeal which he professed demanded an exertion of his power to punish the author of outrages, as sacrilegious to his faith as insulting to his empire.

Mirza Raja Jey Sing and Dilere Khan had both, in the first instance, declared for the cause of Dara, but were subsequently won over by Aurungzebe, to whom they performed essential services. The Emperor never placed entire confidence in Jey Sing, and he was suspicious of Dilere Khan owing to his former conduct, to the bold daring character of the man, and to his great influence with his countrymen, of whom there were a great number on the imperial service. On the distant employment to which they were about to proceed, among a people and in a country familiar to Aurungzebe, but where they were strangers, their services and that of their adherents could be safely used in reducing Sivajee and exacting arrears of tribute from Beejapoor. As that government became more and more indigent, this demand was always an excuse for hostilities. In the present instance it afforded convenient occupation for two men whom Aurungzebe doubted, and weakened a kingdom intended to be annexed to the empire. Aurungzebe, although he must have been aware that Jey Sing's means were inadequate, gave him a commission to conquer Beejapoor, after Sivajee should be subdued. He had not sufficient confidence in any one to trust him with a sufficient force, and his policy, from the time he became Emperor, seems to have

is sufficiently evident Seva Gi is unable in the Plain to do anything but Rob, Spoil, and return with all the speed imaginable: And on that account it is Aurenzeeb calls him his Mountain Rat, with which the greatest Systems of monarchy in the World, though continued by an uninterrupted Descent of Imperial Ancestry, have ever been infested, finding it more hard to fight with Mountains than with Men.'

Grose (p. 117) remarks, 'Many of the aborigines Gentoos . . . retired for shelter to the numerous mountains of Indostan, and there burrowed in inaccessible fastnesses, upon which Aurenzeb gave them the humorous nickname of Mountain-rats.' Crooke gives this reference, and quotes a statement by Professor J. Sarkar that 'in 1673, when Pratāp Rāo Gūjar demanded tribute (*chauth*) from Surat, the Surat officers called the Marāthās "mouse-like hole-seekers."' (Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt), 1909, ii. 59.)]

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been to shake the Deccan states so effectually that he could overturn them when it suited his purpose.

When this army marched, Ram Sing, the son of Raja Jey Sing, was directed to reside at the Emperor's court, on pretence of doing his father honour, but in reality as a hostage for his conduct. It was so contrived that Jey Sing's approach was not known to Sivajee, when he embarked on his maritime expedition. The force crossed the Nerbuddah about the month of February. Jeswunt Sing and Sultan Mauzum were recalled, but Jey Sing took an opportunity of paying his respects to the prince at Aurungabad, and then marched on to Poona. He arrived there early in April, and no time was lost in commencing operations. He invested Poorundhur; and leaving Dilere Khan to prosecute the siege, he himself blockaded Singurh, and pushed on his advanced parties as far as Rajgurh.

Sivajee had just returned from the coast on Jey Sing's arrival, and hastened to Raigurh, where he for the first time called a consultation of all his principal people. Netajee Palkur, though it was a part of his duty to watch the motions of the enemy, was at a great distance with the main body of the cavalry, and Sivajee, although he probably then found it impolitic to displace him, never forgave the neglect.[1] Kartojee Goozur had further opportunities of proving his activity; but it was rather in eluding pursuit than in any particular success; he, however, cut off several parties of foragers, and brought in constant intelligence.

The great reputation of Raja Jey Sing,[2] the strength of his army, and the unexpected vigour of his attack, combined to create an unusual alarm and perplexity in Sivajee, which were perceptible in the consultations at Raigurh, and spread themselves amongst his chief officers. This indecision, according to the opinion of his countrymen anxious to deify him, was in consequence of a communication from the goddess Bhowanee, by whom Sivajee was

[1] Catrou from Manouchi's MS. says Netajee was bribed by Jey Sing, which, although not mentioned in the Mahratta MSS., is more than probable.

[2] He was styled from the name of his capital Rajah of Ambhere, now better known by that of Jeypoor or Jeynugur. He was probably grandfather to the celebrated astronomer, Jey Sing, who succeeded to the principality in 1693. [This is not correct. There were two ruling chiefs of Jaipur between Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh and Sawai Jai Singh. The succession of the latter took place in 1699, not in 1693.]

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warned in a dream,[1] that he could not prevail against this Hindoo prince, and as Sivajee was not, as far as can be ascertained, materially reduced in any way, it is probable that superstition was one of the principal causes which influenced his conduct at this crisis.

But the irresolution of the council at Raigurh did not affect the spirit of the garrison at Poorundhur. Bajee Purvoe,[2] a Deshpandya of Mhar, was Havildar of the fort, which was strongly garrisoned by Mawulees and Hetkurees. The Deshpandya maintained his post with bravery and ability. He disputed every point of the approaches, but his outposts being driven in, Dilere Khan commenced mining a rock under one of the towers of the lower fort. The garrison made frequent sallies, and repeatedly drove off the miners, but they were at last firmly lodged under cover. After repeated failures, they succeeded in shattering the rock and defences, so as to enable them to attempt an assault.[3] They had gained the lower fort, but whilst the garrison was retiring to the upper, the assailants, careless or insensible of the danger to which they exposed themselves, dispersed to plunder the houses; when the Hetkuree marksmen from above opened a fire so destructive, that many of the assailants sought shelter in every corner, and others ran outside to get under cover of the

[1] ['At every crisis of his life Sivājī professed to be guided by the dreams or visions vouchsafed by his tutelary deity; and it is hard to say how far the convenient revelations were the product of cunning policy or the subjective realities of a mystic fanaticism.' (*Times Lit. Supp.*, February 6, 1919.) In India the belief is widespread that during sleep the soul of a man leaves its physical tabernacle and wanders abroad, and that the gods reveal themselves on these occasions. Sivājī's usual practice, however, seems to have consisted in falling into a trance, and while in that condition repeating instructions believed to be inspired by the goddess. A similar practice is still followed by the *Bhagats* and other professional visionaries among the lower classes in Bombay, and from the respect paid to these humble soothsayers, one can realize how greatly Sivājī's supposed inspiration must have added to his position and influence in Mahārāshtra.]

[2] He was no relation of the gallant Purvoe, of the same name, who covered Sivajee's retreat from Panalla.

[3] The highest point of the mountain of Poorundhur is upwards of seventeen hundred feet from the plain immediately below; there are two forts, an upper and lower, situated from three to four hundred feet below the summit; the works, like most of the hill-forts in that part of the country, are of perpendicular rock, and frequently weakened, rather than strengthened, by curtains and bastions of masonry, by which the natural defences are generally surmounted.

rock. At this moment the Mawulees, headed by their commander, sallied out, attacked the Moghuls sword in hand, killed all that opposed them, and drove them down the hill in view of Dilere Khan, who was seated on his elephant near the bottom, observing the progress of the assault. Seeing the flight of his men he bent his bow, called to a body of Patans about him to advance, and rallying the fugitives, pushed forward his elephant; but the garrison, like all Mahrattas, daring in success, closed with his men, and even the hardy Afghans began to recoil from the swords of the Mawulees; when Dilere Khan, having marked the conspicuous conduct of their leader, with his own hand pierced him with an arrow and killed him on the spot. The whole of the garrison accompanying him instantly fled, nor stopped until they reached the upper fort. The Moghuls again took possession of the lower fort, but the fire from above obliged them to relinquish it. After this failure, Dilere Khan, considering the northern face impregnable, determined on attempting to escalade Wujrgurh,[1] a small detached fort, situated on the north-east angle of Poorundhur, which commands a great part of its works. The attempt succeeded, and guns were brought up to breach the upper fort, but the rains had set in and greatly retarded operations. The Moghul artillery was extremely bad, and although they continued firing for weeks, little impression was made on the defences. The garrison, however, became dispirited, and sent notice that they could hold out no longer. They would have evacuated the fort, but Sivajee particularly desired them to maintain the defence until he should send them an intimation to retire.

Sivajee from the first had commenced negotiating and sending messages to Jey Sing, from whom he received assurances of favour; but the latter, who understood the character of his adversary, did not relax in his efforts or preparations, and Sivajee now seriously reverted to his early plan of entering the Moghul service, and relinquishing a part of his acquisitions.

With this view he sent Rugonath Punt, Nya-Shastree, to Jey Sing, who listened, answered, and agreed to some of Sivajee's proposals; but he put no trust in his sincerity, until the Bramin (Rugonath Punt) convinced him that Sivajee did not intend deception. Jey Sing then desired him to assure Sivajee, on the

[1] Or Rooder Mahal, according to the Mahrattas.

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honour of a Rajpoot, that he might rely, not only on pardon, but on favour and protection from the Emperor. Whilst this negotiation was pending, Sivajee moved from Raigurh to Pertabgurh, and afterwards to Jowlee; for what purpose is unknown, but probably in order to conceal his real design from his own troops. With a slender retinue, Sivajee, in the month of July, crossed the mountains, proceeded straight to Jey Sing's camp, where he announced himself as Sivajee Raja. Jey Sing sent a person to conduct him to his presence, and on his approach, advanced from his tent, met, and embraced him. He seated him on his right hand, treated him with great respect and kindness, and repeated the assurances sent by Rugonath Punt. After some conversation, in the humblest strain on the part of Sivajee, he was permitted to retire to tents adjoining those of Jey Sing. Next day Sivajee went to visit Dilere Khan, who was still before Poorundhur, and now exceedingly mortified at his not being made privy to the negotiation. He threatened to persevere in reducing Poorundhur and putting every man to the sword; this, however, was but a threat, and he was soothed and gratified by Sivajee's presenting the keys of the gate with his own hand, and telling him that all his forts and country were his, that he merely sought pardon, that experience had convinced him of the folly of resisting such soldiers as Aurungzebe could boast of, and that he now only hoped to be enrolled among the servants of the empire.

July.

An armistice immediately took place, as soon as Sivajee came into camp, and after several conferences, the following were the terms of agreement entered into, subject to the approval of the Emperor; but the whole under the guarantee of Jey Sing, without which Sivajee would not have trusted his person in a Moghul army:—As a preliminary article, Sivajee relinquished whatever forts or territory he had taken from the Moghuls. Of thirty-two forts taken or built by him, in the territory which had belonged to the Nizam Shahee government, he gave up twenty to Jey Sing, amongst which were Poorundhur and Singurh. The whole of the districts dependent on these forts were ceded at the same time.[1]

[1] [The precise number of forts surrendered is not certain; for while Grant Duff speaks of twenty, Khāfī Khān mentions twenty-three, and the *bakhars* twenty-seven. Sarkar (*Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 156–7) accepts Khāfī Khān's figure and gives a list of the forts ceded.]

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The territory belonging to the remaining twelve forts,[1] estimated at one lack of pagodas of annual revenue, and all the rest of his acquisitions were to form his Jagheer, dependent on the Emperor. His son Sumbhajee, then in his eighth year, was to receive a munsub of five thousand horse; but the most remarkable part of this agreement was Sivajee's proposal of being allowed certain assignments on Beejapoor, probably in lieu of his pretended hereditary claims in the Nizam Shahee territory, and as some recompense for what he had ceded to the Emperor.

These assignments were estimated at five lacks of pagodas, being a fourth and a tenth of the revenue, termed by him the *Chouth* and *Surdeshmookhee*,[2] of certain districts above the Ghauts; the charge of collecting which he took upon himself. So eager was Sivajee to obtain the imperial authority for this arrangement, that he offered, on condition of its being granted, to pay a peshkush of forty lacks of pagodas by instalments of three lacks annually, and to maintain an additional body of troops.[3]

Aurungzebe, in a long letter to Sivajee, distinctly confirms the substance of what is recorded by the Mahrattas to have taken place at the convention of Poorundhur, enumerates the twelve forts, and promises a munsub of five thousand horse to Sivajee's

[1] The twelve remaining forts were, 1. Rajgurh, 2. Torna, 3. Rairee (Raigurh), 4. Linganah, 5. Mhargurh, 6. Ballagurh, 7. Gossala, 8. Eeswaree, 9. Palee, 10. Bhoorup, 11. Koaree, and 12. Oodedroog. [With the exception of Bālagarh (Ballagurh) and Īshvarī (Eeswaree) this list corresponds with that included in Aurangzeb's letter to Sivājī of August 26, 1665, printed on page 214 of *A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis (1918). Possibly the Talegadh and Alwari of the letter are alternative names for Bālagarh and Īshvarī. Bālakot is mentioned by the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* as one of the forts built by Sivājī in the Konkan. A list of 145 forts, at one time included in Sivājī's territory, is given in a Persian-Marāthī document dated September 9, 1718, which forms the subject of a paper by Mr. P. V. Mavji, printed at pp. 31–42, vol. xxii, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*]

[2] [The *Chauth* (one-fourth) and *Sardēshmūkhī* (one-tenth) developed into a regular system of blackmail imposed by the Marāthās upon districts under the government of other powers, which desired protection from plunder. These payments of one-fourth and one-tenth of the revenue, coupled with the proceeds of pure marauding, represented a considerable portion of the Marāthā state revenues. (*O.H.I.*, p. 434.)]

[3] This proposal on the part of Sivajee was sent to the Emperor, according to custom, in the form of a petition; and at the suggestion of Jey Sing, Sivajee intimated his intention of visiting the Emperor, by stating in the most courtly strain his desire to kiss the royal threshold.

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son. Aurungzebe's letter does not specify Chouth and Surdeshmookhee; indeed, it is probable he did not comprehend their meaning or insidious tendency, but as he also had sinister views, in his plan of undermining the government of Beejapoor, he agrees to Sivajee's proposal, on condition of his accompanying Raja Jey Sing with his troops, exerting himself in the conquest of that state, and paying the first instalment of the promised Peshkush.[1]

According to his agreement, Sivajee, with a body of two thousand horse, and eight thousand infantry,[2] co-operated with Jey Sing. The combined army marched about the month of November, and their first operations were directed against Bujajee Naik Nimbalkur, the relation of Sivajee, and a Jagheerdar of Beejapoor. Phultun was reduced, and the fort of Tattora escaladed by Sivajee's Mawulees. All the fortified places were taken possession of in their route.

Ali Adil Shah had prepared his troops, but endeavoured to prevent the invasion by promises of settling the demands of the Moghuls; Jey Sing, however, continued his advance, and met with little opposition until near Mungulwehra, where the Beejapoor horse first made their appearance and acted with great activity and vigour. Abdool Mohummud, the prime minister, was the chief commander of the Beejapoor troops; the principal officers were Abdool Khureem Bahlole Khan, Khowaus Khan, Seedee Uzeez, son of Seedee Johur, and Venkajee Raja Bhonslay, the half brother of Sivajee.

The Mahratta horse in the service of Beejapoor fought with uncommon spirit on this service. Venkajee Raja and Ruttajee Manay, Deshmookh of Muswar, were the most conspicuous.[3]

On the side of the Moghuls, Sivajee and Netajee Palkur distinguished themselves, particularly on an occasion where they had the rearguard.[4] They were also detached against several places of strength, which were reduced by Sivajee's infantry. Aurungzebe,

[1] Original letter. [*Peshkash*, a Persian word signifying 'first-fruits,' is used in various technical senses, e.g. a fine on appointment, renewal, or investiture; a quit-rent; sometimes a present to a great man. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), p. 701.)]

[2] Khafee Khan.

[3] Beejapoor MSS. confirmed by grants of land to Ruttajee Manay in consequence. The deeds are in possession of the family at Muswar.

[4] Khafee Khan.

in consequence of these services, wrote Sivajee a letter, extolling his conduct, and sent him an honorary present as a mark of his regard[1]; in a subsequent letter he invited him to court, promised to confer on him great rank and honours, and to permit him to return to the Deccan.[2] Intercourse had established mutual confidence between Sivajee and Jey Sing; by the advice and on the assurance of the latter, Sivajee resolved to visit Delhi, and dispatched Rugonath Punt for the ostensible purpose of announcing his approach, but principally to gain some intelligence respecting characters and affairs at the imperial court.[3] Sivajee ordered all his principal officers to meet him at Raigurh; but whilst they were assembling, he visited the whole of his forts, gave the strictest injunctions to each of the officers in charge, and returned to the meeting at the capital. He there invested Moro Trimmul Pingley, Abajee Sonedeo, and Annajee Dutto, with full authority during his absence, and enjoined all persons to respect and obey their orders as if issued by himself. The territory was now greatly circumscribed: in the Concan, it extended from Choule to the neighbourhood of Ponda, and in the Ghaut-Mahta, from the Neera river to Rangna.

A.D. 1666.

Sivajee, accompanied by his eldest son, Sumbhajee, set out for Delhi in the beginning of March, 1666, attended by five hundred choice horse and one thousand Mawulees. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Delhi,[4] Ram Sing, the son of Raja Jey Sing, and another officer of inferior rank, were the only persons sent by Aurungzebe to meet him.

This marked slight did not pass unobserved; but Sivajee forbore noticing it, till on being admitted to an audience, and condescending to present a Nuzur,[5] the place assigned to him was only amongst those who held the rank of five thousand. He

[1] Original letter.

[2] Original letter.

[3] The account of the proceedings for 1665 is partly from Khafee Khan, but principally on the authority of Mahratta MSS.

[4] [Aurangzeb received Sivājī at Agra, not at Delhi. (*O.H.I.*, p. 427.)]

[5] Nuzur signifies a present; an offering made by an inferior to a superior in token of fealty, submission, congratulation, &c. There are a vast number of ceremonies and observances attendant both on the mode of presenting and of receiving nuzurs. Under the name of an offering, it is frequently a heavy exaction, imposed on appointment to office, or succession to rank and property.

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could no longer suppress resentment at this indignity, and he expressed in the hearing of those near him, who repeated his words to the Emperor, the indignation he felt at such treatment.[1] In consequence of this language, when the audience was ended, and Sivajee had retired to the dwelling assigned to him, it was intimated that the Emperor for the future declined seeing him at court. Sivajee was justly alarmed at this communication, and after some delay, in order to ascertain the real intentions of Aurungzebe, he sent Rugonath Punt with a petition, setting forth the reasons which had induced him to visit Delhi, the promises and invitation of the Emperor, the services he had rendered, the conditions to which Aurungzebe had subscribed, the readiness of Sivajee to fulfil his part of the agreement, and his assurance of affording every assistance to the imperial troops in reducing the Edil Shahee or Kootub Shahee states. If, however, the Emperor did not choose to avail himself of his services, he only asked permission to return to his Jagheer, as the air and water of Hindoostan were prejudicial to his own health, as well as to that of the other natives of the Deccan by whom he was accompanied.[2] Aurungzebe's answer was evasive, and he shortly after directed the Kotwal of the city to place a guard over Sivajee's house, to

[1] [Dr. V. A. Smith (*O.H.I.*, p. 427) mentions a MS. in the India Office (*Tārīkh-i-Marāthah*), which shows that Sivājī displayed extreme conceit, refused to make obeisance, struck the chamberlain and actually sat down in the Imperial presence. Sivājī certainly considered himself to have been insulted at the audience, and, being no courtier, showed open resentment at the slight. According to Krishnājī Anant's *bakhar* (Mānkar, p. 45), Sivājī was annoyed at being made to stand behind Jasvant Singh of Mārwār, whom he considered his inferior in position. Rām Singh, on being asked by the Emperor the reason of the disturbance which he overheard, replied: 'The wild tiger is chafing from heat; nothing else.' The Emperor then ordered Sivājī to be conducted to the dwelling assigned to him. For an account of what took place, see Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 173–7, where it is shown that Sivājī's annoyance was due to his being placed behind Rāi Singh, not Jasvant Singh.]

[2] [The climate of Agra in May and June must have been most trying to Marāthā hill-men, whose homes in the Western Ghāts would at that season be receiving the cooler breezes which herald the gradual approach of the south-west monsoon. The Marāthā of to-day always regards a visit to his village in the Deccan as a sovereign remedy for ill-health or low spirits engendered by residence in Bombay City. The moist heat of the coast districts and the very dry heat of the plains of Northern India are alike unknown in the equable and comparatively bracing climate of Mahārāshtra.]

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watch his person carefully, and never to allow him to quit his residence without a party responsible for his safe custody. Sivajee remonstrated and complained, particularly of the hardship of detaining his people. Aurungzebe readily granted passports for their return to Deccan, and now probably considered Sivajee completely in his power. But it is the characteristic of cunning to overreach itself; and in the safe conduct afforded to his friends Sivajee exulted in the greater facility it afforded of effecting his own escape. Ram Sing was privy to his design, and on account of the pledge given by his father, connived at it.[1] The confinement of Sivajee was not so rigid as to prevent his paying visits. He frequently went to different nobles of the court, sent them presents, and endeavoured to interest them in his favour. In this manner an intimacy sufficient for Sivajee's purpose having taken place, he feigned sickness, sent for physicians, took medicines, and was soon reported very ill. Pretending to have partially recovered, he gave great charities to Bramins and presents to physicians. He made up several long baskets which were daily sent from his apartments filled with sweetmeats, to the houses of different great men, his acquaintances, or to be distributed amongst Fuqueers at mosques. When the practice had continued for some time, he one evening put Sumbhajee into one basket, got into another himself, and was thus conveyed by his domestics beyond the guards, to an obscure place where he could get out unseen. He proceeded to the suburbs of Delhi, where he had a horse prepared, mounted, with Sumbhajee behind him, and reached Muttra next day, where several of his Bramins and his faithful friend Tannajee Maloosray were watching the result of his scheme. Everything was prepared, Sumbhajee was consigned to the care of a Bramin family, natives of Poona Desh, and distantly connected with Moro Trimmul Pingley.[2] Sumbhajee remained in their charge several months, and was afterwards conveyed by them to the Deccan.

Sivajee's escape was not known until a late hour on the following day, owing to the precaution of making one of his domestics pretend indisposition and lie down on his bed, so that before the alarm spread, pursuit was fruitless. His party as well as himself

[1] This is distinctly asserted in the Chitnees's MS.

[2] One MS. by Kistnajee Anund Subhasud, says Moro Punt's sister was married to one of the sons.

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escaped in the disguise of Gosaeens[1]; they visited several places of religious resort; but the route by which they returned to the Deccan is not satisfactorily ascertained.[2] Sivajee did not throw off his disguise until his arrival at Raigurh, which he reached in December, 1666, after an absence of nine months.[3]

In the meantime affairs in the Deccan assumed an aspect more favourable to his views than he had anticipated. Jey Sing had laid siege to Beejapoor, but on his advance, and during his operations,

[1] [See pp. 16, 17, *supra*. The dress and appearance of some sects of religious mendicants constitute a very effective disguise. The Bhāmtas, a criminal tribe of the Deccan and Southern Marāthā districts, frequently assume this disguise, which gives them easy access to inhabited areas. It has also been occasionally adopted in recent years by members of the revolutionary party in Bengal. (Report of Rowlatt Sedition Committee, 1918, p. 44.) V. A. Smith in a footnote on page 592 of his edition of Sleeman's *Rambles* (1915) remarks: 'The author's other works show that Thugs frequently assumed the guise of ascetics, and much of the secret crime of India is known to be committed by men who adopt the garb of holiness. A man disguised as a fakir is often sent on by dacoits (gang-robbers) as a spy and decoy.' Mackintosh mentions that the Rāmosīs, when preparing for a robbery, adopted 'the dress of a Goosyne (Gosain) or Vyraggy (Vairāgī), who wear clothes of a dark orange or brick-dust colour, or of a Waggiah (Vāghē, a male devotee of Khandoba).' (*Account of the Origin, &c. of the Tribe of Ramoossies*, Bombay, 1833.)]

[2] [According to Kincaid and Parasnis (pp. 220 ff.), Sivājī fled from Agra to Mathurā, thence to Benares, Allahābād and Gayā, and so into Bengal, whence he made his way via Indore to Poona. He was accompanied by a Brahman of Mathurā, Krishnājī Vishvanath, whose mother succeeded, with assistance from the Brahman family mentioned above by Grant Duff, in conveying Sambhājī back to Raigarh. The *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (Mānkar's trans., p. 52), however, gives the route as Mathurā, Waranūsi (Benares) and thence via Gondawān (Gondwānā) to Bhāganagar (Golkonda) and Bijāpur. It mentions that Sivājī worshipped Srī Vishveshvar at Benares, and that 'the attendants performed the ceremony usually performed at Gayā on the occasion of a pilgrimage there.' Professor Sarkar agreeing with the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* states that the route was Mathurā, Allahābād, Benares, Gayā and Puri, 'and then south-westwards through Gondwāna and Golkonda, describing a vast loop round India before returning to Rajgarh.' (*Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 187–95.)

Krishnājī Vishvanāth and his brothers, Kāshīrāo and Vīsājīpant, were brothers-in-law of Sivājī's Pēshwā, Moropant Pinglē.]

[3] The account of Sivajee's visit and imprisonment, and of his escape from Delhi, is on the authority of Mahratta MSS., Scott's Deccan, and Khafee Khan. His escape was known in the Deccan long before he reached it. The English factors at Carwar, in a letter dated September 29, 1666, observe, 'If it be true that Sivajee hath escaped Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow.'

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he was incessantly harassed by the Deccan horse. His supplies were cut off; little rain had fallen during the preceding season, and there was much sickness and great scarcity of water in his camp.

The King of Golcondah, encouraged by the slow progress of the Moghuls, sent a detachment under Nek Nam Khan, one of his generals, to the assistance of Beejapoor. Aurungzebe's envoy at the court of Kootub Shah remonstrated and threatened in consequence, but no assistance was sent to Jey Sing, and the latter became sensible that the sacrifice both of his own character and of the lives of his brave Rajpoots, was, at the least, a matter of indifference to the Emperor. Under these circumstances he determined to retreat to Aurungabad. This was not effected without loss, but was not attended with those disastrous consequences which had repeatedly occurred on similar occasions. Jey Sing had not the means of supporting many of the garrisons in the forts surrendered by Sivajee or captured by his aid. He therefore placed strong garrisons in Logurh, Singurh, and Poorundhur, and also in Maholy and Kurnalla, in the Concan.[1] A few men were left in such of the others as had still a supply of provisions; and of the remainder, he directed the gates to be burned, and such part of the defences to be destroyed as could be hastily thrown down.[2] The opportunity of re-occupying them was not neglected. Moro Punt repaired them, replaced the garrisons, drove out the Moghul parties, and Sivajee's safe arrival in the Concan was announced by the re-capture of a great portion of the province of Kallian. His escape from Delhi was a great mortification to Aurungzebe, although he pretended that he meant to have dismissed him in an honourable manner; he accused Ram Sing of having assisted in his flight and forbade him the court. Jey Sing, on pretence of his discomfiture, was superseded in the government of the Deccan by Sultan Mauzum, and Jeswunt Sing was directed to accompany the prince. Jey Sing, on being relieved, was ordered to court, but his death, which happened on the road, deprived Aurungzebe of one of his best officers.[3] It was the bane of that

A.D. 1667.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Khafee Khan.

[3] ['Rājā Jai Singh (Jey Sing) died in 1667, while still in the Deccan, having been poisoned by his son Kīrat Singh, probably at the instigation of Aurangzeb, who publicly rejoiced at the news of the Rājā's death. He felt that the decease of his leading Hindu officer gave him greater liberty in the policy of persecution.' (*O.H.I.*, p. 427.)]

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Emperor's reign that all those whose services might have been best contributed to his prosperity were mistrusted by him. Dilere Khan remained some time in the Deccan, and he was only removed for a short time to Malwa ; he was no favourite with the prince, and he was detested by Jeswunt Sing ; his presence in their neighbourhood, therefore, suited the jealous temper of Aurungzebe.

The Emperor pretended an intention of again invading Beejapoor, but the northern part of his dominions required his presence. Pride prevented him from subjecting his son to disgrace, and jealousy would never permit him to entrust an army, sufficiently large for conquest, under any deputy.

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CHAPTER VII.

FROM A.D. 1667 TO A.D. 1669.

A.D. 1667.—THE re-appointment of Sultan Mauzum, as viceroy of the Deccan, accompanied by Jeswunt Sing, was very agreeable to Sivajee; with the latter he had become personally acquainted at Delhi. Jeswunt Sing was generally considered of a respectable character, but known to be tainted in a high degree with the vice of avarice, so common to Rajpoots. He was also a staunch Hindoo,[1] suspected by Aurungzebe, whom he first opposed and afterwards joined during his rebellion. Sultan Mohummud Mauzum was in many respects a prince of an excellent disposition: he was brave, generous, and confiding; but with the defects which some of these qualities, unrestrained, may engender; he was fond of pleasure, lavish, easily persuaded, and much swayed by Jeswunt Sing.

Sivajee did not deceive himself in supposing that gold might effect much with persons of this character; and he accordingly used it with no sparing hand. The ostensible intercourse between Sivajee and Sultan Mauzum commenced by a petition from the former, imploring the prince to intercede for him, assuring him of his sincerity, and of his intention to adhere for the future to the Emperor, although his services had been slighted. Representations were in due form made to court: and it being at all events then convenient for Aurungzebe to accede to them, Sultan

[1] His well-known letter to Aurungzebe concerning the *jizeea* or poll-tax, on all persons not professing Mahomedanism, is preserved by the Raja of Kolapoor, as the production of Sivajee. [See *O.H.I.*, p. 439 n. Professor Sarkar supports Dr. Smith's thesis that the letter was sent by Sivājī (*R.A.S.* MS., 71), the actual writer being Nīl Prabhū Munshi. Sivājī, himself, was too illiterate to have composed so finished a composition. Tod (*Annals*, i. 400 f.) ascribes the authorship of the letter to Rānā Rāj Singh of Mēwār.]

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Mauzum obtained for Sivajee the title[1] of Raja,[2] a confirmation of the munsub for Sumbhajee, and a Jagheer in Berar.[3] To the charge of this new and distant acquisition, which was given in preference to admitting any claim on Joonere or Ahmednugur, a Bramin, named Raojee Somnath, was dispatched with a fit establishment, and with the old Beejapoor title of Mokassadar,[4] thus applied for the first time to a Mahratta collector. Sumbhajee with a body of horse was sent to join the prince at Aurungabad; but owing to his extreme youth he was permitted to return to his father,[5] and Kartojee Goozur, dignified by Sivajee with the title of Pertab Rao, and with the rank of Surnobut of the horse,[6] was left in command of the contingent. The districts of Poona, Chakun, and Sopa were also restored to Sivajee, but the commanding forts of Singurh and Poorundhur were retained.[7]

A.D. 1668.—There is no way in which we can account for the Emperor's acquiescing in all these favours to Sivajee, unless with a view of again alluring him into his power, as is asserted in the Mahratta manuscripts; but there is no evidence of Sultan Mauzum's having been from the first privy to that design, or any satisfactory proof of his lending himself to his father in a feigned rebellion, for the triple purpose of entrapping Sivajee, ascertaining the disaffected nobles in the empire, and rendering himself an object of suspicion and distrust to all who would venture their lives in his cause.

Of such refinement in intrigue, it is on first view very possible to conceive Aurungzebe capable; but further considered, danger,

[1] Original letter.

[2] [Professor Sarkar (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 204) states that Aurangzeb recognized Sivājī's title of Rājā in 1668. A letter purporting to be from Aurangzeb to Sivājī, dated February 24, 1668, in which the Emperor 'dignifies' Sivājī with the title of Rājā, is printed on page 225 of *A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis.]

[3] Mahratta MSS.

[4] Mahratta MS. and paper.

[5] Scott's Deccan, and Mahratta MSS.

[6] Mahratta MSS. Netajee Palkur, the predecessor of Kartojee Goozur, was, according to Khafee Khan, made prisoner by Jey Sing, and sent to Delhi by the Emperor's orders, where he became a Mahomedan, obtained a munsub, and the title of Mohummud Koolee, but afterwards returned to Sivajee. This is not mentioned by the Mahrattas, although it may have been so. Among Mahrattas he never could have been respected, obeyed, or noticed, as a renegado.

[7] Mahratta MSS.

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folly, and baseness in the parties, are too conspicuous to admit the probability without the clearest proof.

About the middle of this year, a treaty was concluded at Agra betwixt Aurungzebe and Ali Adil Shah; the terms, on the part of the Beejapoor court, were negotiated by Shah Abdool Hoossein Kamana, who gave up, as the price of peace, the fort of Sholapoor and territory yielding 180,000 pagodas of annual revenue. No other particulars are ascertained; but in consequence, as is supposed, of this treaty, Sivajee, lest the Moghuls should interfere, had an interview with Jeswunt Sing and the prince, in order to purchase their connivance to his designs on Beejapoor and Golcondah.[1] He was about to levy his chouth and surdeshmookhee from the former, when Abdool Mohummud, the prime minister, purchased exemption, by agreeing to pay him an annual sum of three lacks of rupees.[2] This compact, like the others entered into with that minister by Sivajee, was kept secret at Beejapoor,[3] where the Mahomedans had still pride enough to feel the degrading submission of paying tribute to Hindoos, although a factious nobility and a wasteful court deprived the minister of means to assert the dignity of the kingdom.

Some agreement of a similar nature was entered into by Kootub Shah,[4] and the amount stipulated at five lacks of rupees.

Whilst such was the state of his political relations in the Deccan, Sivajee turned his attention to acquiring complete possession of the Concan. Goa and Jinjeera were his first objects; but a plot he had formed for the surprise of the Portuguese settlement was discovered and frustrated,[5] and his utmost efforts were in vain exerted to possess himself of the impregnable Jinjeera. The Seedee, however, was hard pressed; he solicited assistance from the English at Bombay; and the factors were so little conscious of the importance of their own island, that they suggested to their supreme council at Surat the many advantages of Jinjeera over Bombay as a settlement[6]; but their injudicious recommendation appears to have been treated with the neglect it merited.

[1] English Records and Mahratta MS.
[2] Mahratta MSS., and Scott's Deccan.
[3] Mahratta MSS.
[4] Scott's Deccan.
[5] Mahratta MS. and English Records.
[6] English Records. Letter from the factors at Bombay. [Pepys echoed the general opinion when he spoke of Bombay as 'the poor

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A.D. 1669.—The years 1668 and 1669 were those of greatest leisure in Sivajee's life. Some of his contemporaries, speculating on future events, supposed, from his apparent inactivity, that he would sink into insignificance [1]; but he employed this interval in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his government; with which, and his various institutions, we shall now endeavour to make the reader acquainted. They will be found well worthy of attention, not only in themselves, but as a key to elucidate the forms of government afterwards adopted by every Mahratta state. Sivajee's regulations were gradually formed and enlarged, but, after a certain period, underwent no change by the extension of his territory, until he assumed the ensigns of royalty. Even then, the alterations directed were rather in matters of form than innovations on established rules. The plans of Mahratta encroachment, which were afterwards pursued so successfully by his nation, may be traced from a very early period; and nothing is more remarkable, in regard to Sivajee, than the foresight with which some of his schemes were laid, and the fitness of his arrangements for the genius of his countrymen.

The foundation of his power was his infantry; his occupation of the forts gave him a hold on the country, and a place of deposit for his plunder. His cavalry, as far as we have proceeded, had not yet spread the terror of the Mahratta name where the existence of such a people was unknown; but we shall at once state, as briefly as the subject will admit, the rules of formation and discipline for his troops, the interior economy of his infantry and cavalry, the regulations for his forts, his revenue and judicial arrangements, and the chief offices through which his government was administered.

Sivajee's infantry was raised in the Ghaut-Mahta and Concan; those of the former tract were called Mawulees, those of the latter Hetkurees.[1] These men brought their own arms, and were only

little Island.' Sir Gervase Lucas, who arrived in Bombay as Commander-in-Chief in November 1666, took a more optimistic view of the value of the island, but its great potentialities were first recognized fully by Gerald Aungier, after its transfer by Charles II to the Company. (See *B.C.G.*, ii. 48.)]

[1] Correspondence of the English factories.

[2] [The Hetkarīs, who may have comprised a certain number of Konkani Marāthās, were chiefly Bandhārīs, between whom and the Marāthās there is a distinct ethnological affinity. The Bandhārīs are divided into several endogamous and exogamous septs bearing the

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furnished with ammunition by government. Their dress, though not uniform, was generally a pair of short drawers coming halfway down the thigh, a strong narrow band of considerable length tightly girt about the loins, a turban, and sometimes a cotton frock. Most of them wore a cloth round their waist, which likewise answered the purposes of a shawl.

Their common arms consisted of a sword, shield, and matchlock. Some of the Hetkurees, especially the infantry of Sawunt-Waree, used a species of firelock; the invention of the lock for the flint having been early received from the Portuguese. Every tenth man, instead of firearms, carried a bow and arrows which were useful in night attacks and surprises, when the firearms were kept in reserve or prohibited. The Hetkurees excelled as marksmen; but they could seldom be brought to desperate attacks, sword in hand, for which the Mawulees of Sivajee became celebrated. Both of them possessed an extraordinary facility of climbing, and could mount a precipice or scale a rock with ease, where men of other countries must have run great risk of being dashed to pieces.

Every ten men had an officer called a Naik, and every fifty a *Havildar*. The officer over a hundred was termed *Joomladar*, and the commander of a thousand was styled *ek-Huzaree*. There were also officers of five thousand, between whom and the Surnobut, or chief commander, there was no intermediate gradation.

The cavalry were of the two kinds already described, Bargeers and Sillidars[1]; only Sivajee's Bargeers were generally mounted

same names as the corresponding Marāthā divisions, e.g. *Gāvade*, or *Gāuḍe*, and *Shinde*, *Jādhav*, *Kadam* and *Chavān*. One of these divisions, the *Kitte*, is again subdivided into *Hetkaris* and *Upakaris*. The Kitte Bandhāris rose to power in Alībāg, Chaul and Bassein, and in later years formed a trusty element in the military and naval forces of the Portuguese, Angria and the British. The chief occupation of the caste being the drawing of toddy (*tādi*) from the palm tree, the name is usually held to be derived from the Sanskrit *mandhārak*, 'a distiller.' Mynak Bundaree (Māi Nāik Bandhārī) mentioned on page 148, belonged to this caste, which is settled on the western sea-board and regards Mitgavana village, Ratnāgiri District, as its head quarters. (For further particulars of the Bandhāris and Konkani Marāthās, see *B.C.G.*, i. 231–6; *I.G. Bom.*, ii. 150; *B.E.S.*, Monograph 43.)]

[1] The Sillidars, and all horsemen who did not belong to the Pagah, were obliged to furnish their own ammunition; there were particular rules, and the most careful system of economy laid down by Sivajee for subsisting his Pagah.

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on horses, the property of the state. A body of this description is termed *Pagah*, or household troops, and Sivajee always placed more dependence on them than on the Sillidars, or any horse furnished on contract by individuals; with both the one and the other of the latter description, he had a proportion of his Pagah intermixed, to overawe the disobedient, and to perfect his system of intelligence, which abroad and at home penetrated into a knowledge of the most private circumstances, prevented embezzlement, and frustrated treachery.

The Mahratta horsemen are commonly dressed in a pair of tight breeches covering the knee, a turban which many of them fasten by passing a fold of it under the chin, a frock of quilted cotton, and a cloth round the waist, with which they generally gird on their swords in preference to securing them with their belts.[1] The horseman is armed with a sword and shield; a proportion in each body carry matchlocks, but the great national weapon is the spear, in the use of which, and the management of their horses, they evince both grace and dexterity.[2] The spearmen have generally a sword, and sometimes a shield; but the latter is unwieldy, and only carried in case the spear should be broken.[3]

[1] For ornament many of them wear very heavy gold and silver rings, and large ear-rings, which go round the back of the ear; thick necklaces of silver, and sometimes of gold, curiously wrought, are also much worn. All natives of India wear mustachios, and the Mahrattas when they wish to describe a person as *extraordinarily* fierce-looking, mention his turban tied beneath his chin, and mustachios *almost as thick as their arm.*

[2] The trained spearmen may always be known among Mahrattas by their riding very long, the ball of the toe touching the stirrup; some of the matchlockmen, and most of the Bramins, ride very short and ungracefully.

[3] With respect to the horse's appointments; the bridle consists of a single head-stall of cotton-rope, or leather, with a small but very severe flexible bit. There is a second head-stall over that of the bridle, to which is fixed a thong, or cotton band, tightly fastened to the girths, and this forms a strong standing martingale. The Mahratta saddle is composed of two pieces, or sides, of very thick felt, strongly sewed and tied together with thongs or cotton rope, leaving a small space between the sides, so as to prevent pressure on the horse's backbone; attached to this is a crupper, made of cotton rope, frequently covered with a piece of coloured silk or broad cloth. When the saddle is put on, the horseman lays over it his blanket, sometimes a carpet, and any spare clothes he may have. Two cotton bags, or pouches, tied together by a string and thrown over the front part of the saddle, carry either provision or plunder: when all these are adjusted, the

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Over every twenty-five horsemen Sivajee had a Havildar. To one hundred and twenty-five there was a Joomladar; and to every five Joomlas, or six hundred and twenty-five, he had a Soobehdar. Every Soobeh had an accountant and auditor of accounts, appointed by Sivajee, who were liable to be changed, and were invariably Bramins or Purvoes. To the command of every ten Soobehs, or six thousand two hundred and fifty horse, which were only rated at five thousand, there was a commander styled *Punch-huzaree*, with whom were also stationed a *Muzzimdar*, or Bramin auditor of accounts, and a Purvoe register and accountant, who was called *Ameen*. These were government agents; but besides these, every officer, from the Joomladar upwards, had one or more Carcoons, paid by himself, as well as others in the pay of government.

There was no officer superior to the commander of five thousand, except the Surnobut or chief commander. There was one Surnobut for the cavalry, and one for the infantry.

Every Joomla, Soobeh, and Punch-huzar had an establishment of news-writers and avowed spies, besides the secret intelligencers. Sivajee's head spy was a Mahratta, named Byherjee Naik, to whom, some of the Bramins readily admit, he owed many of the discoveries imputed to the goddess Bhowanee.

The Mahrattas, and probably all natives of India, are in a peculiar manner roused from indolence and apathy when charged in any degree with responsibility, either in what regards their own conduct, or that of another person. Sivajee, at the commencement of his career, personally inspected every man who offered himself, and obtained security from some persons already in his service, for the fidelity and good conduct of those with whom he was not acquainted. This system of security must soon have made almost every man answerable for some of his comrades; and although it could have been in most instances but a mere form, owing to the facility with which the responsibility could be evaded, it was always a part of Sivajee's instructions to his officers.

horseman mounts, and the last thing is to seize his spear, which is stuck by the horse's head in the ground. On the left side and hind part of the saddle is suspended the tobra or feeding bag already described, in which the pegs for picketing the horse, and his head and heel ropes are carried. The horses in India are tied by ropes fastened to two tent pegs, one on each side, and also by ropes extended behind, which secure their heels.

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The Mawulees sometimes enlisted merely on condition of getting a subsistence in grain; but the regular pay of the infantry was from one to three pagodas [1] a month; that of the Bargeers was from two to five; and that of a Sillidar from six to twelve pagodas monthly.[2] All plunder, as well as prize, was the property of government. It was brought at stated times to Sivajee's durbar or place of public audience, and individuals formally displayed and delivered their captures. They always received some small compensation in proportion; they were praised, distinguished, and promoted according to their success; and *to plunder the enemy* is to this day used by the Mahrattas to express a victory, of which it is in their estimation the only real proof.

The horse, especially at an advanced period of Sivajee's history, were subsisted, during the fair season, in the enemy's country; during the rains, they were generally allowed to rest, and were cantoned in different situations near *kooruns* or pasture lands, under the protection of some fort, where the grass of the preceding season was stacked, and grain prepared by the time they returned. For this purpose persons were appointed, to whom rent-free lands were hereditarily assigned. The system was thus preserved, when many of Sivajee's institutions were neglected; and it proved of much consequence to the cause of his countrymen.

The ancient Hindoo festival of the Dussera [3] was observed by

[1] A Beejapoor Pagoda was valued at from three to four rupees.

[2] The pay of a Joomladar in the infantry was seven pagodas; in the cavalry twenty. A Soobehdar of cavalry had fifty pagodas and a palanquin. The pay of a Punch-huzaree was 200 pagodas a month, besides an allowance for a palanquin and *aftabgeer*.

[3] [The Dasahrā (Dussera), so called from *dash* (ten) and *ahar* (day), falls on the tenth day of the Navaratra, or Nine Nights' festival in honour of the goddess Mahādēvī, whose various manifestations and exploits are described in the *Devi Mahātmya* of the *Mārkandeya Purān*. The festival is also known as Durgotsava, i.e. Durgā's holiday. Celebrated at the beginning of October, which marks the close of the rains and the commencement of the cold season, the festival is of special importance among the princely and military classes. Ordinary Hindus regard the Dasahrā as auspicious for the commencement of any new business, and in Bombay children usually attend school for the first time on this day. Soldiers worship the weapons which they hope to use during the coming season; all Hindus worship the tools and implements of their calling; and couples who have been betrothed at an early age frequently begin living together on this day. I have seen the engine-room staff in a Bombay cotton-spinning mill garland and worship the engine on this occasion. Connected with the festival is the worship of the *shami* or *apta* (*Prosopis spiciyera*), the leaves

Sivajee with great pomp. It falls at the end of the monsoon, and was particularly convenient for a general muster and review of his troops previous to their taking the field. At this time, each horse was examined, and an inventory and valuation of each soldier's effects were taken, in order to be compared with what he brought back, or eventually to be made good. If a horseman's effects were unavoidably lost, his horse killed, maimed, or destroyed in the government service, they were on due proof replaced; but all plunder or articles discovered, of which a satisfactory account could not be given, were carried to the credit of government, either by confiscating the article, or deducting the amount from the soldier's arrears. It was at the option of the captors to retain almost any article, if fairly brought forward, valued, and paid for.

The accounts were closed annually, and balances due by government were either paid in ready money, or by bills on the collectors of revenue in favour of the officers, but never by separate orders on villages.

The only exceptions to plunder made by Sivajee were in favour of cows, cultivators, and women[1]; these were never to be molested, nor were any but rich Mahomedans, or Hindoos in their service, who could pay a ransom, to be made prisoners. No soldier in the service of Sivajee was permitted to carry any female follower with him in the field, on pain of death.

His system of intelligence was the greatest check on every abuse,

of which are presented to the goddess, and then distributed among friends and relatives. (Sleeman's *Rambles*, ed. V. A. Smith, p. 241; Thurston, *O. and S.S.I.*, pp. 174–5; *B.C.G.I.*, p. 173.) See also Crooke, 'The Dasahra: an Autumn Festival of the Hindus,' in *Folklore*, vol. xxvi (March 1915), pp. 28–59.]

[1] [Despite Sivājī's views, the cultivating classes cannot be said to have prospered under Marāthā rule. The methods of government, the forays, and the extortionate and destructive practices of the Marāthā armies prevented the peaceful cultivation of the countryside and inflicted great misery upon thousands of innocent people. (*O.H.I.*, p. 433.) Professor J. Sarkar remarks that Sivājī's regulations were often violated in practice except where he was personally present. The assertion that his soldiers had to deliver every item of booty to the State is contradicted by the sack of Dharamgaon (1679). 'It was impossible for Sivājī to prevent private looting by his troops and camp-followers. In the wake of the Marāthā army gangs of private robbers took the road. The Pindhārīs were the logical corollary of the Marāthā soldier, to whom rapine was a normal duty.' (*Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), p. 476.)]

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as well as embezzlement; and his punishments were rigorous. Officers and men who had distinguished themselves, who were wounded, or who had suffered in any way, were always gratified by promotions, honour, or compensation. Sivajee did not approve of the Jagheer system; he confirmed many, but with the exception of the establishment for his forts, he seldom, if ever, bestowed new military Jagheers, and gave away very few as personal assignments. Enam lands were granted by him as well in reward of merit, as in conformity with the tenets of his faith; a gift of land, especially to Bramins, being of all charities the most acceptable to the divinity.[1]

Sivajee's discipline, which required prompt obedience to superiors in every situation, was particularly strict in his forts. The chief person, or Killidar, in the command of a fortress, was termed *Havildar*[2]; and under him there was one or more Surnobuts. In large forts, such as Poorundhur, Raigurh, and Panalla, there was a Surnobut to each face. Every fort had a head clerk, and a commissary of grain and stores; the former, a Bramin, was termed *Subnees*[3]; the latter was commonly of the Purvoe cast, and was called *Karkanees*. Orders in respect to ingress and egress, rounds, watches, and patrols, care of water, grain, stores and ammunition were most minute; and the officer of each department was furnished with distinct rules for his guidance, from which no deviation was permitted. A rigid economy characterized all Sivajee's instructions regarding expenditure.

The garrison was sometimes partly composed of the common infantry; but independent of them each fort had a separate and

[1] [*Jāgīrs* and *Ināms* comprise lands, wholly or partly free from assessment, allotted for services connected with the State, temples, &c. In 1852 the Government appointed an Inām Commission to inquire into many claims to rent-free lands which appeared to be held without authority, one of the members being Mr. Manson, who was murdered by the Chief of Nargund in 1858. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 33, ii. 539.)]

[2] I am inclined to think that all commanders of forts, under the Mahomedan governments, not appointed by the king, were termed Havildars, and that the term Killidar now in universal use, was originally the distinguishing appellation of those governors of fortresses who were specially appointed by a royal commission.

[3] [The *Sabnīs* (*Subnees*) was sometimes a Prabhū, as evidenced by the use of the term as a surname among Kāyasth Prabhūs. Other professional surnames among Prabhūs are *Chitnīs*, *Phadnīs* and *Potnīs*.]

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complete establishment. It consisted of Bramins, Mahrattas, Ramoosees, Mhars, and Mangs; the whole were termed *Gurhkurees*.[1] They were maintained by permanent assignments of rent-free lands in the neighbourhood of each fort, which, with the care of the fort, descended hereditarily. The Ramoosees, Mhars, and Mangs were employed on the outpost duty; they brought intelligence, watched all the paths, misled enquiries, or cut off an enemy's stragglers. This establishment, whilst new and vigorous, was admirably suited to Sivajee's purpose, as well as to the genius of the people. The Gurhkurees, in their own language, described the fort as the mother that fed them; and amongst other advantages, no plan could be better devised for providing for old or meritorious soldiers.

Sivajee's revenue arrangements were founded on those of Dadajee Konedeo. The assessments were made on the actual state of the crop, the proportionate division of which is stated to have been three-fifths to the ryot and two-fifths to government. As soon as he got permanent possession of any territory, every species of military contribution was stopped; all farming of revenue ceased; and the collections were made by agents appointed by himself.

Every two or three villages were superintended by a Carcoon, under the *Turufdar* or *Talookdar*, who had charge of a small district, and was either a Bramin or Purvoe. A Mahratta Havildar[2] was stationed with each of them. Over a considerable tract there was a Soobehdar, or *Mamlatdar*,[3] who had charge of one or more forts, in which his collections both of grain and money were secured.

Sivajee never permitted the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas to interfere in the management of the country; nor did he allow them to collect their dues until they had been ascertained; when an order was annually given for the amount.

The Patells, Khotes, and Koolkurnees were strictly superintended, and Sivajee's government, though popular with the

[1] *Gadkaris* (*Gurhkurees*) means 'fort-men.'

[2] Both those authorities were civil, not military, as the names might lead some of my readers to suppose.

[3] *Mamlatdār* (*Māmlatdār* in Marāthi) is a shortened form of the Persian and Hindustani *mu'āmalatdār* (from Arabic *Mu'āmala*, 'affairs,' 'business'). Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), s.v. Mamlutdar. For reference to the modern *Māmlatdār*, see page 64 n., *supra*.]

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common cultivators, would have been quite the reverse with the village and district officers, of whom Sivajee was always jealous, had it not been for the resource which all had by entering his military service.

The method which the Bramin ministers of the Mahratta government afterwards adopted, of paying the military and civil servants by permanent assignments on portions of the revenue of villages, is said to have been early proposed to Sivajee; who objected to it, not only from fear of immediate oppression to the ryot, but from apprehending that it would ultimately cause such a division of authority as must weaken his government and encourage the village and district authorities to resist it, as they frequently did that of Beejapoor. With the same view he destroyed all village walls, and allowed no fortifications in his territory which was not occupied by his troops.

Religious establishments were carefully preserved, and temples, for which no provision existed, had some adequate assignment granted to them; but the Bramins in charge were obliged to account for the expenditure. Sivajee never sequestrated any allowance fixed by the Mahomedan government for the support of tombs, mosques, or places of commemoration in honour of saints.

The revenue regulations of Sivajee were simple, and in some respects judicious; but during his life it is impossible they could have been attended with such improvements and increase of population as are ascribed to them by his countrymen. His districts were frequently exposed to great ravages; and he never had sufficient leisure to complete his arrangements by that persevering superintendence which alone can perfect such institutions. The Mahomedan writers, and one contemporary English traveller,[1] describe his country as in the worst possible state; and the former only mention him as a depredator and destroyer; but those districts taken by him from Beejapoor, which had been under the management of farmers or direct agents of government, probably experienced great benefit by the change.

The judicial system of Sivajee, in civil cases, was that of Pun-

[1] Fryer. [The description alluded to by Grant Duff occurs in Letter IV, Chapter I, page 146, of the 1698 edition of Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*, begun 1672 and finished 1681, and is quoted on page 435 of *O.H.I.*]

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chayet, which had invariably obtained in the country. Disputes of his soldiers were settled by their officers; but he extracted his criminal law from the Shasters; and the former rulers professing the tenets of the Koran had naturally introduced innovations, which long custom sanctioned and perpetuated. This accounts for the differences that may be still found between Hindoo law and Mahratta usage.

To assist in the conduct of his government, Sivajee established eight principal offices, the names of which, and the persons holding them at this period, were as follows:

1st. Peishwa, head manager or prime minister. This office, we have already mentioned, was held by Moro Punt,[1] or Moreishwur Trimmul Pingley.

2d. Muzzimdar,[2] general superintendent of finance and auditor-general of accounts. His civil duties were consequently very important, and his establishment necessarily extensive. Abajee Sonedeo, Soobehdar of the province of Kallianee, was Muzzimdar.

3d. Soornees, general record keeper, superintendent of the department of correspondence, examiner of all letters; all deeds and grants were first entered on his books, and the attestation of his examination and entry was necessary to their validity; this office was held by Annajee Dutto.[3]

4th. Wankanees. The duty of this officer was to keep the private journal, records, and letters. He was a superintendent of the

[1] Moro Punt was his familiar name, or that which would be used in conversation; a custom common among Mahrattas, but which often makes it difficult to recognize, in their writings or letters, the names of people with whose history or persons we may be well acquainted. The very next name is an instance and illustration of this remark, Neeloo Punt Sonedeo was the real name of Abajee Sonedeo; but the familiar appellation of Abajee, given to him in boyhood, is that by which he is generally known, though his real name frequently occurs in the Mahratta manuscripts.

[2] This word, already used, is a corruption of the Persian *muzmooadar*; but the correct expression would scarcely be understood by the Mahrattas. Muzzimdar is now in fact a Mahratta word. Instances of the kind occur repeatedly, where I have preferred using the word generally known in the Mahratta country. Although I may offend the ear of Persian scholars by such a practice, any one who has much to do with Mahrattas, will, I think, find it more useful, and in the Mahratta history it is surely more correct.

[3] [See Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times* (1919), p. 57.]

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household troops and establishment: the office was held by Duttajee Punt.

5th. The Surnobut. There were two Surnobuts, one commanding the cavalry, Pertab Rao Goozur, and another the infantry, Yessjee Kunk.

6th. Dubeer, or minister for foreign affairs, and in charge of all business and messengers from other states. This office belonged to Somnath Punt.

7th. Nyadeish, or superintendent of judicial affairs. This department was managed by Neerajee Rowjee and Gomajee Naik.

8th. Nya Shastree, expounder of Hindoo law and the Shasters; all matters of religion, of criminal law, and of science, especially what regarded judicial astrology, belonged to this office; to which Sembha Oopadheea, and afterwards Rugonath Punt,[1] was appointed.

The officers at the head of these civil situations, except the Nyadeish and Nyashastree, held military commands, and frequently had not leisure to superintend their duties. All, therefore, had deputies called *Karbarees*, to assist them, who frequently had power to annex the seal or mark of their principals on public documents; when so empowered, they were styled Mootaliqs and each department, and every district establishment, had eight subordinate officers, under whom there were an adequate number of assistants. These officers were,

1st. The Karbaree, Mootaliq, or Dewan.

2d. The Muzzimdar, or auditor and accountant.

3d. The Furnees or Furnuwees, deputy auditor and accountant.

4th. The Subnees, or clerk, sometimes styled Dufturdar.

5th. The Karkanees, or commissary.

6th. The Chitnees, or clerk of correspondence.

7th. The Jamdar, or treasurer in charge of all valuables except cash.

8th. Potnees, or cashkeeper.

Attached to himself, Sivajee had a treasurer, a Chitnees, and Furnees, besides a Farisnees, or Persian secretary. His Chitnees was a Purvoe, named Ballajee Aujee, whose acuteness and

[1] This Rugonath Punt Nyashastree was one of Sivajee's earliest and most confidential adherents; he was frequently employed as his envoy, but must not be confounded with Rugonath Punt Hunwuntay.

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intelligence are recorded by the English government at Bombay, on an occasion of his being sent there on business.

Bal Kishen Punt Hunwuntay, a near relation of the head ager of Shahjee, was Sivajee's Furnees, and it is remarkable, as it bespeaks a connection maintained, that his treasurer was the grandson of Seshao Naik Poonday of Chumargoondee, the person with whom Mallojee Bhonslay's money was deposited before the marriage of Shahjee.[1]

[1] This account of Sivajee's institutions is as brief an extract as I could make, from original papers now in possession of the Raja of Satara, or his Chitnees, the hereditary descendant of Ballajee Aujee. I have also obtained considerable information from a mass of records belonging to Surwuttum Baboo Rao, the present Punt Amat.

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CHAPTER VIII.

FROM A.D. 1670 TO A.D. 1676.

A.D. 1670.—THE apparent inactivity of Sivajee, and the peace between the Beejapoor state and the Moghuls, gave hopes of a tranquillity long unknown in the Deccan. Sivajee, it was supposed, satisfied with what he had already acquired, or sensible of his inability to cope with the imperial armies, would now abstain from depredation and endeavour to secure the favour of the Moghul viceroy by presents, such as were customary from those who were not altogether independent of his authority. It was indeed well known that both Sultan Mauzum and Jeswunt Sing were in the habit of receiving large sums of money from Sivajee; and the report became at last so general, that Aurungzebe, desirous probably of dissolving their connection, if he could not succeed in again drawing Sivajee into his power, sent a peremptory order, threatening his son with severe displeasure if he did not apprehend Sivajee, Pertab Rao Goozur, and several of the principal officers. Before the public order arrived, Sultan Mauzum, apprised of its approach, privately warned Pertab Rao Goozur, who, accompanied by Sivajee's envoy, Neerajee Ramjee, fled with the horse the same night and safely reached Poona, although pursued by a detachment sent after them by Sultan Mauzum to save appearances with the Emperor.

The temporizing measures, for a time adopted by Aurungzebe, having thus assumed a character decidedly hostile, Sivajee soon displayed his wonted energy; and those who had prognosticated his future insignificance or his fall, were this year astonished by a career of enterprises, exceeding, if possible, all he had yet done. His first object was to endeavour to get possession of the important fortresses of Singurh and Poorundhur, which completely obstructed his communication with Poona and Chakun, and were

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strongly garrisoned by Rajpoots. Singurh Sivajee justly considered one of the strongest forts in the country; and as the commandant, Ooday Bawn, was a very celebrated soldier and had a choice body of men, it was supposed impregnable. This fancied security of the garrison, however, had rendered them negligent; and Sivajee laid a plan for surprising the place. Tannajee Maloosray, whom he consulted on the occasion, offered to take it, on condition of being permitted to have his younger brother along with him and to choose one thousand Mawulees for the purpose. None of the Mawulee attacks are given so consistently and distinctly in different Mahratta manuscripts as the account of this interesting and daring enterprise.

Singurh is situated on the eastern side of the great Syhadree range, near the point at which the Poorundhur hills branch off into the Deccan: with these hills it only communicates on the east and west by very high narrow ridges, while on the south and north it presents a huge rugged mountain, with an ascent of half a mile, in many parts nearly perpendicular. After arriving at this height, there is an immense craggy precipice of black rock, upwards of forty feet high, and similar to that which has in the first instance been described as a common feature in the mountains of the Concan and Ghaut-Mahta; surmounting the whole there is a strong stone wall with towers. The fort is of a triangular shape, its interior upwards of two miles in circumference, and the exterior presents on all sides the stupendous barrier already mentioned; so that, except by the gates, entrance seems impossible. From the summit, when the atmosphere is clear, is seen to the east the narrow and beautiful valley of the Neera; to the north a great plain, in the fore-part of which Poona, where Sivajee passed his youth, is a conspicuous object; and though, at the period we have arrived, only a small town, it was destined to become the capital of the vast empire he was founding. To the south and west appear boundless masses of rolling mountains, lost in the blue clouds or mingled by distance with the sky. In that quarter lies Raigurh[1]; from which place, directed by Tanna-

[1] [This is a mistake for Rājgarh, which lies north-west of Mahābaleshwar. The point is discussed in a note on the 'Ballad of Tānājī Mālūsrē,' Acworth's *Marāthā Ballads*, pp. 120–2. Rājgarh was far more convenient as a base for the expedition, being only about fifteen miles from Singarh, while Raigarh is double the distance. The stormers

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jee Maloosray, the thousand Mawulees prepared for the attempt on Singurh, set out by different paths, known only to themselves, which led them to unite near the fortress, according to the words of the Mahratta manuscript, 'on the ninth night of the dark half of the moon, in the month Magh' (February). Tannajee divided his men; one half remained at a little distance, with orders to advance if necessary, and the other half lodged themselves undiscovered at the foot of the rock. Choosing a part most difficult of access, as being the least liable to discovery, one of their number mounted the rock and made fast a ladder of ropes, by which they ascended, one by one, and lay down as they gained the inside. Scarce three hundred had entered the fort, when something occasioned an alarm among the garrison that attracted their attention to the quarter by which the Mawulees were ascending. A man advanced to ascertain what was the matter. A deadly arrow from a bowman silently answered his enquiries; but a noise of voices and a running to arms induced Tannajee to push forward, in hopes of still surprising them. The bowmen plied their arrows in the direction of the voices; till a blaze of blue lights, and a number of torches kindled by the garrison, showed the Rajpoots armed or arming, and discovered their assailants. A desperate conflict ensued; the Mawulees, though thus prematurely discovered and opposed by very superior numbers, were gaining ground, until Tannajee Maloosray fell. They then lost confidence, and were running to the place where they had escaladed, but by that time the reserve, led by Tannajee's brother, Sooryajee, had entered. On learning what had happened, Sooryajee rallied the fugitives, asked 'who amongst them would leave their father's remains to be tossed into a pit by Mhars,'[1] told them the ropes

signalled the news by firing a thatched house (p. 190, *post*), and as Raigarh is invisible from Singarh, it seems certain that Sivājī was at Rājgarh, from which the flare would have been plainly seen. (See also Professor H. B. Limaye's article in *Fergusson College Magazine*, February 1919, pp. 150–9.) Finally, on p. 54 of Mānkar's translation of K. Anant Sabhāsad's *Life of Sivājī*, 2nd ed., the following words occur: 'The fort was captured. He then set fire to the stables on the fort. The king saw the light from Rājgad and was pleased to find that the fort was taken.' The capture of Singarh took place late in January (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), p. 208).]

[1] The Mahrattas who fall in battle are carried off by their companions when it is possible to do so. To leave a commander's body

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were destroyed, and now was their time to prove themselves Sivajee's Mawulees. This address, their loss of Tannajee, the arrival of their companions, and the presence of a leader, made them turn with a resolution which nothing could withstand. 'Hur, Hur, Mahdeo,'[1] their usual cry on desperate onsets, resounded as they closed, and they soon found themselves in possession of the fort. Their total loss was estimated at one-third their number, or upwards of three hundred killed or disabled. In the morning, five hundred gallant Rajpoots, together with their commander, were found dead or wounded; a few had concealed themselves, and submitted; but several hundreds had chosen the desperate alternative of venturing over the rock, and many were dashed to pieces in the attempt.

The preconcerted signal of success was setting on fire a thatched house in the fort, a joyful intimation to Sivajee; but when he heard that Tannajee Maloosray was killed, he was deeply concerned, and afterwards, on being congratulated, mournfully replied, in allusion to the name he had given the fort, 'The den is taken but the lion is slain; we have gained a fort, but, alas! I have lost Tannajee Maloosray!'

Sivajee, though he seldom bestowed pecuniary gifts on the Mawulees, on this occasion gave every private soldier a silver bracelet, or bangle, and proportionate rewards to the officers.

to indiscriminate burial, without the funeral rites, is considered base in the highest degree. 'Father' is an epithet much used by the soldiery of India, both as a term of respect, as appears in the text, and as a cheering encouragement. The 'chulo mera bap,' 'come on my father,' so often heard from officers of British Sepoys in action, is precisely the 'come on, my boys,' and 'allons mes enfants' of the English and French. [The objection to leaving the dead to be buried by the Mahārs was based chiefly on the universal Hindu belief that only the due performance of the propitiatory death-ceremonies, enjoined by the Brahmanic *Shāstras*, can secure the ghost of the dead from enrolment in the malevolent army of *bhuts*, *prets* and *pishāchas* (ghosts, goblins and fiends), which wander abroad haunting and harassing the living.]

[1] Names of Vishnoo and Mahdeo. [Hara (Hur) is a synonym of Mahādēv (Shiva), and Harī of Vishnu. The Marāthās, being Shaivas, would naturally call upon Shiva rather than upon Vishnu (Harī), and this is confirmed by the *Sabhāsad Bakhar*, which describes the Māwalīs' war-cry as 'Shrī Mahādeva.' (Mānkar's trans., p. 53.) See also the 'Ballad of Sonput Paniput,' Acworth's *Ballads of the Marāthās*, pp. 61 and 125 n., and Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 209. Grant Duff's note is incorrect.]

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Sooryajee was appointed to the command of the fort, and afterwards assisted in taking Poorundhur, which was
March. escaladed one month after the capture of Singurh and fell with little resistance.

The fort of Maholy in the Concan was not such an easy conquest as Poorundhur. Moro Punt was repulsed with the reported loss [1] of one thousand men; but the siege was continued with spirit, and the garrison, in hopes of being relieved from Joonere, made a resolute defence, beat off a second assault, and held out for two months; but at the end of that time the fort surrendered. Kurnalla was likewise besieged and taken,[2] and the whole province of Kallian recovered by the end of June.[3] Loghur was also surprised and taken; but an attempt on Sewneree failed.[4] Sivajee in person superintended the siege of Jinjeera. Every year since 1661 he had erected batteries against it, and he now put forth his whole strength, in hopes of reducing it before the fair season. Nor was force the only means employed; promises of every kind were resorted to, and Futih Khan, though he at first indignantly rejected every inducement, at last began to entertain thoughts of accepting Sivajee's protection, and surrendering. There were, however, three Abyssinians under him, who had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious to Sivajee; they were also bigoted Mussulmans, detested the Mahratta name, and being alarmed for their own safety, in case Futih Khan should submit, they determined to prevent such a measure at all hazards. To this end, they formed a conspiracy among their countrymen, and having obtained their suffrage, Futih Khan was placed in confinement, and greatly to Sivajee's disappointment, they continued the defence of the place. They afterwards applied to the Moghul governor of Surat, offering, if duly supported, to hold their Jagheer and the Beejapoor fleet under the imperial authority. The names of these three Abyssinians were, Seedee Sumbhole, Seedee Yakoot, and Seedee Khyroo. The two last gave up their pretensions in favour of Seedee Sumbhole. Their proposals were accepted by

[1] English Records. Bombay to Surat, March 21, 1670.

[2] The Mahratta MSS. afford no particulars of the manner in which the approaches were carried on in these sieges. The Bombay records in mentioning the siege of Kurnalla, say 'they advance by throwing up breastworks of earth and boards, which they carry before them.'

[3] Mahratta MSS. English Records.

[4] Mahratta MSS. and Scott's Deccan.

the governor of Surat, and the terms confirmed by Aurungzebe, who changed the title of the principal Seedee from Wuzeer to Yakoot Khan.[1]

Oct. 3.—The rains had scarcely subsided when Sivajee appeared at the gates of Surat, at the head of fifteen thousand men. It so happened that the governor of Surat had died suddenly during the preceding month; and a considerable garrison which had been before thrown into the town, in consequence of a report of Sivajee's intention to plunder it, were, by accident or design, withdrawn by Jeswunt Sing or the prince. In this unprotected state, with only a few hundred men in the castle, the city was leisurely pillaged for three days. The English, as on a former occasion, defended themselves successfully under the direction of Mr. Streingham Masters,[2] one of their factors, and killed many

[1] This account of the Revolution at Jinjeera is on the authority of Khafee Khan, but I am not certain of the exact date of the transfer of the fleet to the Moghuls. Their previous dependence on Beejapoor had long been nominal. [The offer of the Sīdī to Aurangzeb was made in 1670. The Stracheys (*Keigwin's Rebellion*) describe the Sīdī as 'a sort of naval *condottiere*, who kept up a large fleet in Aurangzeb's service for use against Sivāji. Nominally under the orders of the governor of Surat, from whose treasury his subsidy was paid, he was actually a separate power to be dealt with.' Sīdī Sambal (Sumbhole) was created admiral with a *mansab* and a *jāgīr* yielding 3,00,000 rupees. His two associates, Sīdī Kāsim (whom the author calls Sīdī Yakūt) and Sīdī Khairiyat, were given the command of Janjīra and the land dominions respectively. Khāfī Khān states that the revolution at Janjīra took place in January or February 1671; but Professor J. Sarkar quotes a letter of April 4, 1674, from the English agent at Raigarh to Bombay, which shows (*a*) that Fateh (Fatih) Khān was a Sīdī and not an Afghān, as stated by Kincaid on the authority of Khāfī Khān, and (*b*) that he was in power in 1674. Sīdī Sambal was undoubtedly admiral of the fleet from 1671, but Fateh Khān's deposition appears to have occurred after April 1674. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), p. 342 n.)]

[2] [Streynsham Master (Streingham Masters) first arrived in Surat in 1566, at the age of sixteen, in company with his uncle, George Oxinden. He was one of the four servants of the East India Company selected in 1668 to take charge of Bombay from the King's officers. In 1678 Master became Governor of Madras and built the church which has the distinction of being the first English church in India. Owing to differences with the Company, he returned to England in 1681 and took a leading part in the affairs of the rival New East India Company, of which he became a Director. His account of Bombay, which is earlier than that of Fryer, was published in 1889 by Yule, in his edition of Hedges's *Diary* (Hakluyt Society). Hedges s *Diary*, ii. 226, contains an English letter of November 20, 1670, giving an account

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of the Mahrattas. The Dutch factory being in a retired quarter, was not molested; but the French purchased an ignominious neutrality, by permitting Sivajee's troops to pass through their factory to attack an unfortunate Tartar prince,[1] who was on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and whose property became part of Sivajee's boasted spoils on this occasion.

After the third day, Sivajee, in consequence of intelligence from Burhanpoor, suddenly withdrew his army; and having left a letter for the inhabitants, demanding a tribute of twelve lacks of rupees a year, as the price of exemption from future pillage, he returned towards his own territory by the great road of Salheir. He had passed Kunchin Munchin, near Chandore, when he was closely pursued by a detachment of five thousand cavalry, under Daood Khan, a Moghul officer, whose approach occasioned no alarm; but Sivajee soon perceived that a larger body had got between him and the great pass near Nassuck, by which he intended to re-enter the Concan. He therefore broke his army into four or five divisions, in order to distract the enemy. A party from one of these divisions began to skirmish with the larger body; two of them threatened to charge it; whilst one division, to whom the treasure was entrusted, passed the enemy, pushed on towards the Ghaut, and made the best of their way into the Concan. Sivajee would have avoided an action, had he been sure of saving his booty, but he was obliged to move slowly to favour the escape of the division in charge of it. In the meantime Daood Khan came up, when Sivajee wheeled about, attacked, and drove him back; after which, having left a party to defend his rear, he moved on to the large body. Finding them drawn up on the banks of a tank, he instantly charged them, which being unexpected, the whole were put to the rout, and amongst the rest, a body of Mahrattas commanded by the widow of the

of this second sack of Surat. It is also mentioned in K. Anant Sabhāsad's *Bakhar* (Mānkar's trans., pp. 62, 63), where the pillage is described as lasting for two days, and the booty seized is said to have included 'gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones,' besides '5 crores of *hones* (*huns*) and 4,000 horses.' Professor J. Sarkar gives a clear account of the sack, and estimates the value of the loot seized by Sivāji at 66,00,000 rupees. (*Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 220–6.)

[1] The English factors call him 'the late king of Kascar, deposed by his own son'; Sivajee, say they, found in his quarters a vast treasure in gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed, and other rich furniture.

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Deshmookh of Mahoor, whom he took prisoner, treated her with great respect, and sent her home with valuable presents.[1]

On Sivajee's return he made great preparations both by sea and land. Ten thousand horse under Pertab Rao Goozur, and twenty thousand foot commanded by the Peishwa, marched for the northward, whilst a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels passed Bombay, intended, as was supposed, to co-operate in an attack on Baroach; but, if such was the intention, it appears to have been abandoned in favour of more extensive operations. The fleet was recalled, and they returned to Dabul with a large Portuguese ship which they had captured off Damaun. The Portuguese, on the other hand, took twelve of Sivajee's vessels, and carried them into Bassein.[2]

Dec.—Pertab Rao Goozur was ordered to make an incursion into Candeish, then a very rich and populous province, which Sivajee, judging from his late victory, justly supposed would be found unprotected. Pertab Rao levied contributions and plundered several large towns, particularly Kurinja[3]; but the most memorable circumstance of this expedition was the exaction of a writing from the village authorities on his route, in which they promised to pay to Sivajee, or his officers, one fourth of the yearly revenue due to government. Regular receipts were promised on the part of Sivajee, which should not only exempt them from pillage, but ensure them protection.[4] Hence we may date the first imposition of Mahratta chouth on a province immediately subject to the Moghuls.

A.D. 1671. Jan.—Moro Punt, at the head of the infantry, took several forts, amongst which Oundha and Putta are particularly mentioned, and the important fortress of Salheir.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] English Records partly confirmed by Mahratta MS.

[3] [Karinja is situated in 77° 30′ E. and 20° 32′ N. in Berar. The loot seized by Pratāp Rāo, comprising fine cloth, silver and gold to the value of a million of rupees, was loaded on 4,000 oxen and donkeys (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 233.)]

[4] Mahratta MSS. and English Records. The Surat factors particularly notice this incursion, which they suppose was headed by Sivajee in person. They mention his having exacted the promise of chouth, and that he '*very severely* plundered Kurinja, and carried away all the chief men, except such as escaped in women's clothes,' from which it is evident that the Moghuls knew by experience that part of Sivajee's regulations regarding protection to females.

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During these extraordinary successes of Sivajee, the inactivity of the Moghuls is chiefly to be ascribed to their want of troops. Whilst the Peishwa was besieging Maholy there was a considerable force at Joonere, and five thousand spare troops at Surat; but Sivajee could at that time collect at least forty thousand men to dispute their advance, or intercept their retreat. A deficiency of force, however, on the part of the Moghuls was not the only cause which operated in Sivajee's favour. Common report represented Sultan Mauzum as in league with him; and we have seen that a good understanding did exist between them. Jeswunt Sing was certainly no enemy to Sivajee; at his recommendation frequent applications were made for reinforcements, which he well knew Aurungzebe was too jealous to grant. There is, as we have already observed, no satisfactory evidence of Sultan Mauzum's intended rebellion; but, in desiring reinforcements and in not doing his utmost against Sivajee, he may have been influenced by the natural desire of all the sons of the Moghul Emperors, to strengthen their own party, as at the death of their father they had no alternative between them and the grave, excepting a prison or a throne. The same reason may have made him regard the increasing depredations of Sivajee without regret, as they afforded a pretext for enlisting followers, and a prospect of compelling Aurungzebe to accede to his views. But in this hope he was disappointed. Jeswunt Sing was recalled, and forty thousand men were sent into the Deccan under the command of Mohabet Khan,[1] who was so completely independent of Sultan Mauzum that he scarcely allowed one thousand horse to remain with the prince at Aurungabad.

Mohabet Khan commenced operations against Sivajee by endeavouring to reduce his forts; but, at the setting in of the rains, he had only retaken Oundha and Putta, when he withdrew to cantonments, and the ensuing season was considerably advanced before his army appeared in the field.[2] At length, one half of the force under Dilere Khan attacked Chakun, and the other half laid siege to Salheir. Sivajee, sensible of the great importance of the latter fort, determined on making an effort to save it. The garrison, from some cause not clearly explained, had not been able to lay in

A.D. 1672.

[1] [i.e. Mahābat Khān, who conquered Daulatābād for Shāh Jahān.]
[2] Mahratta MSS. partly confirmed by English Records.

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a sufficient store of provisions, and two thousand of Sivajee's best horse, stationed in its immediate vicinity, had been cut to pieces by a body of Patans; circumstances which rendered speedy succour essential.[1] On this service Moro Punt and Pertab Rao Goozur were both detached with twenty thousand horse, and ordered to give battle. As soon as the Moghul general[2] heard of their approach, he sent the greatest part of his force to oppose them, under an officer named Ikhlass Khan. Pertab Rao, who commanded the advance of the Mahrattas, seeing Ikhlass Khan eager to attack him, waited his approach, drew him on to charge, fled before him until the Moghul troops were broken, when, turning round, supported by Moro Punt, he gave them a signal defeat. The Moghuls recovered their order and rallied to the last; but they were charged, broken, and routed with prodigious slaughter; twenty-two officers of note were killed, and several of the principal commanders wounded and made prisoners. The Mahrattas lost Sur Rao Kakray,[3] a commander of five thousand, and had upwards of five hundred killed and wounded.

This victory was the most complete ever achieved by Sivajee's troops, in a fair fought action with the Moghuls, and contributed greatly to the renown of the Mahrattas. Its immediate consequence was the abandonment of the siege of Salheir and a precipitate retreat of the army to Aurungabad. Sivajee treated the prisoners of rank who were sent to Raigurh with distinction, and when their wounds were healed he dismissed them in an honourable manner.[4] Such prisoners as chose to remain were admitted into his service; and deserters, both from the Beejapoor and the Moghul armies, began to join the Mahratta standard in considerable numbers.[5]

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] I conclude that Mohabet Khan was the general who sent Ikhlass Khan to oppose the Mahrattas, and that there is a mistake in the Mahratta manuscript, which mentions that he was detached by Dilere Khan.

[3] Sur Rao Kakray was one of Sivajee's earliest followers; he was originally a leader of Mawulees, and particularly distinguished himself at the attack on Jowlee and escalade of Rohira.

[4] Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Scott's Deccan, and English Records.

[5] Mahratta MSS. and English Records. The standard of Sivajee, or the national flag of the Mahrattas, is called the *Bhugwa Jenda*. It

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During the rains, Sivajee possessed himself of several places in the northern Concan, which had belonged to Koolee Rajas[1] or petty Polygars, whom he compelled to join him. As he was at war with the Portuguese, and was threatening to drive them from the coast, unless they paid him tribute, it was expected from the vicinity of the Koolee possessions that he would attack the forts of Damaun and Bassein. An attempt was made by a party of Sivajee's troops to surprise the small fort of Gorabundur[2] on the island of Salsette, then in possession of the Portuguese; but they were repulsed. The English at Bombay were so much alarmed at this near approach to their settlement, that they began to strengthen their fortifications, and became solicitous to conclude some treaty with Sivajee, which should have for its object indemnification for past losses and reciprocal advantages hereafter. Hitherto the English had not suffered materially by the ravages of Sivajee; and at Bombay, even when he was attacking the factory at Surat, an interchange of civilities used to take place; the reason of which was that the island of Bombay was dependent on the continent for grain and firewood; and Sivajee's coast would have been greatly exposed had the English suffered the Moghuls to pass through their harbour for the purpose of attacking him. Ever since the plunder of Rajapoor in January 1661, the English had been petitioning Sivajee for

is swallow-tailed, of a deep orange colour, and particularly emblematic of the followers of Mahdeo. [The story goes that Sivājī made over his whole dominions in free gift to his *guru* Rāmdās, who in return desired Sivājī to continue to rule the country on his behalf. As a sign that the kingdom thus belonged to an ascetic, Sivājī adopted the ascetic's ochre-coloured flag as the national banner. Acworth, *Ballads of the Marāthās*, Introduction, p. xxvii; Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 475–6.)]

[1] [See note on pages 7, 8, *supra*. The present Rājā of Jāwhār, Thāna District, is the only surviving representative of the Kolī chiefs of the north Konkan. Various references to the Kolī Nāyaks of the Western Ghāt region will be found in Captain A. Mackintosh's *Account of the Origin and Present Condition of the Tribe of Ramoossies*, Bombay, 1832.]

[2] [Ghodbandar (Gorabundur), supposed by some to be the *Hippokoura* of Ptolemy, is a port on the left bank of the Bassein creek, ten miles north-west of Thāna. Fryer (1675) refers to it as Grebondel. It is a favourite place of excursion from Bombay, and contains the remains of several Portuguese buildings. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 377.) Crooke remarks that the *Hippokoura* of Ptolemy was more probably Ghoregāon in Kolāba (M'Crindle, Ptolemy, 44). Fryer's *Travels*, ed. Crooke (Hakluyt), 1909, i. 190 n.]

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indemnification. They estimated their loss at upwards of ten thousand pagodas; and Sivajee continued to assure them that if they would assist him against Jinjeera, or even re-establish their factory, he would make good the injury. The English, on the other hand, declared themselves neutral—that they were mere merchants, who never took up arms except to defend their property, and that before they could return to Rajapoor, they required security for the fulfilment of his promises.[1]

In the meantime, a change had taken place in the government of the Moghul provinces. Both Mohabet Khan and Sultan Mauzum were recalled, and Khan Jehan Buhadur,[2] governor of Guzerat, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. Khan Jehan, under a supposition that his force was not adequate to offensive operations, adopted a scheme of blocking up the Ghauts, to prevent Mahratta incursion, and defend the passes left open with artillery; but this plan was disapproved by Dilere Khan, his second in command. That officer had been successful in his attack on Chakun the preceding season; he exposed the fallacy of a defensive system, and recommended a vigorous attack on the principal forts with the force at their disposal, however inadequate. But his arguments had no effect on the new viceroy; and the Mahratta horse, as might have been expected, instead of entering Candeish by the passes where Khan Jehan posted himself, appeared in different parties about Aurungabad and Ahmednugur.[3] The viceroy went in pursuit of them in various directions, but without success, and at last cantoned for the rains at Pairgaom on the Beema, where he erected a fortification and gave it the name of Buhadurgurh.[4]

Whilst the Khan was thus employed, Sivajee undertook a secret expedition to Golcondah, where he is said to have exacted a contribution to a large amount,[5] and safely conveyed the money

[1] English Records, confirmed by Mahratta MSS.

[2] He was then Buhadur Khan. He got his title of Khan Jehan Buhadur afterwards, but to prevent confusion in the name, I have at once adopted that by which he is best known.

[3] Scott's Deccan, English Records, Mahratta MSS.

[4] It does not retain this name, but it continued for upwards of forty years one of the principal depots of the Moghul army. [Pairgaom, the Pergom of Fryer (Hakluyt ed., i. 325), is the modern Pedgāon, about forty miles south of Ahmadnagar. From 1672 to 1700 it was one of the chief stations of the Mughal army. (*B.G.*, xvii. 732.)]

[5] Wilks, Orme, Mahratta MS.

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to Raigurh. On the march, or immediately after his return, he let loose the greater part of his cavalry on the Moghul territory, levying contributions from towns, and plundering the smaller villages. In the details of this predatory warfare, both the Mahrattas and Moghuls claim advantages; if the former fled, they generally brought off their booty; an object which the horsemen were taught to regard as the most substantial honour.

During Sivajee's absence at Golcondah, his towns and villages on the coast had sustained great damage by a descent from the combined fleets from Surat and Jinjeera.[1] The batteries at Dhunda Rajepoor were also stormed and destroyed, and Ragoo Bullal, who commanded them, was killed.[2]

But the loss thus sustained was compensated by his visit to Golcondah; and the successful campaign of the ensuing year greatly increased his power and resources.

On the 15th of December, 1672, the Sultan of Beejapoor had a paralytic stroke, brought on by excess of various kinds; and although he lingered several days, during which he made some arrangements respecting the regency, he never rose from his bed.

His son Sultan Sikundur was then in the fifth year of his age. Ali Adil Shah had no other son, and only one daughter, Padshah Beebee. Abdool Mohummud, the prime minister, was of a respectable private character, but shrank from the task which his situation imposed. The other principal persons at the Beejapoor court were Khowaus Khan, Abdool-Khureem Bahlole Khan,[3] and Muzuffir Khan.

These three, with their dependants and attendants, were more intent on strengthening their own factions than on devising measures for the public advantage. Abdool Mohummud has the credit of being exempted from this censure; but he was destitute of that firmness which is necessary to overawe the

[1] English Records, Mahratta MSS.

[2] Mahratta MSS. This Ragoo Bullal was the same person who murdered the Raja of Jowlee.

[3] In Fryer's Travels, in the English Records, and in Mahratta MS. he is called Bahlole or Bullal Khan, and in Persian writings, by his proper name, Abdool Khureem Bahlole Khan, or simply Abdool Khureem. He was the son of Bahlole Khan, an Afghan, originally a follower of the famous Khan Jehan Lodi, and afterwards, as already mentioned, a General under the Nizam Shahee state. He came over to the service of Beejapoor, after Futih Khan had murdered his sovereign, Mortiza Nizam Shah II.

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factious, and maintain an ascendancy over men's minds in times of civil discord. In the present instance, certainly no situation could be less enviable; faction agitated the miserable remains of a fallen state, whilst Sivajee on one side, and the Moghuls on the other, threatened its annihilation.

In this state of affairs, Abdool Mohummud recommended that Khowaus Khan should be appointed regent, and that he himself and the two principal nobles who remained should each be sent to command in different parts of the kingdom. Kulburga, and the parts adjoining the Moghul territory, he reserved for himself; Abdool Khureem to have Merich, Panalla, Dharwar, Soonda, Bednore, and the Concan; and Muzuffir Khan to have charge of the rest of the Carnatic. The king, although exceedingly averse to this arrangement, was compelled to adopt it; and Khowaus Khan was sent for to his bed-side, to receive charge of his son and his last injunctions, as recommended by the minister. Khowaus Khan accepted the regency, and promised to fulfil the instructions; but after the king's death, when he had established his power, he postponed sending Abdool Khureem and Abdool Mohummud to their governments, lest they should make their own terms with the Moghuls; but he despatched Muzuffir Khan to the Carnatic. He endeavoured to reconcile the others by giving Abdool Khureem command of the troops, and by treating Abdool Mohummud with every mark of outward respect. Each party had Bramin dependants, who not only fomented the disputes of their masters, but through their Hindoo connections, Sivajee had minute information of all that passed; and as his compact with Abdool Mohummud ceased with the death of Ali Adil Shah, he instantly prepared to take advantage of the distractions which prevailed at Beejapoor.[1]

A.D. 1673.—In the month of March, 1673, he secretly assembled a large force at Vishalgurh. A detachment from this body surprised and retook Panalla; but the main object was an attack on the rich mercantile town of Hooblee.[2] The command of the

[1] Beejapoor MSS.

[2] [The old town of Hubli (Hooblee), now in Dhārwār District, is known locally as 'Rāyar Hubli,' i.e. Hubli of the Vijayanagar kings. The modern town of Hubli, situated on the Southern Marāthā Railway, and the centre of the cotton trade of the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency, was built in 1727, and was ceded with other territory to the British in 1820 by the Chief of Sangli, in lieu of fur-

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expedition was entrusted to Annajee Dutto; and the booty acquired exceeded anything of the kind before taken by the Mahrattas. The account given of the plunder in their manuscripts is incredible; but there is no doubt of its having been very considerable. Merchants of all nations were pillaged; and the Beejapoor troops, stationed for the defence of the town, completed what the Mahrattas had left. The English factory shared in the general misfortunes.[1] Mr. Aungier, the deputy governor at Bombay, frequently endeavoured to obtain indemnification, both for the losses at Hooblee and Rajapoor, and took judicious opportunities of pressing the demands. Sivajee persisted in declaring that his troops had not molested the English at Hooblee; and being still in hopes of obtaining their assistance against the Surat and Jinjeera fleets, he continued to express his desire for a treaty, and to hold out expectations of granting re-imbursement for the losses at Rajapoor. Mr. Aungier[2] was also frequently solicited for assistance by the opposite party, particularly by the Seedee; but he maintained a strict neutrality; and several circumstances occurred which gave both the one and the other a high respect for Mr. Aungier's judgment and firmness.[3]

Sivajee pressed the war with Beejapoor, and, anxious to possess himself of the whole coast, he sent his fleet to take possession of Carwar, Ankola, and various other places; whilst he excited the Deshmookhs to rebel, and drive out the Mahomedan *Thannas*. The Rana of Bednore, alarmed at the plunder of

nishing an annual contingent to the British forces. In the sixteenth century Hubli had a flourishing trade in iron and saltpetre. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 75, 76.)]

[1] They lost 7,894 pagodas.

[2] [Gerald Aungier, the brother of the Earl of Longford, was Governor of Surat from July 1669 until his death on June 30, 1677. Between August 1674 and June 1675, he was resident in Bombay, of which he has been truly described as the real founder. His grave was for more than two centuries unknown; but has recently (1916–17) 'been identified with certainty sufficient to justify the insertion of a new marble tablet in one of the inner walls of the tomb believed to be that of Aungier. The tablet was put up in 1916. (*Prog. Rep. A.S.W.I.*, 1916–17, p. 42).' (*O.H.I. Add. and Corr.*) For an account of his character and great achievements, see *B.G.*, xvi and xxvi, pt. i. 38 ff.; *B.C.G.*, ii. 59 ff.; Da Cunha, *Origin of Bombay*; Douglas, *Bombay and W. India*; Forrest, *Selections* (*Home Series*); Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*; Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion*; Anderson, *English in Western India*. See also Fryer's *Travels*, &c. (Hakluyt), ed. Crooke, 1909 i. 155 n.)]

[3] Mahratta MSS., Orme, and English Records.

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Hooblee, early solicited protection, agreed to pay a yearly tribute, and permitted a wukeel from Sivajee to reside at his capital.[1]

As Sivajee was desirous of prosecuting the war on Beejapoor without interruption, he endeavoured to conciliate Khan Jehan by again feigning a desire to be received under the imperial protection, through the Khan's mediation. The viceroy was, or pretended to be, deceived; but it is more than probable that this officer, very soon after his arrival in the Deccan, became subservient to Sivajee's views, on condition of his refraining from pillage in the Moghul territory.

In the month of May a detachment of Mawulees surprised Purlee; but its capture having put the garrisons in the neighbourhood on the alert, Satara, a fort that had always been kept in good order by the Beejapoor government, which was next invested, sustained a siege for several months, and did not surrender till the beginning of September. It is remarkable that this fort had been long used as a state prison, anterior perhaps to the Edil Shahee dynasty. Sivajee little contemplated its being made applicable to a similar purpose for the persons of his descendants.[2]

The forts of Chundun, Wundun, Pandoogurh, Nandgheeree, and Tattora, all fell into his hands before the fair season.

The loss of Panalla, the sack of Hooblee, the insurrections about Carwar, and the capture of all these forts, obliged Khowaus Khan to detach Abdool Khureem with an army to the westward. Abdool Khureem regained possession of the open country about Panalla; but Pertab Rao Goozur, having been sent off by Sivajee, appeared in the neighbourhood of Beejapoor, where he plundered with impunity. These depredations induced the regent to recall Abdool Khureem, but Pertab Rao intercepted him between Merich and Beejapoor, and both parties commenced skirmishing. As Pertab Rao outnumbered the army of Beejapoor, by threatening a general attack on one side, and cutting off foragers and stragglers with a part of his troops on the other, he so harassed them that Abdool Khureem applied for an armistice, and was permitted to return unmolested to Beejapoor. The terms on which this truce was granted are not known, but Sivajee was greatly displeased; and, to add to his mortification,

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Logurh was the state prison of Ahmednugur.

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Pertab Rao, on being severely censured, made a very distant excursion into Berar Payeen Ghaut contrary to Sivajee's intention, who had previously commenced the siege of Ponda, which lay between his territory and his late acquisitions to the southward.[1]

Abdool Khureem, conceiving that an opportunity thus presented itself of retaking Panalla, a great effort was made at Beejapoor to recruit the army. The intention was early imparted to Sivajee, but he was prevented, by the absence of Pertab Rao Goozur, from making a corresponding exertion to prevent the design, without subjecting his own plans to great derangement.

A.D. 1674.—In the month of February, preparations being completed, Abdool Khureem marched with a large force towards Panalla.[2] He had already arrived in the neighbourhood of that place, when Pertab Rao, with the principal part of the horse, at last made his appearance. Sivajee instantly sent him word that he was greatly displeased by his conduct, and desired that he would 'never come into his presence until he had plundered the army of Beejapoor.' This message was conveyed to Pertab Rao when about to commence the attack. Stung with the reproach, he departed from his usual method, and at once closed with the enemy.[3] In a rash charge on a compact body of the Beejapoor troops, he was cut down with many of his men, and the main body of his army completely routed. Abdool Khureem pursued them with great slaughter, until the fugitives found shelter under the guns of Panalla. But, whilst this took place in the main body, one party of Mahrattas under Hussajee Mohitey, a commander of five thousand horse, had not been engaged. They came up when the Beejapoor troops were dispersed in the careless ardour of pursuit, and falling upon them unexpectedly, completely changed the issue of the contest. No troops are so soon rallied as Mahrattas on the slightest turn of fortune in their favour. The fugitives became the pursuers; victory succeeded defeat, and Abdool Khureem was again compelled to retire with disgrace to Beejapoor.[4] In the division of Hussajee Mohitey, two officers greatly distinguished themselves; they were promoted in consequence, and their names, Suntajee

[1] Mahratta MSS. [2] Beejapoor MSS., and Mahratta MSS.
[3] Mahratta MSS. [This action took place at Umrani, thirty-six miles west of Bijāpur.] [4] Mahratta MSS., and Beejapoor MSS.

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Ghorepuray and Dhunnajee Jadow, afterwards became renowned in the annals of Maharashtra. Sivajee greatly extolled the conduct of Hussajee Mohitey, and appointed him Surnobut, with the title of Humbeer Rao.[1] The services of Pertab Rao Goozur were not forgotten; Sivajee mourned his loss, made handsome provision for his relations and dependants, and married his younger son, Raja Ram, to the daughter of the deceased. Pertab Rao's death was followed by that of Abajee Sonedeo; Sivajee had declared that no office should be hereditary in a family unfit for the employment; but Ramchundur Punt, the son of Abajee, being qualified to fill the vacant situation, he was appointed Muzzimdar.

The siege of Ponda continued until the setting-in of the monsoon, when it was raised. Sivajee had purchased a supply of artillery from the French at Surat; but he was not able to effect a breach. The whole of the horse, owing, it is supposed, to a scarcity above the Ghauts, cantoned this season at Chiploon.[2]

Sivajee, who had long struck coins and styled himself Raja and Maha Raja, was at this time consulting many learned Bramins on the propriety of declaring his independence, assuming ensigns of royalty, and establishing an era from the day of his ascending the throne. A celebrated Shastree of Benares, named Gaga Bhutt, who arrived at Raigurh, and of whose coming Sivajee pretended to have an intimation from Bhowanee, was appointed to conduct the inauguration. After many solemn rites and every observance of the Shasters which could make the ceremony reverenced by Hindoos, Sivajee, at a propitious moment, was enthroned at Raigurh on the 6th June.[3] About

[1] As the reader is not yet familiar with the former name, I shall continue to use his title of Humbeer Rao, as that by which he is generally known in the Mahratta country.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] [Marāthī chronicles state that Gāgā Bhat at first objected to performing the coronation ceremony, on the grounds that Sivājī was a Marāthā (i.e. a Sūdra), and that the regular ceremonies were reserved for Kshatriya and Rājpūt princes. Sivājī thereupon procured from Raigarh a genealogical tree showing his descent from the Mahārānas of Udaipur. Gāgā Bhat finally agreed to perform the ceremony on condition that Sivājī was first invested with the sacred thread, which is worn only by the three higher orders mentioned in the Code of Manu. On the subject of Sivājī's Rājpūt descent Ranade (p. 46) observes: 'It is in the spirit of the same fond superstition that native historians trace for Sivājī a fabled descent from the royal house of Udepur.

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a fortnight after, on the death of his mother, Jeejee Bye, Sivajee was a second time placed on the throne, but the date of the *abishik* or era commences from the 13th day of the moon's increase in *Jesht* or June, according to the previous installation. The first ceremony was partly witnessed by Mr. Henry Oxenden, who had been sent from Bombay on a mission to Sivajee, for the purpose of concluding the long-pending treaty. The preliminary articles were signed by a native agent on the 6th April. The treaty consisted of twenty articles, the substance of which the Mahrattas have preserved under four heads:—First, indemnification for the losses at Rajapoor, with permission to establish factories at Rajapoor, Dabul, Choule, and Kallian; and to trade all over Sivajee's territory, buying and selling at their own prices without being liable to the imposition of fixed rates. Second, they were only to pay an import duty of 2½ per cent. ad valorem. Third, coins were to pass reciprocally; and fourth, wrecks were to be restored. The mode of settling the indemnification, which was dictated by Sivajee, shows his idea of the principles of trade; but it is particularly characteristic of a Mahratta agreement, not only in its intricacy, but in the evasion of any direct money payment. Sivajee was to allow the English 10,000 pagodas: that is, the English agreed to purchase 5,000 pagodas worth of goods from Sivajee for three years, they paying him half the value, so that they would then recover 7,500 pagodas; and for the balance of 2,500 pagodas, he granted to the factory, when it should be re-established at Rajapoor, an exemption from customs until it amounted to an equivalent. It was with some difficulty that Sivajee was brought to consent to those articles

Sivājī was neither a robber nor an incarnation, nor did he derive his strength from his supposed Rājpūt descent.' The same authority (pp. 284–8) discusses the subject in greater detail and decides that Sivājī's Kshatriya origin has no foundation in fact, but was adopted for purely political reasons. Unquestionably Sivājī belonged to the great agricultural Kunbī caste. Professor Sarkar writes: 'The Bhonslas were popularly known to be neither Kshatriyas nor of any other twice-born caste, but mere tillers of the soil, as Sivājī's great-grandfather was still remembered to have been.' He adds that Sivājī's pedigree was fabricated by Bālājī Avjī and other agents of Sivājī, and that Gāgā Bhat was rewarded with a huge fee for his acceptance of it as genuine. (*Life and Times of Shivaji*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 267, 268). The statement made on p. 244 of *A History of the Marāthā People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis, that 'the King was no doubt of Rājpūt origin,' is quite unworthy of credence.]

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which regarded the wrecks[1] and the coin. He observed that the crews of ships should be assisted and protected; but the wrecks being long considered the inherent property of the king of the country, he could not relinquish the right; and that with respect to English coin[2] it should always pass for its intrinsic value. Finally, however, he agreed[3] to all the articles, and Mr. Oxenden's embassy occasioned a more favourable impression towards the English on the part of Sivajee; but, though the factory at Rajapoor was re-established, it was never profitable, and it is doubtful if the English ever recovered what was settled by the treaty. Mr. Aungier's immediate successors had not the talents nor the weight of that able man, who died at Bombay in 1676.[4]

On Sivajee's enthronement, the names of such offices as were expressed in Persian were changed into Sanscrit, and some were designated by higher sounding titles. None of the new distinctions were preserved after Sivajee's death, except the eight ministers, or Asht Purdhans. Their duties continued the same as already explained, except that there was one commander-in-chief of the cavalry and infantry; and the Nyadeish was not administered by two persons. The names of the ministers and the old and new appellations of their offices were then as follows:

Name.	Original Title.	New Title.
1. Moro Punt Pingley . . .	Peishwa.	Mookh Purdhan.
2. Ramchundur Punt Boureekur .	Muzzimdar.	Punt Amat.

[1] [On this subject see footnote, p. 206, vol. i. of Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt), ed. Crooke, 1909. Crooke gives references to Marco Polo, ii. 386, and to Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 25].

[2] [The first mint in Bombay was established by Aungier in 1670 for the coinage of 'rupees, pies and bujruks.' Tavernier (1678) mentions the coinage by the English of silver, copper and tin at the time of his visit. The British Museum contains four early Bombay rupees, dated 1675, 1677 and 1678. In 1697 the value of the Bombay rupee was 2*s.* 6*d.* (*B.C.G.*, iii. 299, 300.) There was a Bombay silver rupee issued in 1667 with the inscription, obverse, *Mon. Bombay. Anglic. Regims.* A°7°; around, *A. Deo. Pax. & Incrementum.* Another undated, but issued soon after; obverse, a shield of arms between two wreaths; reverse, in centre, *Pax Deo*; around, *Moneta Bombaiensis.* (Thurston, *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula* (1890), p. 21.)]

[3] Oxenden's Narrative, Mahratta MSS. and English Records.

[4] [Aungier died at Surat on June 30, 1677.]

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Name.	Original Title.	New Title.
3. Annajee Dutto	Soornees.	Punt Suchew.
4. Duttajee Punt	Wankunees.	Muntree.
5. Humbeer Rao Mohitey	Surnobut	Senaputtee.
6. Jenardin Punt Hunwuntay	Dubeer.	Somunt.
7. Ballajee Punt	Nyadeish.	Nyadeish.
8. Rugonath Punt	Nyashastree.	Pundit Rao.

Sivajee, by being weighed against gold,[1] the amount of which was afterwards distributed to Bramins, and by performing numerous charities, as recommended by the rules of his religion, obtained a high rank amongst Rajpoots, from whom the Bramins could now pretend to prove his descent. The titles [2] he assumed were very lofty, and in future, on all public occasions, he imitated the grandeur and dignity of royalty.

Since the convention of Poorundhur, Sivajee had always pretended a right to the chouth of various parts of the Beejapoor territory, and of the whole of the Concan.[3] There is no mention of his having made this demand from the English; but he this year sent Moro Punt to Kallian, for the purpose of exacting it

[1] Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, which is equal to about ten stone. [See note on p. 206 of vol. i. of Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt), ed. Crooke, 1909: 'This rite, known as *Tulā-dāna* was practised by many Hindu princes. The Rājās of Mārwār and Amber used to weigh themselves against gold, gems and precious cloths at the Pushkar pilgrimage, the articles being afterwards distributed among the priests (Tod, *Annals*, i. 537). Even at the present day the golden lotus through which the Mahārājā of Travancore passes, and which is broken up and given to Brahmans, must be his exact weight (Mateer, *Land of Charity*, 170; *Manual of Travancore*, i. 171, 172). Akbar was weighed twice a year against gold and other valuables (*Āīn*, i. 266 f.). The weighing of Jahāngīr is described by Sir T. Roe (i. 252) and by Terry (p. 395). The same custom prevailed in the time of Aurangzeb (Manucci, ii. 348; Tavernier, ed. Ball, i. 379 ff.; Bernier, 270).']

[2] These were Kshittrya Koolavutumsa, Sree, Raja Siva, Chuttur Puttee, or the head ornament of the Kshittree race, his Majesty, the Raja Siva, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella. [The title of Chhatrapatī (Chuttur Puttee) is now held by the Mahārājā of Kolhāpur, who traces his descent from Rājā Rām, the younger son of Sivājī. The use of the umbrella as a royal appendage in India and Burma is traceable to one of the widespread primitive rules or taboos by which the life of divine kings or priests is regulated, viz. that the sun may not shine upon the sacred person. (Sleeman's *Rambles*, by V. A. Smith, p. 134 n., in which the reference is given to Frazer's *The Golden Bough*.)]

[3] Mahratta MSS.

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from the Portuguese at Bassein.[1] It is not known by what means they evaded the payment; the Mahratta histories of Sivajee's life do not state that the Portuguese ever admitted the chouth; but frequent mention is made of their having paid tribute, and probably some compromise was made on the occasion alluded to.

A.D. 1675.—Some aggressions on the part of the Moghul troops, headed by Dilere Khan, having furnished Sivajee with an excuse for breaking his compact with the viceroy, Moro Punt attacked and retook Oundha and Putta, and made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Sewneree, the birth place of Sivajee, which was never destined to fall into his hands. But the failure was compensated by the success of Humbeer Rao, the Senaputtee, who ascended one of the passes near Surat, divided his horse into several bodies, plundered the country to Burhanpoor, and from thence to Mahoor. One of his parties levied contributions in the Baroach district, being the first body of Mahrattas that ever crossed the Nerbuddah.

Sivajee himself laid siege to Ponda, after he had again possessed himself of all the *Thannas* between Panalla and Tattora; but as soon as he was occupied in the Concan, and had carried down all the infantry that could be spared, Nimbalkur and Ghatgay, the Deshmookhs of Phultun and Mullaoree, attacked the garrisons, drove out the *Thannas*, and recovered most of the open country for the king of Beejapoor.[2]

Humbeer Rao, after he had passed the Godavery on his route homewards, was very hotly pursued by Dilere Khan, and with difficulty brought off the valuable booty he had taken. A detachment of the Moghuls plundered the Kallian district, whilst Sivajee was still engaged besieging the fort of Ponda. A breach was at last effected by springing a mine, and the Killidar after a very creditable defence surrendered. Upon this, Sivajee proceeded to the southward, levied contributions in the Concan, plundered many places, ascended the Ghauts, penetrated into the Soonda country, and returned laden with spoils to Raigurh.[3]

At the opening of the season, Humbeer Rao again entered the Moghul territory, and did great mischief, whilst Khan

[1] Orme. English Records. [2] Mahratta MSS.
[3] Mahratta MSS.

Jehan Buhadur and Dilere Khan were engaged in another quarter.

Khowaus Khan, the regent of Beejapoor, finding his situation perilous, and having a greater regard for his own interests than the fulfilment of his trust, opened negotiations with Khan Jehan, agreed to hold Beejapoor as a dependent province of the empire, and to give Padshah Beebee, the young king's sister, in marriage to one of the sons of Aurungzebe.

When this proceeding became known, the nobles, at the head of whom was Abdool Khureem, entered into a conspiracy against Khowaus Khan; and he was assassinated by one Khureem Shirza engaged for the purpose. His death was not regretted, especially on account of his having agreed to give away the king's sister, in whom the people of Beejapoor took particular interest. The orders of Abdool Khureem to prepare for defence were obeyed with an alacrity unusual under the late regent, and when Khan Jehan Buhadur advanced, as was expected, towards the Beejapoor frontier, Abdool Khureem marched to oppose him. Several actions were fought, which ended advantageously for the army of Beejapoor; and as Dilere Khan was favourably disposed towards his countryman Abdool Khureem, a truce, and afterwards an alliance, was concluded by the mediation of the former.[1]

A.D. 1676.—Sivajee, for the third time, took possession of the open country between Tattora and Panalla; and in order to prevent future inroads by the Jagheerdars in his neighbourhood, he gave orders for connecting those places by building a chain of forts, which he named Wurdungurh, Booshengurh, Sewdasheogurh, and Muchindergurh. Although of no great strength, they were judiciously chosen to support his intermediate posts, and to protect the highly productive tract within the frontier which they embrace. Whilst engaged in this arrangement, he was overtaken by a severe illness, the nature of which is unknown; but it confined him at Satara for several months. During this period he became extravagantly rigid in the observance of religious forms enjoined by his faith; but he was, at the same time, planning the most important expedition of his life.[2] The preliminary arrangements with other powers, the space over

[1] Beejapoor MSS. Mahratta MSS. Scott's Deccan.

[2] Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme mentions this illness as having confined him at Raigurh.

which his views extended, the combination of sagacity and enterprise, and the surprising success of the undertaking are altogether so remarkable, that, in order to be fully understood, some preliminary observations regarding the general state of the country would be proper on this account alone, but a brief retrospect is also necessary as an introduction to the important events of the next thirty years.

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CHAPTER IX.

FROM A.D. 1676 TO A.D. 1680.

A.D. 1676.—THE Emperor Aurungzebe, hitherto occupied in establishing his authority, regulating affairs, or suppressing revolt in the north, had never lost sight of his early and favourite scheme of annexing the whole Deccan to the empire; but whilst his own presence was required in other parts, he was too suspicious to intrust the conquest to any deputy. He was, therefore, persevering in a systematic plan, calculated, as he conceived, to weaken and undermine the powers in that quarter so effectually that, when he could spare sufficient leisure, he might with an overwhelming force sweep all before him, and find a country rather to settle than to subdue.

Khan Jehan Buhadur was not an officer competent to the task of reducing the Deccan; but even if he had been, the army under his command was quite insufficient for such a purpose. The weakness of the Moghuls, defeated as large detachments of them were by the Mahrattas on more than one occasion, seemed likely to afford encouragement for a confederacy of the other powers against them; but in the divided state of affairs both at Beejapoor and Golcondah, principally maintained by his intrigues, Aurungzebe probably viewed it in a contrary light, as being less likely to rouse combination. His ambassadors were employed to create dissensions, not only by exciting jealousy between the Mahomedan courts, but by bribing every man in power and stirring up factions in the internal governments.

Although Sivajee's daring robberies and incursions excited the utmost indignation, he was still contemptible as a power in the eyes of Aurungzebe; and whilst so considered, his ravages, directed against Beejapoor or Golcondah, were favourable to the Emperor's plan. In this view, we may in some measure account

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for the conduct of Khan Jehan, who for a long time enjoyed as much of Aurungzebe's confidence as any of his officers, although it must have been well known to the Emperor that Sivajee frequently purchased his connivance or forbearance; for the fact was notorious in the European settlements.

With regard to Beejapoor and Golcondah, although the exertions of Abdool Khureem had obtained a temporary peace, he himself, as head of the faction which had destroyed Khowaus Khan, had nothing to hope from the Moghuls. His interests were completely those of the state; and had it not been for his connection with Dilere Khan, and the other Afghans of the Moghul army, it was far more natural for him to have become the ally of Sivajee than of Aurungzebe. The Moghul faction in Beejapoor were the regent's enemies; and the Emperor, preserving the forms which the pacification required, sent there as his envoy Mullik Berkhordar, a native of Kashmeer, on whose address he placed reliance, to draw over the nobility not yet of his party and to perplex the regent by every apparent civility and every mischievous intrigue.

At Golcondah the Moghul influence had long preponderated; the death, however, of Abdool Kootub Shah in 1672 had not been attended with the advantages which Aurungzebe may have anticipated. The nearest heir, Abou Hussein, the son-in-law and successor of the late king, notorious for dissipated habits in his youth, was, on ascending the throne, completely reclaimed. Although a weak prince, he on some occasions asserted the dignity of his high place; but he was under the influence of two brothers, Mahdhuna Punt and Akhana Punt; who, although reckoned men of ability, particularly the former, had all that disposition to refinement in intrigue which constitutes a principal defect in Bramin statesmen. Aurungzebe's measures partake precisely of that character; and the result proves not only the insignificance of the deepest cunning, but how much a homely maxim might serve as a lesson for kings. The Emperor did not contemplate the whole effects of his system; and the treachery and corruption, encouraged or tolerated at this period, were a principal cause of irretrievable confusion in the latter part of his reign.

But without further anticipation, such, in regard to the different powers, is a general view of the state of the Deccan when Sivajee

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undertook his expedition into the Carnatic. It was first suggested by Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay, whom we have already mentioned, as the successor of his father, Naroo Punt, in the management of Shahjee's Jagheer in the Carnatic. Rugonath Narrain was a man of superior abilities, but after the death of his patron he disgusted Venkajee by his overbearing conduct; and on the other hand, the young man's interference in the direction of his own affairs gave the minister great offence. Their mutual interests, however, suppressed their growing hatred for a long time; but after eleven or twelve years, Rugonath Narrain left the Carnatic, and proceeded to the court of Abou Hussein at Golcondah, where he formed an acquaintance with Mahdhuna Punt and contrived to gain his confidence; but whether he took these steps, foreseeing the scheme to which he afterwards applied them, is uncertain. He came, however, to join Sivajee, by whom, as an old and distinguished servant of his father, and a brother of the Somunt Purdhan, he was received with great respect; and Ramchundur Punt, being the youngest of the ministers, Sivajee displaced him to make room for Rugonath Punt Hunwuntay, on whom he conferred the office of Amat Purdhan. The discussion of Sivajee's claim to share, according to Hindoo law, in half the possessions of Shahjee, and the possibility of making this a cloak for more extensive acquisitions in the south, was a constant subject of consultation during the rains, when Sivajee lay ill at Satara.[1]

[1] Mahratta MSS. [The idea of recovering the fief which had belonged to his father Shāhji, and a portion of which was still held by Vyankojī, Sivājī's brother, was, according to Ranade not the only reason for this southern expedition. Sivājī believed that he could only conquer the Mughal government by forcing them to lengthen their lines of communication, and that therefore it was essential to carve out a new kingdom as far south as possible to which he might retreat, until the Delhi armies, weakened by long distance from their base, could be successfully routed. Professor Sarkar, however, discusses the point at length and concludes that Sivājī was actuated solely by the need of replenishing his treasury. 'It is incredible that a born strategist like Sivājī could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast, which was separated from his own dominions by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijāpur and Golkonda, and more than 700 miles distant from his capital. His aim, I believe, was merely to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth and return home with the booty. The partition of his father's heritage was only a plea adopted to give a show of legality to this campaign of plunder.' (*Life and Times of Shivaji*, Calcutta (1919),

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The period was in every respect favourable to the undertaking, as the alliance between Beejapoor and the Moghuls, and particularly the connection between the regent and Dilere Khan, was a certain means of exciting the jealous apprehensions of Mahdhuna Punt: Dilere Khan had always shown himself a determined enemy of Golcondah; and he was likewise known to entertain an equal degree of enmity towards Sivajee.

The first object effected was an agreement with Khan Jehan, by giving him a large sum of money, part, it would appear, publicly, and a part privately. That which was publicly received was styled tribute by the Moghul; an appellation to which Sivajee reconciled himself, even at this stage of his independence, by comparing it to the oil-cake given to his milch cow.[1]

To secure his possessions, the frontier forts on the eastern side, which he had just completed, were well calculated to repel the inroads of Ghatgay and Nimbalkur; and in order to guard the coast against the attacks or descents of the Seedee, he left Annajee Dutto, the Punt Suchew, with strong garrisons and a large body of disposable infantry. His forts between Kallian and Ponda were very numerous; and no place could be attacked without being speedily supported from various quarters. The particular care of this tract was thus made over to the Suchew, but he was directed to assist the Peishwa, Moro Punt, to whom Sivajee delegated the chief management during his absence; this division of power, however, created an unconquerable jealousy between these ministers.

At the close of the year 1676, Sivajee set out at the head of thirty thousand horse and forty thousand infantry towards Golcondah. Carefully abstaining from plunder, his march was conducted with the greatest regularity. Prillhad Punt, the son of the Nyadeish Purdhan, was sent forward to announce his approach, which, although known to Mahdhuna Punt, occasioned astonishment and alarm at Hyderabad. Mahdhuna Punt came out some distance to meet Sivajee, and the day after his arrival at Golcondah he had an interview with Kootub Shah, which lasted for several hours;

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pp. 363–6 and footnote.) It is perhaps not unfair to assume that both strategy and the condition of his war-chest necessitated the expedition.]

[1] Mahratta MSS.

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many consultations followed, and Sivajee had the address to persuade the king that an alliance between them was not only necessary but natural.[1]

No authentic record of the particulars of the secret compact which was entered into has been preserved by the Mahrattas; but the purport seems to have been, a division of such parts of Sivajee's conquests as had not belonged to his father, Shahjee, and a treaty offensive and defensive against the Moghuls and their allies.[2] With the usual burlesque advantages, which a power not consulted commonly obtains by such alliances of its neighbours, Beejapoor was to be admitted to all the benefits of this agreement, after its possessions in the Carnatic had been reduced and divided between Sivajee and Kootub Shah, on condition of dismissing Abdool Khureem from the regency and receiving the brother of Mahdhuna Punt in his stead.[3] What further inducement may have been held out, or whether the ambition or avarice of Mahdhuna Punt may have been more treacherously excited, cannot be discovered; but Sivajee succeeded in obtaining a considerable supply of money; and what he most wanted, a train of artillery with its equipments. It is probable that he dispensed with all other reinforcements; and the necessity of keeping the whole of the troops of Kootub Shah for the defence of the kingdom was an opinion likely to arise of itself, without being suggested by Sivajee.

After a month spent at Hyderabad, Sivajee, having concluded his arrangements, marched due south and crossed the Kistna at the Neorootey Sungum,[4] twenty-five miles below Kurnoul, about the month of March. Whilst his troops advanced slowly by the route of Kuddapah, Sivajee, with a body of cavalry, struck off to the eastward for the purpose of visiting the temple of Purwuttum,[5] where he

March.

[1] One of the Mahratta MSS. contains a curious dissertation tending to prove Golcondah the natural ally, and Beejapoor and the Moghuls, the natural enemies of Sivajee.

[2] Mahratta MSS. Beejapoor MS.

[3] Beejapoor MSS.

[4] [i.e the confluence of the Kistna and Tungabhadrā, twenty-four miles north-east of Karnūl. The proper spelling of the name is *Nivritti Sangam.*]

[5] Called by the Mahrattas Sree Sheyl Mullik Arjoon. [Mallikarjūna (Mullik Arjoon) is a form of Siva or Mahādēv. The *lingam* of Mallikarjūna in the temple at Saila (Sheyl) in Karnūl is one of the

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performed many penances. At last he was worked up into such a state of enthusiasm as to draw his sword for the purpose of sacrificing himself to the Deity, when it is pretended he was saved by the direct interposition of the goddess Bhowanee, by whose inspiration Sivajee, on this occasion, uttered one of his many prophecies; and whilst the Deity, through him, declared the necessity of his yet remaining to perform many great services for the Hindoo faith, she announced the splendid conquests that were to be immediately achieved in the Carnatic.[1]

After passing twelve days in this extravagant manner, Sivajee followed his army, which descended into the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut by the Damulcherry [2] pass; and as he had a double object in view, he left the heavy part of his army to come on by easy stages, whilst he pushed on with the cavalry and a body of his Mawulees. He passed Madras in the first week of May,[3] and arriving in the neighbourhood of Ginjee, then belonging to Beejapoor, he obtained possession of it from the sons of Amber Khan, named Roop Khan and Nazir Mohummud, according to a previous agreement through Rugonath Narrain.[4] Ramajee Nulgay, one of his Mawulee commanders, was appointed Havildar of the place, and the same regulations as those established in his forts in Maharashtra, were now, at a distance of six hundred miles, commenced in Drawed; and Wittul Peeldeo Garoodkur, with the general care of the dependent districts, was directed, in like manner, to introduce his revenue system.

An officer of the Beejapoor government, named Sher Khan, in charge of the district of Trinamullee, made an effort to oppose Sivajee at the head of five thousand horse; but he was quickly surrounded, made prisoner, and his horses seized, according to the custom of Mahratta victors. Suntajee, the half brother of Sivajee, had joined him before this affair, and very soon showed that he inherited a portion of the family spirit and ability.

twelve *swayāmbhu* (self-generated) *linqams* of India. (Sellon, *Annotations*, &c.) See Sarkar, *Life and Times of Shivaji*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 382–3.]

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Colonel Wilks. The Mahratta manuscripts call the pass Winkutrumunguree, but I conclude it is the same.

[3] Wilks.

[4] I here follow my own MSS. although Colonel Wilks has adopted a different account. [The *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (Mānkar, p. 91) states: 'Rupulkhān and Nāsrikhān . . . who were in Chandi (Jinjī) were

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In the meantime, the remaining part of the army, which Sivajee had purposely left in the rear, had invested the strong fortress of Vellore. The siege was conducted by a Bramin named Neerhurry Bullal. He erected his principal batteries on two adjacent hills, which he named Saujra and Gojura; and after a siege of some duration, the detail of which is very imperfectly given in the Mahratta manuscripts, the fort surrendered[1] about the latter end of September.

During the siege of Vellore, Sivajee had been endeavouring to effect his designs on Tanjore, and had induced his brother to meet him at Trivadey,[2] for the purpose of discussing his claim to share in their father's property. Venkajee, apprised of his designs, would in the first instance have resisted by force; but the Naik of Madura, who had agreed to assist him, was detached from the alliance by the address of Rugonath Narrain, and Venkajee adopted the alternative of visiting his brother. Sivajee received him with many professions of regard; but he could not persuade him to give up half the property. Whilst the one urged his claim, the other obstinately denied it. Sivajee at first thought of making him prisoner, and compelling him to give up the half of Tanjore, of the Jagheer districts, and of the money and jewels; but on further consideration, according to the words of his own letter, as Venkajee had come of his own accord to visit him, such a measure appeared to be 'inconsistent with his own character as a brother and a prince'; he therefore permitted him to return to Tanjore. To keep open the door of accommodation, though at the same time he had determined to seize upon the other districts, Sivajee sent messages to Venkajee, to endeavour to prevail upon him to give up half of Tanjore. Arnee, one or two of the forts, and to make an equal division without any quarrel;

promised protection, brought over to the King's (Sivājī's) cause and permitted to leave the place. After their departure Chandi was taken.' Sarkar, however, quotes the letter of a contemporary Jesuit priest of Madura to show that Jinjī was taken by assault and not by treachery or agreement. He also states that the father of Rauf Khān and Nāsir Muhammad was 'the late Bijāpur Wazīri Khān-i-Khānān (probably Khawās Khān).' (*Life and Times of Shivaji*, Calcutta (1919), p. 385.)]

[1] In the Beejapoor MSS. of Abou Hoossein Qazee, it is asserted that Abdoollah Khan, the governor, gave it up for a bribe of 50,000 pagodas. [Sarkar (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 387) states that Vellore fell in August 1678. The siege began in May 1677.]

[2] [Not Tiruvadi, thirteen miles west of Cuddalore, but Tirumalavadi, ten miles south of Tanjore.]

desiring his brother to recollect that it was not mere territory he desired, of that he possessed and could bestow abundance, but his inheritance (*wutun*) he was bound in honour not to renounce.[1]

After the interview at Trivadey, Sivajee came to Vellore, which had surrendered previous to his arrival. Carnaticgurh and two other forts[2] were reduced immediately after, and Vedo Bhaskur, a Bramin who had been in charge of Arnee since the time of Shahjee, brought the keys of the fort, and tendered his services to Sivajee, by whom he was confirmed in his command, and his two sons taken into the service. The Jagheer districts of Shahjee, consisting of Kolhar, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor, and Sera, were all taken possession of by Sivajee before the beginning of the ensuing year; and his horse either levied contributions under the name of chouth and surdeshmookhee, or, where refused, plundered the whole Carnatic subject to the kingdom of Beejapoor.

The truce which Khan Jehan Buhadur had entered into with Sivajee was not approved of by Aurungzebe; and Dilere Khan having submitted a proposal for invading Golcondah, assisted by Abdool Khureem and the troops of Beejapoor, on the plan suited to the Emperor's system of exhausting the Deccan states, Khan Jehan was recalled, and Dilere Khan ordered to carry his proposals into effect.

The excuse for this combined attack on the part of Dilere Khan and Abdool Khureem was the alliance which Kootub Shah had entered into with Sivajee. But Mahdhuna Punt had foreseen the coming storm; the invaders were met by an overwhelming force, and were soon compelled to retreat. The troops of Beejapoor had suffered great privation; numbers deserted in consequence, and those that remained were so disorderly and clamorous for want of pay, that it was impossible to lead them against the enemy.[3] To add to the general distress, Abdool Khureem was taken ill, and his life being despaired of, Dilere Khan attempted to reconcile the factions, and it was agreed that Musaood Khan,

[1] [Sivājī's claim was scarcely justified. He wished to treat the estate as the undivided property of Shāhjī, and by applying to it the Hindu law of inheritance to obtain a half-share of it as Shāhjī's son. This view failed to recognize the fact that after Shāhjī's death the estates had been regranted in their entirety to Vyankojī by the Bijāpur government.]

[2] Called in the Mahratta MSS. Jugdeogurh and Maharajgurh.

[3] Scott's Deccan.

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an Abyssinian, son-in-law of Seedee Johur and Jagheerdar of Adonee,[1] should eventually succeed to the regency. Abdool Khureem died in January 1678, and Musaood Khan was appointed his successor accordingly. His personal property was the principal motive for choosing Musaood Khan, especially as he promised to pay the debts of Dilere Khan, as well as the arrears due to the troops.[2] He also bound himself to fulfil the agreement made by Khowaus Khan, to preserve peace and order, to have no sort of communication with Sivajee, to abide by the advice of Dilere Khan on all occasions, and to send Padshah Beebee to the Moghul camp. Musaood Khan paid a part of the arrears due to the infantry; but after returning to Beejapoor he would neither pay nor retain a great portion of the cavalry. Large bodies were let loose upon the country in consequence; some were entertained by Moro Punt in Sivajee's service, and others joined the Moghuls.[3] A gloomy discontent prevailed at Beejapoor; but on the regent's afterwards promising not to give the king's sister to the Moghuls, he acquired considerable popularity.

A.D. 1678.

Dilere Khan, after the agreement with Musaood Khan was concluded, immediately marched towards Pairgaom; and Sivajee, on learning the state of affairs, began his march from the Carnatic. He appointed his half-brother Suntajee to the charge of Ginjee and its dependencies, and associated him with Rugonath Narrain and Humbeer Rao Senaputtee in the general management of his affairs in the Carnatic.

As Sivajee had given up no part of his late acquisitions, the king of Golcondah probably by this time perceived that he had been duped by him; but a friendly intercourse existed after Sivajee's return to Raigurh.

When Sivajee's troops arrived in the neighbourhood of Bellary, a few of his foragers were killed by some of the people belonging to the fort, which was then in possession of the widow of a Dessaye.[4] As satisfaction was refused, the outrage furnished an excuse for attacking the place, which was invested and taken after a siege of twenty-seven days. Sivajee next besieged and took Kopaul.

[1] He obtained his wealth by the favour of Einayat Oolla, a rich man, and Jagheerdar of Adonee, who made him his heir.

[2] Beejapoor MS. [3] Beejapoor MSS.

[4] [This was Savitri Bāi, *pātelni* of Belvadi, thirty miles south-east of Belgaum. Sarkar (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 401) gives a full account of the action.]

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Buhadur Benda surrendered fifteen days afterwards, and the neighbouring country was immediately taken possession of. Jenardin Punt Somunt, one of the Purdhans, was left to settle the new acquisition. Sivajee continued his march, but on arriving at Toorgul he halted; accounts having reached him of an attack made upon his troops in the Carnatic by his brother Venkajee, who had been repulsed with considerable loss. Upon receipt of this intelligence, Sivajee addressed a long letter[1] to his brother, in which he recapitulated everything that had occurred, represented the extreme indiscretion of a conduct which had compelled him to take possession of the districts; and now had obliged his officers to repel aggression by force of arms; that the slaughter of the vile Mahomedans, who had joined in the attack, was not to be regretted; but he ought to reflect on the sacrifice of valuable lives which it had occasioned. Sivajee, in this letter, dwells much on the necessity of union, and the propriety of peace; which last he now proposes to grant, on receiving the whole of their father's territorial possessions in the Carnatic, for which he promises, either to allow his brother an equivalent in the Panalla districts, or to obtain a grant of territory from his ally Kootub Shah in some other part of the country, equal to three lacks of pagodas annually.

Venkajee, on receipt of this letter, requested an interview with Rugonath Narrain; but the latter replied that he was now in the service of His Majesty Sivajee, but should be happy to attend, upon receiving orders to that effect. This permission having been obtained, Rugonath Narrain brought about an accommodation. Venkajee agreed to pay down a considerable sum of money, to divide their father's jewels, and to share the revenue of the territory with his brother. On these conditions, Sivajee allowed him to retain Tanjore and restored the Jagheer districts.

Whilst Sivajee remained near Toorgul, a body of horse, belonging to Ghatgay and Nimbalkur, appeared in the Panalla district, laid waste the country, and retired plundering towards

[1] The original of this and other three letters written by Sivajee to Venkajee, are in possession of the hereditary Chitnees, or Secretary, of his Highness the Raja of Satara. They were recovered by the grandfather of the present Chitnees, from a descendant of Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay. I have had them examined, and I have compared them with the handwriting of Ballajee Aujee, Sivajee's Chitnees, and have every reason to believe them authentic.

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Kurar. A detachment from Sivajee's army under Neelajee Katkur overtook them at Koorlee, attacked and dispersed them; recovering much valuable property, which, as it belonged to his own subjects, Sivajee scrupulously restored.

Jenardin Punt being threatened by a body of horse belonging to Beejapoor, Sivajee sent back a part of his troops to reinforce him, whilst he himself, attended by a small escort, reached Raigurh before the commencement of the south-west monsoon, after an absence of eighteen months.

Humbeer Rao, on the conclusion of the agreement with Venkajee, marched towards Maharashtra with all expedition, and Jenardin Punt, apprised of his approach, concerted a combined attack on the Beejapoor troops in the Dooab [1]; which completely succeeded: five hundred horses, five elephants, and the commander of the party were taken. The whole of the tract between the Toongbuddra and the Kistna was overrun, and the refractory Deshmookhs in the neighbourhood of Kopaul and Bellary, who had for some time refused all payments to the government of Beejapoor, were compelled to submit to the troops of Sivajee.[2] The reduced state of Beejapoor, its want of cavalry, and the swelling of the rivers from the rains, prevented Musaood Khan from making an effort to recover these valuable districts.

During Sivajee's absence, Moro Trimmul the Peishwa provided for the security of the territory with his usual activity and ability. The war with the Seedees, who were reinforced every season by the Moghul fleet from Surat, continued to be waged with rancorous enmity. Descents upon the Mahratta coast, actions with vessels on both sides, attempts to burn the Seedee's fleet, and a slow but lasting cannonade on Jinjeera, was the manner in which the warfare was maintained.[3] The only event which it seems requisite to particularize, was the supersession of Seedee Sumbhole

[1] The tract between the Kistna and the Toongbuddra is here meant.

[2] Original letter from Sivajee to Venkajee.

[3] All these affairs have been patiently and minutely detailed by Mr. Orme, and are interesting, because connected with the early history of one of our Indian Presidencies. Bombay was frequently involved in the broils of its neighbours, and sometimes exposed to the insolence of both parties. [For a review of the position of Bombay at this date, see *B.C.G.*, ii. 81–5 and Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion*, pp 18, 19. On one occasion (October 1677) Sīdī Kāsim and his followers had a free fight with Sīdī Sambal and his men in Mazagon, then a fortified village on the east of the Island of Bombay.]

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by Seedee Kassim, in consequence of an order from the Emperor. The title conferred on the new chief, who is admitted by the Mahrattas to have been an excellent officer, was Yakoot Khan, the same as that of his predecessor.

It was probably in consequence of the truce between the Moghuls and Beejapoor, that Moro Punt was induced to entertain numbers of the discharged cavalry of Beejapoor, being apprehensive that Dilere Khan meditated hostilities on his return to Pairgaom; but Aurungzebe was displeased with the adjustment which Dilere Khan had made, and informed him that he ought to have effected a more complete arrangement by providing for the nobility, paying the arrears of the troops, and taking the government under the imperial protection; he therefore commanded him to endeavour to amend his error whilst it was yet reparable, to pay the arrears of the cavalry, and to draw over as many of the officers as he could.[1] Sultan Mauzum was again appointed to the government of the Deccan; but the command of the army in the field remained with Dilere Khan. The Afghan party in Beejapoor were easily detached; but many of those who were violently factious, although averse to the existing authority, had still a greater dislike to the Moghuls. The envoy formally demanded Padshah Beebee as the only means of averting an immediate siege. Musaood Khan refused compliance. One of the factions, headed by Syud Mukhtoom and instigated by Mullik Berkhordar, assembled in arms to enforce the request, at a time when the regent was unprepared; but a battle in the midst of the city was prevented by the king's sister, who herself repaired to the spot and declared her intention of proceeding to the Moghul camp; vainly but generously imagining that, by this sacrifice, her brother and his kingdom might be saved.[2] The Mahomedan inhabitants of Beejapoor, who yet remain, revert with fond garrulity to this anecdote and to many traditionary legends of their last and favourite princess.

Padshah Beebee reached Dilere Khan's camp when the Moghuls were advancing to invest the city; a fit escort was furnished to conduct her to Aurungabad, but the Imperial army prosecuted its march. Musaood Khan, in this dilemma, sought assistance from Sivajee, who agreed to attack Dilere Khan, or effect a diversion in favour of the besieged.

A.D. 1679.

[1] Beejapoor MSS. and Scott's Deccan. [2] Beejapoor MSS.

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For this purpose Sivajee assembled a large body of cavalry at Panalla, and marched towards Beejapoor; but finding the besiegers strong, and not choosing to encounter the Patans, of whom a large portion of Dilere Khan's army was composed, he only made a show of attacking; advanced slowly until within twenty-four miles of the camp, when he turned off to the northward, rapidly crossed the Beema, and attacked the Moghul possessions, literally with fire and sword, leaving the inhabitants houseless and the village sin ashes. Dilere Khan did not relinquish the siege, and Sivajee continued his depredations from the Beema to the Godavery. He crossed the latter river, attacked Jaulna, and, although Sultan Mauzum was at Aurungabad, plundered the town leisurely for three days, pointing out, as was his custom on such occasions, the particular houses and spots where money and valuables were secreted. Nothing escaped him, and no place was a sanctuary; the residence of the peers, or Mahomedan saints, which Sivajee had hitherto held sacred, were on this occasion pillaged.[1] The laden booty was a certain signal that Sivajee would take some route towards Raigurh, and a body of ten thousand horse having been collected, by the prince's orders from various parts, under Runmust Khan, pursued, overtook, and attacked Sivajee near Sungumnere on his route to Putta. A part of his troops were thrown into confusion, owing principally to the impetuosity of Suntajee Ghorepuray; Seedojee Nimbalkur, an officer of distinction was killed[2]; but Sivajee led a desperate charge,[3] and by great personal exertion retrieved the day. The Moghul troops were broken, and he continued his route; but he had not proceeded far when he was again attacked by the Moghuls, who had been joined by a large reinforcement under Kishen Sing, one of the grandsons of Mirza Raja Jey Sing. This division cut him off from the pass to which he was marching, and Sivajee's army was unable to contend with such an accumulated force. But the superior intelligence of one of his Jasooses,[4] or guides, saved Sivajee in this emergency.

[1] Sivajee's death is said to have happened in consequence. Khafee Khan, who has adopted the story, is seldom so injudicious.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] This part of the account is confirmed by Sivajee's letters to his brother, where he says, 'it was a time proper to disregard life.'

[4] Jasoos literally means, and is, professionally, a spy, but they are employed in all Deccan armies as guides, messengers, and letter

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He conducted him across the hills by a pass unknown to the Moghuls, by which he gained several hours' march in advance, and safely reached Putta.[1] The Moghul troops returned to Aurungabad, and Sivajee judged the opportunity favourable for possessing himself of the whole of the forts near Putta, twenty-seven in number; for which purpose he ordered a body of infantry to join Moro Punt from the Concan, in order to reduce as many of them as possible; and a large detachment of cavalry was likewise placed at the Peishwa's disposal.

Sivajee remained at Putta until he received an express from Musaood Khan, entreating him to return southward and make an effort to relieve the city: 'that Dilere Khan had run his approaches close to the walls, and that nothing but prompt exertion could save them.'[2] Sivajee again set off for Beejapoor, when news reached him that his son Sumbhajee had fled and joined Dilere Khan. He directed his army to pursue their route under Humbeer Rao, whilst he himself retired to Panalla to devise means of bringing back Sumbhajee.

The conduct of his eldest son had for some time been a source of grief and vexation to Sivajee; and in consequence of Sumbhajee's attempting to violate the person of the wife of a Bramin, his father for a time confined him in Panalla, and placed a strict watch over him after he was released. Sumbhajee, impatient under this control, took advantage of his father's absence and deserted to Dilere Khan,[3] by whom he was received with great distinction.[4]

Dilere Khan sent accounts of this event to the Emperor, and

carriers. [The *jāsūs* on this occasion is said to have been Bāhirjī Nāyak. (*Sabhāsad Bakhar* (Mānk: ṛ), 96.) See previous reference to him on page 178. It is possible that Bāhirjī was a Rāmosī, the members of that tribe being expert trackers and spies. During the rule of the Pēshwā, about 1740, a certain Rāmosī, Bāhirjī Nāyak of Mālsiras, Sholāpur District, was selected with four other Rāmosī Nāyaks to act as watchman of Poona city, which was suffering at the time from an epidemic of robberies. (Mackintosh's *Account of the Ramoossies*, Bombay (1833), p. 58.)]

[1] Mahratta MSS. Sivajee himself takes no notice of this flight, but, by the mere name of Wisramgurh, or the place of rest, which he then gave the fort, there is circumstantial evidence of his having been hard pressed, when repose was so necessary.

[2] Original letter from Sivajee, who quotes the words of Musaood Khan.

[3] Mahratta MSS.

[4] Scott's Deccan.

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proposed, as the Mahrattas were becoming so very powerful, to set up Sumbhajee at the head of a party, in opposition to his father, in order to divide their interests and facilitate the capture of the forts. But this scheme, although it appeared to Dilere Khan similar to what was then carried on against Beejapoor and Golcondah, was disapproved by the Emperor, as it would ultimately conduce to strengthen predatory power; and it is remarkable that this reason, than which none could be more just at that period, should be recorded by a Mahratta biographer of Sivajee.[1] Although it rests on no other authority we cannot but remark that had such an opinion guided Aurungzebe's measures at an earlier period, and the view been a little more extended, so as to have preserved the other Mahomedan states from becoming first a prey and then an accession of strength to the Mahrattas, the policy of this Emperor might have met its meed of praise, with far more justice than we can discover in those eulogies which have been frequently bestowed upon it.

But before sufficient time had elapsed to obtain a reply from court, Dilere Khan, intent on his own scheme, took measures for carrying it into effect. He sent a detachment of his army from before Beejapoor, accompanied by Sumbhajee as Raja of the Mahrattas, to lay siege to Bhopaulgurh, the extreme outpost of Sivajee's possessions to the eastward, which was taken.

Humbeer Rao, detached by Sivajee towards Beejapoor, fell in with eight or nine thousand cavalry under Runmust Khan, the same officer lately sent by Sultan Mauzum against Sivajee; and he again sustained a severe defeat.

Moro Punt took Ahoont and Nahawagurh, both forts of great strength, dispersed his army all over Candeish, which was plundered and laid waste. Humbeer Rao hovered about the camp of Dilere Khan; whilst the besieged, encouraged by Musaood Khan, continued a most resolute defence. Dilere Khan pressed the siege, but personal exertion could not avail when all supplies were cut off. He at last was compelled to abandon all hope of reducing the place; and at the end of the rains attacked the open country, plundered Hutnee,[2] crossed the Kistna as soon as fordable, divided

[1] Kistnajee Anund Subhasud. [See Editor's footnote, pp. 94-5, *supra*.]

[2] [i.e. Athnī, about seventy miles north-east of Belgaum. It is the Huttany of Fryer; the Atteny of Mandelslo (Harris, *Voyages*, ii. 29); the Atteny of Ogilby (Atlas, v. 247). See Fryer, *New Account*, &c., ed. Crooke, 1912, ii. 68.]

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the troops, and was laying waste the Carnatic, when Jenardin Punt with six thousand horse attacked the party commanded by Dilere Khan in person, completely defeated him, intercepted his parties, cut several of them to pieces, and compelled him to retreat.

By this time orders had arrived from the Emperor recalling Sultan Mauzum, disapproving of Dilere Khan's measures, and reinstating Khan Jehan in command of the army, and in the government of the Deccan. Sumbhajee was ordered to be sent prisoner to Delhi; but Dilere Khan, who had permitted Sivajee's emissaries to have access to him, now connived at his escape; and, although Sivajee was reconciled to him, he confined him in the fort of Panalla until he should give proofs of amendment.

A.D. 1680.—Sivajee, as the price of his alliance with Beejapoor, required the cession of the tract around Kopaul and Bellary; also the cession of all claims to sovereignty on the conquered territory in Drawed, the principality of Tanjore, and the Jagheer districts of Shahjee. These conditions being complied with, Sivajee went to the neighbourhood of the city of Beejapoor, where he had an interview and a secret consultation with Musaood Khan.

The supremacy granted to Sivajee was considered by Venkajee as a death-blow to his independence; he was already not only subjected to the interference of Rugonath Punt, but Sivajee, on pretence of assisting him with fit agents, took a large share of the management into his own hands. Venkajee, impatient of control, appears to have been so greatly mortified, that he resigned himself to melancholy, neglected his affairs, omitted even the usual care of his person, and the observances enjoined by his religion; he became careless and abstracted from all worldly affairs, and assumed the conduct rather of a devotee than of an active chief, such as he had hitherto shown himself. On this occasion Sivajee addressed a letter to him full of energy and good sense. This letter was amongst the last[1] that Sivajee ever dictated; he

[1] As the letter alluded to is neither very long nor prolix, which precludes the insertion of the others, a translation is subjoined as nearly literal as can be understood.

'*Sivajee to Venkajee.*'

After compliments. 'Many days have elapsed without my receiving any letter from you; and in consequence I am not in comfort. Ragoo Punt has now written, that you, having placed melancholy and gloom before yourself, do not take care of your person, or in any way attend to yourself as formerly; nor do you keep up any great

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was taken ill at Raigurh, occasioned by painful swelling in his knee-joint, which became gradually worse, and at last threw him into a high fever, which, on the seventh day from its commencement, terminated his existence on the 5th day of April,[1] 1680, in the 53d year of his age.

days or religious festivals. Your troops are inactive, and you have no mind to enjoy yourself on state affairs. You have become a Byragee, and think of nothing but to sit in some place accounted holy, and let time wear away. In this manner, much has been written to me, and such an account of you has given me great concern. I am surprised, when I reflect, that you have our father's example before you—how did he encounter and surmount all difficulties, perform great actions, escape all dangers by his spirit and resolution, and acquire a renown which he maintained to the last ?—All he did is well known to you. You enjoyed his society, you had every opportunity of profiting by his wisdom and ability. Even I myself, as circumstances enabled me, have protected myself; and you also know, and have seen, how I have established a kingdom. Is it then for you, in the very midst of opportunity, to renounce all worldly affairs and turn Byragee—to give up your affairs to persons who will devour your estate—to ruin your property, and injure your bodily health ? What kind of wisdom is this, and what will it end in ? I am to you as your head and protection; from me you have nothing to dread. Give up therefore all this, and do not become a Byragee. Throw off despondency, spend your days properly; attend to fasts, feasts, and customary usages, and attend to your personal comforts. Look to the employment of your people, the discipline of your army, and turn your attention to affairs of moment. Make your men do their duty; apply their services properly in your quarter, and gain fame and renown. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. Rugonath Pundit is near you, he is no stranger to you, consult him on what is most advisable to be done, and he will consider you in the same light as myself. I have placed every confidence in him—do you the same; hold together for your mutual support, and you will acquire celebrity and fame. Above all things be not slothful; do not allow opportunity to slip past without receiving some returns from your army. This is the time for performing great actions. Old age is the season for turning Byragee. Arouse ! bestir yourself. Let me see what you can do. Why should I write more, you are wise.'

[1] [V. A. Smith (*O.H.I.*, p. 430) writes: 'April 5 is the date according to Grant Duff and Orme. Fryer gives June 1 (iii. 167, with Crooke's note). Mānkar (p. 111) states the Hindu equivalent date as Sunday, Chait 15, 1602 Saka, in the Rudra year. But, according to chronological tables, April 5, 1680, was Monday.' Kincaid and Parasnis give April 3, 1680, but mention no authority for differing from Grant Duff and Orme. Clément, the French agent at Rājāpur in a letter of April 29, 1680, preserved in the National Archives at Paris, states that Sivājī had died twelve days previously, i.e. April 17, 1680 (N.S.) (Crooke on p. 167 of Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt)). 'His

Such was the end of Sivajee. We have passed over some details in his warfare with the Seedees, which may require retrospective notice, and have been drawn forward by a chain of more important events, until we have reached that point where we naturally pause, to look back on the life of any human being who has just ceased to be. Sivajee was certainly a most extraordinary person; and however justly many of his acts may be censured, his claim to high rank in the page of history must be admitted. To form an estimate of his character, let us consider him assembling and conducting a band of half-naked Mawulees through the wild tracts where he first established himself, unmindful of obstruction from the elements, turning the most inclement seasons to advantage, and inspiring the minds of such followers with undaunted enthusiasm. Let us also observe the singular plans of policy he commenced, and which we must admit to have been altogether novel and most-fit for acquiring power at such a period. Let us examine his internal regulations, the great progress he made in arranging every department in the midst of almost perpetual warfare, and his successful stratagems for escaping or extricating himself from difficulty; and whether planning the capture of a fort or the conquest of a distant country; heading an attack, or conducting a retreat; regulating the discipline to be observed amongst a hundred horse, or laying down arrangements for governing a country; we view his talents with admiration, and his genius with wonder. For a popular leader his frugality was a remarkable feature in his character; and the

(Sivājī's) countrymen,' writes Smith, 'believed that his passing was marked by the simultaneous appearance of a comet and a lunar rainbow, as well as by an earthquake; but, as a matter of fact, Newton's comet, the one referred to, was not visible in India until November.' Professor J. Sarkar writes that he died of fever and dysentery, and that there were rumours current in Mahārāshtra of his wife, Soyara Bāi, having poisoned him. These stories are untrue. (*Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 429, 430.)

Waring (*A History of the Mahrattas*, 1810, p. 215, App.) states that the Mahratta MSS., which he consulted, suggested poison, and that one MS. expressly charged 'Toorya Bhy' (i.e. Soyara Bāi) with murder. Professor Sarkar's view is correct. The fact of Sivājī's death was concealed for a time. See Fryer's *New Account*, &c., ed. Crooke (Hakluyt), iii. 167 n.

The cenotaph of Sivājī at Raigadh is 'a plain structure of no architectural value,' but steps have been taken to preserve it. (*Prog. Rep. A.S.W.I.*, 1911–12, p. 7.)]

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richest plunder never made him deviate from the rules he had laid down for its appropriation.

Sivajee was patient and deliberate in his plans, ardent, resolute, and persevering in their execution; but, even in viewing the favourable side, duplicity and meanness are so much intermixed with his schemes, and so conspicuous in his actions, that the offensive parts of a worse character might be passed over with less disgust. Superstition, cruelty, and treachery are not only justly alleged against him, but he always preferred deceit to open force when both were in his power. But to sum up all, let us contrast his craft, pliancy, and humility with his boldness, firmness, and ambition; his power of inspiring enthusiasm while he showed the coolest attention to his own interests; the dash of a partisan adventurer, with the order and economy of a statesman; and, lastly, the wisdom of his plans which raised the despised Hindoos to sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment, when the hand that had framed them was low in the dust.

Sivajee's admirers among his own nation speak of him as an incarnation of the Deity, setting an example of wisdom, fortitude, and piety. Mahrattas, in general, consider that necessity justifies a murder, and that political assassination is often wise and proper. They admit that Sivajee authorized the death of Chunder Rao, the Raja of Jowlee; but few of them acknowledge that Afzool Khan was murdered. The vulgar opinion is that the Khan was the aggressor; and the event is spoken of rather as a commendable exploit than a detestable and treacherous assassination.

From what can be learned of Sivajee in domestic life, his manners were remarkably pleasing and his address winning; he was apparently frank, but seldom familiar; passionate in his disposition, but kind to his dependants and relations. He was a man of small stature and of an active rather than strong make; his countenance was handsome and intelligent; he had very long arms in proportion to his size, which is reckoned a beauty among Mahrattas.[1]

[1] Mahratta MSS., and tradition among his descendants, and the descendants of his ministers and domestics.

In the Ali Namu, Nusserut satirizes the big feet and long arms of the Mahrattas. There is no likeness of Sivajee preserved either at Kolapoor or Satara; and none of the Europeans who saw him have recorded any description of his person. His body was burnt at Raigurh, where there was a tomb erected over the collected ashes. There is a building in the fort of Malwan, which is considered as his

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The sword [1] which he constantly used, and which he named after

cenotaph. The origin of this building, however, is as old as the fort when first erected by Sivajee, who placed *Poojarees* or persons to observe certain forms of worship, during which, 'the sea should not encroach on the walls, nor should an enemy prevail.' Sumbhajee made some additions to this establishment; and Raja Ram, after the fall of Raigurh made it the cenotaph, or rather the place of commemoration of Sivajee. The Bramins in charge still enjoy the advantages of the original endowment, and have made several additions with a view of imposing on the credulity of the vulgar, who repair with offerings to the shrine. They have an effigy, and the *real* sword of Sivajee, whose body, by their account, lies buried there.

[The only supposed portrait of Sivājī in existence is that which appears in Orme's *Fragments*. This is reproduced in *O.H.I.*, p. 426, and appears as a frontispiece to Mānkar's translation of Krishnājī Anant Sabhāsad's life of Sivājī. Whether this portrait is authentic cannot be determined. The picture of Sivājī which appears at p. 13 of D. B. Parasnis's *Mahābleshwar* and the frontispiece of Kincaid and Parasnis's *A History of the Maratha People*, both seem to be modern and unauthentic productions. Escaliot, who was resident in the English factory at Surat when Sivājī attacked thē town, speaks of Sivājī being 'of meane stature, lower somewhat than I am erect, and of an excellent proportion . . . and when ever hee speakes seemes to smile a quicke and peercing eye, and whiter than any of his people.' (V. A. Smith in *Times Lit. Supp.*, May 15, 1919.) When I visited Shivnēr in 1904 I saw two pictures of Sivājī in the shrine of Shivabāi. They are probably still there; but their authenticity is doubtful.]

[1] Sivajee's sword is an excellent Genoa blade of the first water. Its whole history is recorded by the hereditary historian of the family. [Inquiry has failed to establish the present whereabouts of the sword Bhavānī. Rao Bahādur D. B. Parasnis writes that the sword now (1920) preserved and exhibited at Sātāra is 3 feet 9 inches in length in the blade, and 8 inches long in the handle, and bears a Marāthī inscription, '*Shrīmant Sarkār Rājmandal Rājā Shāhu Kadim Avval*,' which shows that it is the weapon of Shāhu, not that of Sivājī. He further adds that 'it is generally believed in Sātāra that the original Bhavānī was taken to Kolhāpur by Tārābāī, wife of Rājārām, Sivājī's younger son, and was there preserved for many years In 1875 this sword was presented by Rāo Bahādur Mādhav Rāo Barve, Diwān of Kolhapur, to H.M. the late King Edward during his visit to India as Prince of Wales. It was conveyed to England and was exhibited in 1878 in the British Indian section of the Universal Exhibition at Paris, a description of it being given by Sir George Birdwood at p. 68 of the handbook to that section.' A search has been made in the British and South Kensington Museums, and in the collections of arms preserved at Windsor Castle, Buckingham Palace and Sandringham; but the sword cannot be traced. Moreover, General Sir Dighton Probyn writes: 'I was in attendance on King Edward during His Majesty's Indian tour in 1875–6, and would certainly have remembered had the celebrated sword in question been given to His Majesty. I think you may take it that the sword is still in India.' It is difficult to reconcile this evidence with that supplied from India, and the fact

the goddess Bhowanee, is still preserved by the Raja of Satara with the utmost veneration, and has all the honours of an idol paid to it.

Sivajee, at the time of his death, was in possession of the whole of that part of the Concan extending from Gundavee to Ponda; with the exceptions of Goa, lower Choule, Salsette and Bassein, belonging to the Portuguese; Jinjeera in possession of the Abyssinians; and the English settlement on the island of Bombay. He had *Thannas* in Carwar, Ankola, and several places on the coast, where he shared the districts with the Deshmookhs. The chief of Soonda acknowledged his authority; and the Rana of Bednore paid him an annual tribute. Exclusive of his possessions around Bellary and Kopaul, his conquests in Drawed, his supremacy as well as share in Tanjore, and the Jagheer districts of his father in the Carnatic, Sivajee occupied that tract of Maharashtra from the Hurnkassee river on the south to the Indooranee river on the north, between Poona and Joonere. The districts of Sopa, Baramuttee, and Indapoor were occasionally held, and always claimed by him as his paternal Jagheer; and the line of forts, built from Tattora to Panalla, distinctly mark the boundary of his consolidated territory to the eastward. He, however, had a number of detached places. Singnapoor, at the temple of Mahdeo, was his hereditary Enam village,[1] the fort of Parneira near Damaun was rebuilt by Moro Trimmul; and his garrisons and *Thannas* occupied a great part of Buglana, and several strong places in Candeish and Sungumnere. His personal wealth was immense; and making large allowances for exaggeration in the Mahratta manuscripts, he had without doubt several millions in specie[2] at Raigurh.

(The territory and treasures, however, which Sivajee acquired, were not so formidable to the Mahomedans as the example he had set, the system and habits he introduced, and the spirit he had infused into a large proportion of the Mahratta people.)

that careful search has failed to trace the sword in any of the royal armouries and collections obliges me to leave the problem of its present whereabouts unsolved.]

[1] Given by one of the Ghatgays to his father Shahjee.

[2] Sivajee's treasury, besides rupees, contained as might have been expected coins of all descriptions; Spanish dollars, Venetian sequins, gold mohurs of Hindoostan and Surat, and pagodas of the Carnatic, are all enumerated in the lists, with many others. Ingots of gold and silver, cloth of gold, &c. &c. &c.

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None of his successors inherited his genius, but the rise and fall of empires depend on such an infinite variety of circumstances, that those instruments which often appear to human foresight the least likely to produce a particular end, are the very means by which it is accomplished.

Sivajee had four wives, Suhyee Bye, of the family of Nimbalkur; Soyera Bye, of the Sirkay family; Pootla Bye, of the family of Mohitey; and a fourth wife, whose name and family are unknown. Of these, two survived him, Soyera Bye and Pootla Bye; the latter immolated herself, but was burnt some weeks after her husband's corpse, owing to the secrecy which was observed respecting his death.[1]

Suhyee Bye, the mother of Sumbhajee, died in 1659, two years after his birth; Soyera Bye was the mother of Raja Ram, and being an artful woman not only had great influence with her husband, but a considerable ascendancy over several of the principal ministers, especially Annajee Dutto, the Punt Suchew. Sivajee, during the last days of his life, had expressed to Moro Punt, Annajee Dutto, and others, that in the event of his death much evil was to be apprehended from the misconduct of Sumbhajee; and these words were interpreted by Soyera Bye and her faction as a will in favour of Raja Ram, then a boy of ten years old. Moro Trimmul Peishwa, although Annajee Dutto had always been his rival, was at first drawn into a plan of administer-

[1] [Kincaid accepts the genealogical tree of the *Shedgāvkar* Bhoslēs as evidence that Sivājī married seven wives, viz. (1) Saibāī, daughter of Vithojī Mohitē Newāskar, who bore him Sambhājī and a daughter, Ambīkabāī, married to Harjī Rājē Mahādīk, governor of Jinji; (2) Putalibāī, who had no children; (3) Soyara Bāī of the Sīrke family, who bore him Rājārām and a daughter Dīpabāī; (4) Sakvarbāī, who had a daughter married afterwards to Jānojī Pālkar; (5) Lakshmībāī, who died without issue; (6) Sagūnabāī, mother of Nanībāī, who was married to Ganujī Rājē Sīrkē Mālekar, and (7) Gūnvantabāī, who was childless. According to the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* he married six wives besides Saibāī. Another authority states he had three wives and two concubines. Mr. Rājwāde gives him eight wives on the authority of a paper found in Tanjore, which probably means six wives and two concubines. Whatever be the truth, Sivājī 'at the age of forty-seven had made the mistake of marrying three young women, though he had two or three other wives and two sons living.' The result was intrigue and conflict within his palace, coupled with attempts on Soyara Bāī's part to win him back by means of charms and love-philtres from her more youthful rivals. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta (1919), pp. 427, 428.)]

ing the government under a regency in the name of Raja Ram. The other Purdhans likewise acquiesced in the arrangement, and measures were immediately taken to carry it into effect.

Sivajee's death was to be kept a profound secret until Sumbhajee's confinement should be rendered perfectly secure. The funeral obsequies were performed privately by Shahjee Bhonslay, a relation of the family. A force under Jenardin Punt Somunt, whom we have seen so active in the Carnatic, was directed to march to Panalla; the garrison of Raigurh was strengthened; ten thousand horse were stationed at the neighbouring village of Panchwur; and Humbeer Rao, the Senaputtee, was ordered with a large army to take up a position at Kurar. As some time was necessary for any of these movements, letters were dispatched to Heerajee Furzund, in charge of Sumbhajee at Panalla, to apprise him of what was going forward. But Sumbhajee had either been informed of the event or suspected his father's death, for on the appearance of the messenger with letters, he seized and threatened him with instant death if he did not give up the packet. Its delivery discovered the whole. Heerajee Furzund fled into the Concan; Sumbhajee took command of the fort and was obeyed by the garrison; but he immediately put two of the principal officers to death. Not knowing whom to trust beyond the walls of the fort, he made preparations for defending it and resolved to await events. Jenardin Punt, finding the place in Sumbhajee's possession, sat down to blockade it, and after some weeks was content to leave his guards at their posts, whilst he took up his abode in the town of Kolapoor.

Raja Ram was placed on the throne in May, and the ministers began the conduct of affairs in his name; but as latent rivalry is easily excited, the Peishwa and the Suchew soon became jealous of each other.

Sumbhajee in the meantime, having gained over a part of Jenardin Punt's troops, took a chosen band of his Mawulee garrison, proceeded through the Punt's lines in the night, seized him in the town of Kolapoor, and carried him back to Panalla a prisoner. Humbeer Rao Mohitey, delighted by this exploit, so worthy of the son of Sivajee, became immediately inclined to Sumbhajee's cause; and Moro Punt, who had set out from Raigurh on the news of Jenardin Punt's disaster, instead of exerting

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himself for the cabal, offered his services to Sumbhajee, by whom he was confirmed as Peishwa, but never succeeded in gaining his confidence. Humbeer Rao advanced and paid his respects, when Sumbhajee immediately quitted Panalla and proceeded towards Raigurh. Before his arrival the garrison had risen in his favour and confined such as would have opposed his authority. The army at Panchwur came over to him in a body, and Sumbhajee entered Raigurh in the end of June 1680.

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CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1680 TO A.D. 1689.

A.D. 1680.—SUMBHAJEE'S conduct from the time of his father's death until he entered his capital, discovered a vigour and method the more satisfactory from being unexpected; and had he taken advantage of the general submission and published a declaration of amnesty, the address and energy he had shown would have suppressed all recollection of his early faults; but the barbarity of his disposition was displayed from the moment he passed the gate of Raigurh. Annajee Dutto was put in irons, thrown into prison, and his property confiscated. Raja Ram was also confined; Soyera Bye was seized, and when brought before Sumbhajee, he insulted her in the grossest manner, accused her of having poisoned Sivajee, loaded her with every epithet of abuse, and ordered her to be put to a cruel and lingering death. The Mahratta officers attached to her cause were beheaded; and one, particularly obnoxious, was precipitated from the top of the rock of Raigurh. This severity, justly deemed unnecessary and cruel, besides causing an inveterate enmity in the minds of Soyera Bye's relations, was considered a most inauspicious commencement, and on the occasion of his being seated on the throne, in the early part of August, many unfavourable auguries were reported in the country.[1]

The armistice which Sivajee effected with the Moghul viceroy, Khan Jehan Buhadur, when quitting his own territory on the Carnatic expedition, produced no compromise with the Abyssinians of Jinjeera; a petty warfare was constantly maintained in the Concan between the Seedee and the Mahrattas; but hostilities became more rancorous after the accession of Sumbhajee.

The island or rock of Henery, near the entrance of the harbour

[1] Mahratta MSS.

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of Bombay, was fortified by Sivajee in 1679, which being resented by the English, an attempt by them, in conjunction with the Seedee, was unsuccessfully made to dispossess him of it; but Kenery, another island of the same description, which stands by the side of Henery, having been in the same surreptitious manner occupied by the Seedee during the ensuing season, Sumbhajee's first efforts were spent in endeavouring to drive out the Seedee, and with no better success than had attended the attempt on Henery. The English as little relished the occupation by the one party as by the other.[1]

A.D. 1681.—Sumbhajee, whilst his fleet and troops were thus employed, proceeded to Panalla, for what purpose is not clearly ascertained, though perhaps it may have been to conduct some negotiations with the Beejapoor government. He remained there until recalled to Raigurh by the appearance of an illustrious fugitive who sought an asylum in his territory. This personage was Sultan Mohummud Akber, the fourth son of the Emperor Aurungzebe, who, having been won over by the Rajpoots, consented to head a rebellion against his father, but the scheme was frustrated by the Emperor's address, and the prince fled towards Sumbhajee's country, which he was fortunate enough to reach, though he was hotly pursued and the strictest orders issued to all the imperial officers of the districts in his route to intercept him.[2]

[1] Orme. Mahratta MSS. English Records. [The correct names of these islands are Underi and Khānderi. Underi lies in 18° 42′ N. and 72° 51′ E. due south of the Prongs lighthouse and 1,200 yards from the mainland (Kolāba District). Khānderi lies two and a half miles from the mainland, to the south-west of Underi, and is furnished with a lighthouse built in 1867.

Concerning the struggle for the two islands, confusion has arisen from the fact that they are indiscriminately referred to in the documents of the period as 'Hendry-Kendry.' Grant Duff's statement that Sivājī occupied Henery (Underi) and the Sīdī Kenery (Khānderi) is incorrect. Orme, who puts the position correctly in one place, inverts it in another. The facts are that Sivājī occupied Khānderi in 1679, and the Sīdī retaliated by occupying Underi in January 1680. 'Both islands,' remark the Stracheys, 'were claimed by the English, but had not hitherto been considered of sufficient importance to demand a guard-house or any other attention.' (*Keigwin's Rebellion*, pp. 37–41; *B.C.G.*, ii. 82; Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 355–62.)]

[2] Orme. Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS., and copy of an original letter from Mohummud Akber to Sumbhajee.

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Sumbhajee sent an officer to welcome his arrival, appointed the village of Dodsay for his residence, the name of which, in compliment to his guest, was changed to Padshapoor; but some affair, of which Mahratta manuscripts take no notice, detained him at Panalla and prevented his visiting the prince on his first arrival. In the meantime the restless faction of Annajee Dutto, in order to forward their own views and procure his enlargement, took advantage of Sumbhajee's absence to propose some overtures to Sultan Mohummud Akber in favour of Raja Ram. The news of this fresh conspiracy was first communicated to Sumbhajee by Dadajee Rugonath Deshpandya of Mhar, and excited suspicions towards his guest, until the prince himself communicated the circumstances, which entirely dispelled his doubts; and Sumbhajee visited and welcomed him with much cordiality.

The intrigue on the part of the friends of Annajee Dutto was said to have been supported by the whole of the Sirkay family in the Concan, whose motive was revenge for the death of Soyera Bye. Ballajee Aujee Chitnees, a man of the Purbhoo cast who had stood high in Sivajee's favour,[1] and had been employed by Sumbhajee himself on a confidential mission to Bombay, was accused of being a principal instigator in the meditated treachery. This person, together with his eldest son, one of his relations named Samjee Aujee, Heerajee Furzund, such of the Sirkays as could be apprehended, and lastly Annajee Dutto himself, were at once led out to execution, tied to the feet of elephants, and trampled to death. The principal members of the Sirkay family fled in consternation, and several of them entered the Moghul service. Sumbhajee's severity, even if just towards Ballajee Aujee, which is doubtful, was extremely impolitic in regard to Annajee Dutto. To put a Bramin to death is always looked upon with horror,[2] and the fate of the gallant Punt Suchew,

[1] By an original Sunnud, it appears that Sivajee had offered to make him one of the Purdhans, which he declined accepting. The reader will recognize, in Ballajee Aujee, the person in whose hand-writing many of those papers are preserved, to which this history is much indebted.

[2] [The institutes of Manu—'the moral text-book of the orthodox Hindu'—declare that to slay a Brahman is a mortal sin; whoever threatens a Brahman with physical violence will wander for a hundred years in Hell; the man who seizes his property will feed in another world on the leavings of vultures. (Risley, *People of India*, p. 147.)]

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who had performed such important services during the rise of Sivajee, was viewed by every one capable of appreciating his worth as a violent and harsh measure, calculated rather to create fear and dissension than to ensure obedience and unanimity.

Of this number was Moro Punt Pingley, Peishwa, who, as his jealousy was extinct in his rival's death, did not fail to inveigh with honest boldness against the impiety and impolicy of his execution. A Kanoja Bramin [1] from Hindostan, named Kuloosha, who had by some means insinuated himself into Sumbhajee's favour, and who was the secret adviser of his actions, recommended the imprisonment of Moro Punt. The Peishwa was accordingly thrown into confinement, and Sumbhajee with the aid of this inexperienced man, equally presumptuous with himself, undertook the conduct of all state affairs.

Ramdass Swamy, the friend and spiritual director of Sivajee, whose life and conduct seem to have merited the universal encomiums of his countrymen, a few days previous to his death wrote Sumbhajee an excellent and judicious letter, advising him for the future rather than upbraiding him for the past, and pointing out the example of his father, yet carefully abstaining from personal comparison.

About the same time Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay undertook a journey from the Carnatic, having left Hurjee Raja Mahareek in charge of the government during his absence. On his arrival at Raigurh, as he brought with him a considerable treasure, the balance saved from the revenue of the districts, he was well received, and as was due to one of the Purdhans and so distinguished an officer, a full durbar was assembled on the occasion. Rugonath Narrain took this unusual opportunity [2] of entering on public affairs, and represented all the evils likely to result from the disregard shown to experienced servants and to the forms of government instituted by Sivajee; he pointed out

[1] [i.e. a Brahman of Kanyakubja or Kanauj, now in the Farrukhābād District, United Provinces, an ancient town on the Ganges which has given its name to one of the most exclusive sects of Brahmans in India. Risley (*People of India*, p. 153) quotes a proverb implying that the Kanaujia (Kanoja) Brahmans' notions on the subject of ceremonial impurity are so extreme that they will hardly eat with their nearest relations.]

[2] State affairs are seldom discussed in full durbar, and no business is entered upon at a first visit.

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what ought to be done, and whilst maintaining his arguments, boldly censured Sumbhajee's proceedings and predicted his fall.

It would seem difficult to account for the temerity of Rugonath Narrain, especially as his brother Jenardin Punt was still in confinement; but Sumbhajee was probably sensible that any violence towards Rugonath Narrain might at once place the Carnatic at his uncle's disposal; and it is remarkable that decided language from a man whom he respects generally overawes the most ungovernable Mahratta. Sumbhajee promised to release Moro Punt and Jenardin Punt, and Rugonath Punt himself was civilly dismissed to his government. He died, however, before he reached Ginjee, and Sumbhajee not only fulfilled his promise of releasing Moro Punt and Jenardin Punt, but advanced the latter to the rank of Amat, vacant by his brother's death, confirmed Hurjee Raja in the government of the Carnatic, and Neeloo Punt Moreishwur the son of Moro Punt, Peishwa, was appointed under him as Mootaliq or chief agent of affairs. But this amendment was but temporary, and the favourite Kuloosha obtained a complete ascendancy over his mind.[1]

On the occasion of Sumbhajee's meeting with Prince Akber, it was rumoured abroad that the Mahrattas and Rajpoots were about to unite for the purpose of dethroning Aurungzebe and placing Sultan Akber on the throne.[2] But vanity and anger are more active stimulants to common minds than ambition or glory; no speculation of that kind diverted Sumbhajee from the more humble design of reducing Jinjeera; to possess himself of a place which his father had failed in taking, to avenge the pillage of several of his villages, and the daily insults experienced from the Seedee, were the causes which combined to make this an object of paramount interest.

He in the first place directed Khundoojee Furzund, one of his creatures, to desert to Jinjeera and endeavour, by corrupting some of the Seedee's people, to blow up the magazine when the attack was about to commence. A large body of troops were assembled, and the command of the expedition given to Dadajee Rugonath Deshpandya, with the promise, in case of success, of being made one of the eight Purdhans.[3]

The plot of Khundoojee Furzund was discovered by means

[1] Mahratta MSS.
[2] Orme.
[3] Mahratta MSS.

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of a female slave, before the attack commenced, and he with many of his accomplices was put to death.[1]

A.D. 1682.—Sumbhajee, accompanied by Sultan Akber, proceeded to Dhunda Rajepoor for the purpose of stimulating the exertions of his troops. He proposed filling up the channel by an immense mound of earth and stones, and thus advancing to the assault. The work was actually in progress, when he was suddenly called upon to oppose a body of Moghul horse under the command of Hoossein Ali Khan, which advanced from Ahmednugur by the route of Joonere, descended the Ghauts, and ravaged the Kallian district north of Panwell. Sumbhajee attacked them in front, prevented their penetrating to the southward, and having stopped their supplies on all sides, the Moghul general retired before the rains.

The siege of Jinjeera was continued by Dadajee Rugonath, and in the month of August, the defences having been battered down, an assault was attempted by means of boats, but the slippery rock and beating of the surf prevented the assailants from keeping their footing. They were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men, and the attempt on the island was abandoned.[2]

After the siege was raised and the besieging army withdrawn, the Seedees made constant inroads, destroying cows, carrying off the women, and burning the villages. They even penetrated to Mhar, and seized the wife of Dadajee Rugonath, the officer so lately employed against them.[3]

These insults greatly enraged Sumbhajee; he threatened to punish the English and Portuguese for maintaining a neutrality towards Jinjeera, and during the remainder of the monsoon he made preparations for an attack on the Seedee's fleet. In the month of October, the principal commanders of his armed vessels sailed out of the Nagotna river in quest of the Seedee, whose fleet was at anchor off Mazagon[4] in Bombay harbour. On perceiving

[1] Mahratta MS. [2] Mahratta MSS. Orme. [3] Mahratta MSS.

[4] [Mazagon, now a municipal ward of Bombay City, has grown up around the original village of the Portuguese and early British epochs, and in its present form is largely the result of extensive reclamation from the sea. The name is possibly a corruption of *Matsyagrāma*, 'fish-village,' in allusion to the colony of Kolī fishermen which settled there in early ages; but is more plausibly held to mean 'the central village' by analogy with the Marāthī *mazaghar*, 'the central portion of a house.' Mazagon is frequently mentioned in Portuguese and early English records. (*B.C.G.*, vols. i, ii, iii.)]

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the approach of the Mahrattas, the Seedee immediately got under way and stood up towards the Tannah river, when having chosen his position he lay to and waited for the Mahrattas. Seedee Missree, the relation of Seedee Sumbhole, who had deserted to Sumbhajee, led the attack, and was well supported by the other officers. But Yakoot Khan in person commanded the Jinjeera fleet; and although he had only fifteen vessels to twice that number of Sumbhajee's which attacked him, he gained a complete victory. Seedee Missree was mortally wounded and taken prisoner in his own vessel, which with three others was captured by the Seedee.[1] Some of the Mahratta fleet were sunk, defending themselves to the last.[2]

Sumbhajee, exasperated by this defeat, began to carry his threats against the Europeans into effect; he commenced with the Portuguese, by plundering some of their villages, and was preparing to fortify the island of Elephanta[3] in Bombay harbour, for the purpose of annoying the English and preventing the Seedee's vessels from anchoring at Mazagon during the monsoon; but he was diverted from this latter scheme, and suddenly resolved on endeavouring to form an alliance with the English against the Moghuls and the Seedee. His inducement to this plan was intelligence of great preparations on the part of Aurungzebe, and the arrival at Aurungabad of Sultan Mauzum; whom the Emperor had sent forward, appointed for the fourth time to the government of the four Soobehs of the Deccan.

According to his projected change of politics, Sumbhajee sent an ambassador to Bombay, who pretended to inform the council of a scheme which the Moghuls had laid for reducing the island, and proposed an alliance against them and the Seedees. The council listened to these overtures, with a view of procuring an exemption from certain duties which were levied by Sumbhajee's officers on the trade of the factories on the Coromandel coast;

[1] Orme and Mahratta MSS.

[2] Mahratta MS.

[3] [Elephanta island (or *Ghārāpuri*) lies about six miles from Bombay, and four from the shore of the mainland. It is famous for the great Shaiva cave-temples, which are variously assigned to the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. The island is to-day an important feature of the external defences of Bombay. (*B.G.*, xiv.; Burgess's *Rock Temples of Elephanta*; Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples of India*; *I.G. Bom.*, ii. 129–32.)]

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but although the negotiation was protracted to some length, neither party at this time obtained its desire.[1]

A.D. 1683.—Sumbhajee was again called to repel an inroad into the Concan by a detachment under Runmust Khan, supported by another Moghul officer, named Roh Oolah Khan, whom the prince had detached against him. These troops advanced to Kallian Bheemree, ravaged the country, as had been done the preceding season, but returned to Ahmednugur before the rains, without having effected anything worthy of notice.[2]

In prosecution of the war against the Portuguese, Sumbhajee attacked Choule[3] in the month of June, but he could make no impression on a regular European fortification. The viceroy of Goa did not confine his operations to defensive warfare. He took the field in the month of October and invaded Sumbhajee's territory with a considerable army, twelve hundred of whom were Europeans. The Portuguese in their warfare exhibited greater barbarity than Mahratta free-booters. They not only carried fire and sword into the defenceless villages, but destroyed the temples, and attempted to convert their prisoners by force.[4]

[1] Orme. [After the return of Sambhājī's ambassador, John Child, Governor of Surat, decided to send an envoy to Sambhājī from Bombay, with the object of obtaining from the Marāthā Government a permit for the Company's agents in Madras to trade in his southern possessions. The envoy chosen was Henry Smith, second member of the Bombay Council. A sudden attack by the Sīdī brought the envoy's journey to a premature and undignified conclusion. (Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion*, 66, 67.)]

[2] Mahratta MSS. Orme. Scott's Deccan.

[3] [Chaul (Choule), now a town in Alībāg *tāluka*, Kolāba District, about thirty miles south of Bombay, is a place of great antiquity and historic importance, containing Muhammadan and Portuguese architectural remains and, in the neighbouring hills, ancient Buddhist caves. The fort was built by the Portuguese in 1682. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 127–9; *B.G.*, xi. 269 f.; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), 210 f.)]

[4] Orme says, they were burnt by the Inquisition; but although many barbarities are alleged against the Portuguese by the Mahrattas, they nowhere assert this. [The Inquisition was established in Goa in 1560, and held seventy-one *autos-da-fé*, at which 4,046 Indians perished. The provincial council of the Court of Inquisition at Goa issued the most stringent decrees throughout Portuguese India against infidels and heathen. The Christians in Bassein were forbidden to employ them, lend them money, or give them shelter under pain of transportation. (Da Cunha, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, x.) This is corroborated by Ovington (*Voyage to Surat*), who writes that the Portuguese 'proselyte the children of all persons deceased among them, whether their parents are Moors or Pagans, and seize their estates into the Church.'

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The viceroy neglected no means of hostility, he had anticipated Sumbhajee's intention of fortifying the island of Aujee Dewa,[1] and now gave orders to some armed vessels stationed there to cruise against Sumbhajee's fleet and distress the trade of Carwar. The viceroy advanced in person with the army and laid siege to Ponda. Sumbhajee, who possessed all the ardent bravery of his father, though without his prudence or his talents, immediately marched at the head of an inconsiderable force to raise the siege, and on coming in sight of Ponda, although his numbers were inferior to the Portuguese, he commenced an attack on their rear.

The fort was at this time breached and might have been stormed, but the viceroy with the ideas of a European unused to Indian warfare, alarmed lest his retreat should be cut off and Goa exposed to danger, immediately resolved on retiring. He effected his retreat; but at the expense of the whole of his camp equipage, stores, guns, and equipments: twelve hundred of his men were slain, of whom two hundred were Europeans.

On arriving at the backwater which separates the island of Goa or Pangin [2] from the mainland, Sumbhajee, who had headed

Orme also states that the Marāthā demand for *chauth* in 1674 was the outcome of enmity towards the Portuguese who 'had lately inflicted great severities on many families of the Marāthā religion within their districts, because they refused to become Christians.' Crooke (Fryer's *Travels*, Hakluyt, ii. 25 n.) remarks: 'Accounts of the atrocities, possibly in some degree exaggerated, reached Europe on the publication of *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, by the Physician Dellon (Leyden, 1687, Paris and London, 1688). For early accounts see Pyrard de Laval, ii. 52, 92 ff.; Linschoten, i. 182; Tavernier, ed. Ball, i. 201 f. For a good modern account see Fonseca, 210 ff. (*Hist. and Arch. Sketch of Goa*, Bombay, 1878).']

[1] [Anjidiv (Aujee Dewa), which is still a Portuguese possession, lies five miles south-west of Kārwār, north Kanara District. Once garrisoned by troops of the Vijayanagar kingdom, and subsequently possessed by Arab traders, it was visited by Vasco da Gama in 1498, and seized by the Portuguese in 1505. *Vide* p. 401, *infra*. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 581–2.) The name is probably derived from Mal. *ānjudīvu*, 'five islands.' (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, p. 28.) See also *B.G.*, xv, pt. ii. 249 ff.]

[2] [Goa comprises three cities, viz. an old Hindu city built by the Kadambas (A.D. 1007–1246); old Goa, the first Portuguese capital; and Panjim (Pangin), the present seat of the Portuguese administration. Panjim, which lies near the mouth of the Mandāvi river, was selected as the residence of the Portuguese Viceroy in 1759, and was formally declared the capital of Portuguese India by Royal Decree in 1843. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 587 ff.)]

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repeated charges, again led on the horse, intending to have dashed across with the fugitives, but the Portuguese, from a better knowledge of the ford, and from having stationed boats and lined the opposite banks with troops, repulsed the attempt. Sumbhajee rallied his men and again tried to ford, but although he headed the troops himself and persevered until his horse was swimming, he was at last obliged to desist owing to the flood-tide.[1]

Sumbhajee on this occasion particularly signalized himself, and Bhowanee, the sword of his father, which he used, could not have been better wielded; but with his usual obstinacy, he persisted in his rash design of crossing over into the island, and ordered boats to be brought for the purpose. Two hundred of his men were embarked and transported, when the Portuguese boats coming round intercepted the return of the Mahrattas, and the enraged and defeated troops of the viceroy fell upon the two hundred men thus exposed to their fury and destroyed most of them.[2]

The siege of Choule was continued without success; but Caranja was taken possession of and retained for nearly a year. Several places belonging to the Portuguese between Bassein and Damaun were attacked and destroyed, and the viceroy made overtures for peace, but as Sumbhajee demanded five crores of pagodas as a preliminary, they were at once broken off.

The Mahratta horse, a part only of which were required on these services in the Concan, were as usual let loose to plunder and subsist in the upper country during the fair season, and this year they were fruitlessly pursued by a force from Aurungabad.[3]

To follow them in all cases, or to trace their incursions with precision from about the period at which we have arrived, is scarcely possible. Nor is it necessary. If we can account for the growth of their predatory power amidst the general warfare and confusion throughout the Deccan, and connect the principal incidents by which their empire was extended, it is all that can prove interesting or instructive in their history.

From the time of Moro Punt's confinement, Kuloosha was entrusted with the entire management of public affairs; nor did the partial enlargement of the Peishwa, for the short time he afterwards lived, produce in this respect any change. Sumbhajee, when not actually employed in the field, gave himself up to

[1] Mahratta MSS. [2] Orme.
[3] Mahratta MSS. Scott's Deccan.

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idleness or to vice; none could have access but Kuloosha, and if anyone ventured to approach without the favourite's permission, Sumbhajee flew into a passion and punished the intruder. Kuloosha, as possessing a religious character, could not consistently be admitted to any other rank among the Purdhans than that of Pundit Rao; in addition to that honour, he was dignified with the title of Chundagau-Matya Kuvee-Kulus.[1] Although in the Mahratta manuscripts Kuloosha is loaded with many epithets of abuse, he is seldom accused of having been the pander of Sumbhajee's vices; it is even admitted that he was a learned and courtly man and that he excelled in poetry, but his total incapacity for his high station, and the ruinous consequences, both of his neglect and his measures, may be very clearly gleaned from the Mahratta writings: in these the ascendancy gained over the mind of Sumbhajee is ascribed to magic, in which Kuloosha is believed to have been a perfect adept.

The system which Sivajee introduced soon fell into decay, wherever the efficiency of the establishments depended upon the vigilance or care of the executive authority. This was first perceivable in the army, where the discipline and strict orders of Sivajee were neglected. When the horse took the field, stragglers were allowed to join, plunder was secreted, women followers who had been prohibited on pain of death, were not only permitted, but women were brought off from the enemy's country as an established article of plunder and either retained as concubines, or sold as slaves.

The small returns brought back by the commanders of the horse were insufficient for the pay of the troops; they took the field in arrears, and a permission to keep a portion of their plunder was an ample and desirable compensation for the regular pay allowed by Sivajee.

Sumbhajee was prodigal in his expenses, and as he considered his father's treasure inexhaustible, even the favourite minister was unwilling to rouse his dangerous temper by touching on that theme. No revenue was received from the Carnatic after

[1] Which may be rendered into English, 'Expounder of the Vedas and illustrious poet.' It is from the second title Kuvee-Kulus that he derived his name Kub Kulus, or occasionally Kablis Kawn, amongst Mahomedans and Europeans, and his nickname of Kubjee amongst the Mahratta soldiery.

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the death of Rugonath Punt; the districts in that quarter maintained themselves, but as loss rather than advantage was now the result of most of the expeditions, by which in the time of Sivajee so much was amassed, Kuloosha conceived he had discovered an easy mode of replenishing the treasury by raising the land-rent, through the addition of various assessments; but when he came to collect the revenue, he found that the receipts were as much diminished from what they had been in the time of Sivajee as the assessments were nominally increased.

The managers of districts were in consequence removed for what appeared to him evident peculation. The revenue was farmed, many of the ryots fled from their villages, and speedy ruin threatened the territory of Sumbhajee, without the approach of Aurungzebe, who this year advanced to Burhanpoor with a vast army, for the purpose of carrying his designs on the Deccan into execution.

The ostensible impediments to the Emperor's plans were, in comparison to his apparent means, very inconsiderable. The state of Hyderabad was the most formidable as to men and money, and the king, Abou Hoossein, was possessed of great private riches in jewels. His administration, conducted principally under Mahdhuna Punt, was popular amongst a large proportion of his Hindoo subjects, but many of the principal Mahomedan officers were disgusted at the sway exercised by a Bramin over both their prince and country. Their jealousy was fomented by the secret emissaries of Aurungzebe; but Abou Hoossein, sensible of the minister's value, did not withdraw his confidence or support.

Mullik Berkhordar, the envoy of Aurungzebe residing at the capital of Beejapoor, not only succeeded in drawing over many of the principal officers who were pensioned or employed by the Emperor, but to his influence may be ascribed the decay of Musaood Khan's power. The faction opposed to the regent was headed by Syud Mukhtoom, an Oomrah of no distinction, but he was supported by Shirzee Khan, the best officer then left in the Beejapoor army. Shirzee Khan's enmity towards Musaood Khan originated in the preference shown by the latter for infantry, which was contrary both to the interest and judgment of the former: many of the best horse under Shirzee Khan had been discharged, and Musaood Khan had been obliged to call in the

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aid of Sivajee, at the expense of ceding some of the finest districts in the kingdom. This faction forced Musaood Khan to quit Beejapoor and retire to Adonee, probably about a year[1] after Sivajee's death. By whom the new administration was conducted is uncertain; but as the envoy of Aurungzebe had always represented the treaty with the Mahrattas as a great source of displeasure to the Emperor, one of its first acts, after the removal of Musaood Khan, was an injudicious attempt to recover some of the fertile territory near the banks of the Kistna, of which Sivajee had acquired possession. Merich was retaken, and the breach which this occasioned between Sumbhajee and the Beejapoor government seems to have been irreparable. It was the interest of Sumbhajee to unite with the Mahomedan states on this occasion, and Mahdhuna Punt made some endeavours to effect a confederacy, but there were so many parties and interests, such jealousy and imbecility, that no state could call forth its own resources, still less could all combine in one grand effort. For whilst Aurungzebe's emissaries pretended at each of the courts of Beejapoor and Hyderabad that the Emperor meant to extend to it particular favour and protection, some of the members of the state were weak enough to be lulled by such palpable illusions, and many of the nobles were traitors; so that the ostensible authorities in each government, distrusting all around them, were careful not to suggest proceedings which might ensure their own assassination or precipitate the hostility of the Emperor. When Musaood Khan was obliged to reduce the army, he maintained but a small number of cavalry in addition to the Mahratta Munsubdars, who, in fear of losing their Jagheers, Enams, and hereditary rights, still acknowledged themselves the servants of the Beejapoor state. Some of the members of the different families had, however, enrolled themselves with Sivajee and continued under the standard of Sumbhajee.

The Mahratta Munsubdars, formerly under the Nizam Shahee state, in like manner paid obedience to the Moghuls, whilst many of their relations were in the army of Sumbhajee. Wherever there were disputes regarding hereditary rights, which is generally the case amongst village and district officers as well as

[1] The Beejapoor manuscripts and traditions afford nothing better than conjecture on this subject; nor could I ascertain if there was a regent after Musaood Khan retired.

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Enamdars, Jagheerdars, and all old Hindoo families, the party not in possession, as the country became more and more unsettled, always went over to the invading enemy, prompted by motives of self-interest, but more by feelings of spite and personal enmity, in hopes of finding some occasion for wreaking vengeance on the opponent. If the invader prevailed, the occupant was frequently ejected, and he took the same mode of being reinstated; or, if fortunate enough to make his peace by timely submission, the other party awaited another opportunity.

Aurungzebe understood and took advantage of these feuds. The reader, at all acquainted with the Hindoo character, can conceive the bitter rancour with which they pursued these quarrels, when there are several instances of one party becoming a Mahomedan, in order to ruin his adversary and gratify revenge. The services of the Hindoo Munsubdars under the Mahomedan states became exactly in proportion to the measure of punishment or reward, which the government they acknowledged could inflict or bestow.

This brief survey of the state of the Deccan must be understood to apply to that period which followed the first year of Sumbhajee's accession, up to the fall of Beejapoor and Golcondah, when additional causes of disturbance and confusion will appear. But previously to entering upon the war which was directed by Aurungzebe in person, it is fit to notice an extraordinary event which occurred amongst our own countrymen, in their then small establishment on the west of India, of which Surat was at that time the residence of the governor, or president of the council, under whom the East India Company's factories on the coast were managed.

In December, 1683, the garrison of Bombay, at the head of which was Captain Keigwin,[1] confined the deputy of the governor

[1] [The story of Keigwin's rebellion has been ably described by R. and O. Strachey (*O.H. and L.S.*, 6, 1916). They explain the cause of it thus: 'We shall see Josia Child determined to have a creature of his own in command in India, ruthlessly compassing the ruin of John Pettit, the senior and best qualified candidate for the Presidency of Surat, in favour of the unpopular but subservient John Child; we shall see him forcing on the reluctant Anglo-Indian community a policy of retrenchment and disarmament quite incompatible with what they knew to be necessary for the prestige and even the security of the English in India. And we shall see how the irritation caused by the former proceeding combined with the anger and alarm

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of Surat, declared they held the island for the king, and that they would submit to no other authority. This act of rebellion being limited to a small insulated space, and Keigwin its instigator, a firm, resolute man, who maintained order amongst his inferiors, notwithstanding the pernicious example he had set, the ruinous consequences so much to be dreaded were happily obviated, and an amnesty having been promised by Sir Thomas Grantham, whom the president in council at Surat had named to act under a general commission obtained from the king, the whole island was surrendered and restored to the lawful authorities, 11th November, 1684.

The state of parties in England had probably as great an effect in occasioning this proceeding as its immediate cause. The interests of commercial adventurers and the rival East India Company, which sprang up about this time, created a variety of reports and spread opinions in India prejudicial to the existing company. This no doubt tended to diminish that respect for them in the eyes of their own servants which was of so much importance to the preservation of their authority.

The directors injudiciously chose this period for reducing their expenses by decreasing the allowances of their military. The president in council at Surat carried the orders into effect, in that ungracious and arbitrary manner which appears to have marked the government of Sir John Child,[1] and in the state of feeling which these various causes were likely to produce in high-spirited, rash men, the revolt which ensued, however inexcusable, is not surprising.

It was fortunate that the president had not the means of attempting to enforce immediate obedience, otherwise it is possible the rebels might have been driven to the infamous alternative

caused by the latter to drive the garrison of Bombay to revolt. Keigwin's rebellion was due in part to the unpopularity of John Child, and in part to the instinct of self-preservation which forbade the English in Bombay to put themselves at the mercy of the Mogul and Mahratta forces that were threatening to swamp them; and on both counts it is Josia Child and his uninformed despotism that must bear the blame.'

The correct date of the restoration of Bombay to Sir Thomas Grantham was November 19, 1684.]

[1] [He was appointed President of Surat in 1682, and in 1687 was given supreme control of all the Company's factories in the East. He was a son of one Theophilus Child, a clerk of the stock market in London. (Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion*, 20, 21.)]

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of making over the island to the Moghuls or the Mahrattas. Keigwin's management, however, in several respects merited commendation, particularly in having obtained from Sumbhajee not only a confirmation of the articles agreed to by Sivajee, but a grant for the establishment of factories at Cuddalore and Thevenapatam, an exemption from duties in the Carnatic, and the balance of compensation for losses sustained by the English at different places formerly plundered by the Mahrattas.[1]

A.D. 1684.—We now return to affairs of greater magnitude than those of the infant establishments of the East India Company, connected, however, not only with our subject, but intimately linked with the causes by which the British nation has obtained such vast power in that distant portion of the globe.

Aurungzebe, whom we have mentioned as marching to Burhanpoor, remained there for some months regulating several departments in finance, and settling plans for the approaching grand arrangements he had in contemplation. He first ordered Sultan Mauzum, now dignified with the title of Shah Alum,[2] to proceed in advance from Ahmednugur with his whole army and reduce Sumbhajee's southern territory, whilst Sultan Azim was directed to reduce his northern forts about Candeish, Buglana, and Sungumnere, and to commence by besieging the important fortress of Salheir, the acquisition of which by Moro Punt had afforded such facility for Mahratta inroads through Candeish. Accordingly, Sultan Mauzum descended into the Concan by the Ambadurray Ghaut near Nassuck, and passing the Kallian district, already devastated, advanced to the southward, where he plundered and burnt the country from Raigurh to Vingorla. Sultan Azim marched towards Salheir, where much resistance was expected, but Neknam Khan, the Moghul Killidar of Molheir, who joined the prince on his advance, had obtained a previous promise from his neighbour the Mahratta Havildar to surrender Salheir as soon as the army came before it. Such negotiations being always doubtful in their issue, Neknam Khan

[1] Orme. [Keigwin's ambassadors to Sambhājī were Henry Gary and Thomas Wilkins. For details of both men, see *Keigwin's Rebellion*, by R. and O. Strachey. Wilkins eventually returned to England; Gary died at Surat in 1688. For Gary, see also Fryer's *New Account*, ed. Crooke (1912), ii. 30 n.]

[2] I shall continue to use the name by which he is already known to the reader.

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had prudently communicated the agreement to the Emperor only; the place, however, was evacuated, and the prince, with the feeling of a very young commander disappointed in the expected fame of the conquest, expressed great displeasure at being sent on such a service. He was shortly after recalled, the Emperor promising to employ him in the war against Beejapoor.[1] Shahabodeen Khan was therefore ordered to reduce the remainder of the forts, but met with an unexpected resistance from the Havildar of Ramseje, by whom his troops being repeatedly repulsed, Khan Jehan Buhadur was sent to repair the failure, but after many vaunting attempts equally unsuccessful as those of his predecessor, he was compelled to retire with disgrace.

Sultan Mauzum's army, although they had overrun the greater part of the Concan, do not appear to have come prepared for siéges; the forts and places of strength still remained in the hands of Sumbhajee, who during this inroad sent his cavalry to subsist in the upper country, whilst he himself retired with Sultan Akber to Vishalgurh. The distresses occasioned by the ravages of the invading army soon recoiled upon themselves, and scarcity prevailed in their camp. Sumbhajee taking advantage of the improvident waste they had made, ordered down his horse and directed them, assisted by the different garrisons of the forts, to stop the roads, cut off supplies, harass them by desultory attacks, and destroy the foragers and stragglers. The Mahratta horse found subsistence from the grass and grain stored under the protection of the forts, but the Moghuls were soon in great distress, and thousands of followers, horses, and cattle, perished.

The Emperor apprised of their situation, but unwilling to sanction what might seem a defeat, directed the force under Shahabodeen Khan to proceed for the purpose of opening the communication; and orders were sent to the Moghul governor at Surat to embark supplies for Dhunda Rajepoor and Vingorla. The demand being urgent, the vessels were sent off, as laden, without waiting for convoy, and Sumbhajee's cruisers, apprised of their approach, took the greater part. Such a scanty supply arrived that it became impossible to exist in that situation, and Sultan Mauzum was obliged to retire towards the Ambah Ghaut,

[1] Khafee Khan.

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which he ascended, and afterwards cantoned his army during the monsoon near Walwa[1] on the banks of the Kistna.

Shahabodeen Khan, when directed to march for the relief of the prince, advanced as far as Nizampoor near Raigurh, when he was opposed by Sumbhajee, whom he defeated, probably in a very partial action; but small advantages are always overestimated in unsuccessful campaigns; Shahabodeen, being a personal favourite with the Emperor and at the head of a body of Tooranee Moghuls, his countrymen, whom it was the Emperor's desire to conciliate, was honoured with the title of Ghazee-ud-deen,[2] and the recollection of his failure at Ramseje purposely obliterated. Such, we may here observe, is the earliest account we have in the history of the Deccan of the ancestor of the family of Nizam Ool Moolk, afterwards so conspicuous in the annals of that country.

The Emperor in the meantime had quitted Burhanpoor and arrived at Aurungabad. During his stay at the former city, amongst other arrangements he issued orders for the collection of the Jizeea,[3] a poll-tax levied on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, which was to be as strictly exacted in the Deccan as in the northern part of the empire.

To reconcile such a measure with that character for wisdom which has been assigned to Aurungzebe is impossible; it would even be inexplicable in a person of ordinary capacity, but the workings of fanaticism always warp the understanding, and Aurungzebe may have supposed that his undertaking merited divine favour, by giving the people about to be conquered the alternative of conversion or taxation. There could be no political reason

[1] [Vālva (Walwa) was captured by Sivājī in 1659, and was repopulated by the first Pant Pratinidhi, Rāmchandra Pant Amātya, in 1690. The village, which is now included in the Sātāra District, contains the mansion of the Thorāt family of Deshmukhs. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 563, 564.)]

[2] [*Ghāzī* means 'slayer of an infidel.' The title therefore signifies 'Infidel-slayer of the Faith.']

[3] The Jizeea was thirteen rupees per annum for every 2,000 rupees' worth of property, possessed by Hindoos. Scott's Deccan. [V. A. Smith (*O.H.I.* 438, 439 and footnote) gives a succinct account of the re-imposition of the *jizya*, which had been abolished by Akbar. The rates, according to Manucci (ii. 234), were: 13½ rupees on great merchants; 6¼ middle-class; poor 3½, per annum. See Elliot-Dowson, vii. 296; Tod, *Annals*, i. 426 f.; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), 460. (Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt), ed. Crooke, 1909, i. 275 n.)]

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for such an edict, although his apologists may point out the mean one of gratifying the Mahomedan vulgar, and affording an earnest of what his emissaries professed at Beejapoor and Golcondah, that he was coming to the Deccan for the purpose of suppressing idolatry and placing Mahomedan power on such a footing as would in future uphold the dignity of the faith of Islam.

The imperial service sustained considerable loss this year by the death of Dilere Khan. He had great experience in Deccan warfare, had seen more service than most officers of his time, and had signalized himself on many occasions. He was always suspected, and in his old age neglected, by the Emperor after having fought his battles for twenty-six years. A just retribution, when we know that in joining the crafty Aurungzebe he became a traitor to the cause of the generous, confiding and unfortunate Dara.

Sumbhajee was still at war with the Portuguese, and the latter had instigated the chief of Soonda and the Dessayes of Carwar to throw off their allegiance; Sumbhajee, about the end of the rains, sent some of his troops into the northern Concan, and again plundered the exposed parts of the Portuguese possessions in that quarter; he himself came to Panalla to watch the motions of Sultan Mauzum's army.

The Emperor, at the opening of the fair season, leaving Khan Jehan at Aurungabad, moved with the grand camp in more than ordinary magnificence towards Ahmednugur.

The number of his forces is not specified by any Moghul historian, and the estimate formed by the Mahrattas is quite incredible. The display of power, however, presented by Aurungzebe's march into the Deccan was grand and imposing to a degree which has seldom been surpassed. Besides foreigners, his cavalry assembled from Cabul, Candahar, Mooltan, Lahore, Rajpootana, and the extended provinces of his vast empire, was the flower of his army, and presented an array of gigantic men and horses completely armed and accoutred, whom it might be imagined the more slender and lighter armed natives of the Deccan could hardly venture to oppose. His infantry was also numerous, and was composed of musketeers, matchlockmen and archers, well equipped; besides bodies of hardy Boondelas and Mewattees accustomed to predatory contests among the mountains, and the better able to cope with the Mahratta Mawulees. To these were

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afterwards added many thousands of infantry raised in the Carnatic. Besides a number of field-pieces, which accompanied the royal tents, there were several hundred pieces of cannon manned by natives of Hindoostan and directed by European gunners, and a great number of miners were attached to the park of artillery, with artisans of every description. A long train of war elephants was followed by a number of the same animals on the Emperor's private establishment, employed to carry the ladies of his seraglio, or to convey such of his tents as were too large to be borne on camels. Numerous led horses, magnificently caparisoned, formed a stud for the Emperor's riding; a menagerie accompanied the camp, from which the rarest animals in the world were frequently brought forth and exhibited by their keepers before the Emperor and his court;—whilst hawks, hounds, hunting tigers, trained elephants, and every accompaniment used for field sport, swelled the pomp of this prodigious retinue. The canvas walls which encompassed the royal tents formed a circumference of 1,200 yards, and contained every description of apartment to be found in the most spacious palace. Halls of audience for public assemblies and privy councils, with all the courts and cabinets attached to them, each hall magnificently adorned, and having within it a raised seat or throne for the Emperor, surrounded by gilded pillars with canopies of velvet, richly fringed and superbly embroidered; separate tents as mosques and oratories; baths and galleries for archery and gymnastic exercises; a seraglio as remarkable for luxury and privacy as that of Delhi; Persian carpets, damasks, and tapestries; European velvets, satins, and broad-cloths; Chinese silks of every description, and Indian muslins and cloth of gold, were employed in all the tents with the utmost profusion and effect. Gilded balls and cupolas surmounted the tops of the royal tents; the outside of which and the canvas walls were of a variety of lively colours, disposed in a manner which heightened the general splendour. The entrance into the royal enclosure was through a spacious portal flanked by two elegant pavilions, from which extended on each side rows of cannon forming an avenue, at the extremity of which was an immense tent containing the great state drums, and imperial band;—a little farther in front was the post of the grand guard on duty, commanded by a nobleman who mounted with it daily. On the other sides,

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surrounding the great enclosure just mentioned, were separate tents for the Emperor's armoury, harness, &c., a tent for water, kept cool with saltpetre, another for fruit, a third for sweetmeats, a fourth for betel and so on, with numerous kitchens, stables, &c. &c. Such luxury in a camp is scarcely to be conceived; but besides what has been described, every tent had its exact duplicate which was sent on in advance to be prepared against the Emperor's arrival. His march was a procession, and when he entered his pavilions a salvo from fifty or sixty pieces of ordnance announced the event; and he assumed and maintained every form and ceremony observed at the established residences of the imperial court.

The magnificence of such a spectacle, which formed a remarkable contrast with the plain and even austere personal habits of the Emperor, was intended to strengthen his power by the awe with which it impressed his subjects; but as his state was imitated by his nobles, it proved a serious encumbrance to the movements of his army, while the devouring expense of such establishments pressed hard on his finances, and soon crippled even the most necessary of his military and political arrangements.

We may easily suppose that the inconveniences of this style of magnificence, of which all the Moghul camps in some degree partook, must have been already experienced by Sultan Mauzum during his campaign in the Concan. Whilst he lay at Walwa above the Ghauts, he took possession in the Emperor's name of such parts of the country as he could cover, and deeds are yet extant, confirming in his own name grants of lands originally given by the Beejapoor government. In the month of October a pestilence broke out in his camp, which swept off many of his men and greatly diminished his force, but on receiving the Emperor's orders to reduce the south-west districts above the Ghauts, formerly taken by Sivajee from Beejapoor, he advanced without hesitation for that purpose, and Azim Shah, who had commenced the war against Beejapoor with indifferent success, opened the campaign to the northward by laying siege to Sholapoor.

A.D. 1685.—Sumbhajee's troops in the Concan, under the command of Humbeer Rao, apprised of the exposed state of Candeish, were secretly reinforced by several detachments and moved off to the northward. They suddenly appeared at

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Burhanpoor,[1] plundered it of much property and riches for several days, and retired as rapidly as their heavy loads would permit, leaving the whole country in their route from Burhanpoor to Nassuck in a blaze.

Khan Jehan, on hearing of this inroad, moved from Aurungabad in pursuit, but in place of marching to Chandore or Unkye-Tunkye[2] to cut off their retreat, which he might have done, he crossed the range of hills at the Ajunta pass and wheeled round to the left, but he never came within five marches of the Mahrattas. After having followed them to a considerable distance to the southward, he received orders to place *Thannas* in the country between Joonere and Singurh, whilst the young prince Kaum Bukhsh was sent to cover Burhanpoor.

Khan Jehan took possession of Poona and the adjacent country, where he left Khakur Khan as Foujdar, and was proceeding by the Emperor's order to support Azim Shah, who had taken Sholapoor, and was advancing towards Beejapoor, but the prince finding that he could not contend with Shirzee Khan, had recrossed the Beema, which made the junction of Khan Jehan unnecessary.[3]

Sultan Mauzum meanwhile had successively captured Gokauk, Hooblee, and Dharwar, in which he had met with little resistance; but famine, pestilence, and the drafts from his force required to garrison the new acquisitions, had so greatly reduced the numbers and efficiency of his troops, that when attacked by a small detachment, sent against him from Beejapoor, he was scarcely able to defend himself. Roh Oolah Khan was immediately sent forward with a party to his assistance, and Khan Jehan was ordered to

[1] I place this according to Mr. Orme's date, who has it from the records of the factory of Candeish, and circumstances corroborate its correctness. The fact is distinctly mentioned by Mahratta manuscripts and Khafee Khan; but the dates widely disagree, and are, in both, obviously misplaced.

[2] [Ankāi-Tankāi (Unkye-Tunkye) is a hill-fort, now in the Yeola *tāluka*, Nāsik District, situated in 20° 11′ N. and 74° 27′ E., on twin hills rising 900 feet above the plain. On the south face of Tankāi are seven Jain caves, richly sculptured, but much defaced. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 473.) Ankāi is the name of one of the *Mātris*, or Mothers, originally the female goddesses of the non-Aryan or Dravidian races, which have been absorbed into neo-Brahmanic Hinduism. She is worshipped by the Bandhāris and other lower castes in Bombay as one of the cholera-goddesses. (Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.*, &c., i. 111 ff.; Edwardes, *Byways of Bombay*, 2nd ed., 71.)]

[3] Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS. Bernier. Scott's Deccan. Orme.

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cover Roh Oolah Khan. Until this succour arrived, the prince's army was constantly harassed; most of the horses being dead, nobles and troopers were reduced to the necessity of marching and fighting on foot, which even the common horsemen considered a degrading hardship. The wreck of this fine army returned to Ahmednugur, more effectually reduced than if they had been vanquished in many battles.[1]

After assisting Sultan Mauzum's shattered army and escorting the prince to the frontiers, Khan Jehan and Roh Oolah Khan returned and cantoned at Hulmullee in the Beejapoor territory during the monsoon. At the opening of the season these two officers were ordered to invest Beejapoor.

Mahdhuna Punt's endeavours to effect union in opposing Aurungzebe were ineffectual, even when the intentions of the latter in regard to Beejapoor were avowed. Sumbhajee made no effort to aid that state, but he engaged to assist Golcondah, and received a subsidy of one lack of pagodas from Abou Hoossein. This alliance was communicated to the Emperor, and the conditions came to his knowledge at a subsequent period. He immediately ordered Khan Jehan to advance into the Hyderabad territories, under pretence of receiving arrears of tribute. Sadut Khan accompanied the army as envoy, with secret instructions not merely to demand satisfaction for his alliance with Sumbhajee, but to provoke any fit cause of widening the breach and producing a rupture with Hyderabad.

The Emperor marched from Ahmednugur towards Sholapoor and directed a body of troops, stationed at Joonere under Ghazee-ud-deen, to move towards Ahmednugur. The Mahrattas, again seizing this opportunity, made a rapid march to the northward, crossed the Taptee and Nerbuddah, and assaulted and took the city of Baroach within a few hours after their approach was known.[2] It is probable that Sultan Akber was the instigator, if not the leader of this enterprise; he was actively employed against his brother during the campaign in the Concan,[3] and on this occasion the party proclaimed him Emperor, plundered and exacted all they could, and did not retire until the approach of

[1] The account of Sultan Mauzum's campaign is taken from Khafee Khan, Orme, Scott's Deccan, the Enam deeds alluded to, and copies of original letters from Mohummud Akber to Kuloosha.

[2] Orme.

[3] Original letters to Kuloosha.

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the Soobehdar of Guzerat, who had assembled the troops of the province and marched against them.[1]

The sack both of Burhanpoor and Baroach are principally to be ascribed to Aurungzebe's want of military arrangement. Intent on his own schemes against the Mahomedan states, he neither covered his own country, nor took time to study the genius of the people, whom his early ambition and his present negligence alike fostered, and for whom he still entertained a contempt fatal to the security of his empire.

The operations against Beejapoor were renewed. Sultan Azim moved forward about the end of the year, and approached the capital with a large army. The officers of Beejapoor, although they had before opposed him on the frontier successfully, now retired before him. This was judicious. Very little rain had fallen this year, a scarcity prevailed, and the little grain which had been produced in the neighbourhood of Beejapoor was as usual secured within the fort. To the northward, in the province of Aurungabad, the harvest had been more plentiful, but grain was exceedingly dear in the grand camp at Sholapoor, which drew its supplies from the northward. To have attacked Azim Shah therefore in the neighbourhood of the Emperor's camp, would comparatively have been of little advantage. They allowed him to approach the city, when they cut off the communication between him and the camp at Sholapoor, interrupted his supplies, destroyed foragers, harassed the army by false attacks and skirmishes, and in a very short time Azim Shah was in great distress. The scarcity in his own camp prevented the Emperor from forwarding supplies from Sholapoor. Ghazee-ud-deen Khan was therefore ordered to bring 20,000 bullock loads of grain from Ahmednugur and carry it on to Azim Shah's force, reinforced by a strong detachment under Dulput Rao from the grand army. This service was well performed by Ghazee-ud-deen. The

A.D. 1686.

[1] It is mentioned in *Scott's Deccan*, that Sultan Mohummud Akber was supported by a body of Mahrattas, in an attempt to proceed to Hindoostan, and that he was defeated near Chakun, but the successful attack on Baroach is the only one in which I think it probable that he was a principal actor. He was engaged in the Concan, and was at Palee and at Beemgurh when Sultan Mauzum's troops were attacked, as appears by copies of letters, from Mohummud Akber to Kuloosha Kuvee Kulus, which I obtained from the late Raja of Kolapoor.

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Beejapoor troops saw the necessity of cutting off his convoy and made a desperate attempt to effect their purpose, but they were defeated; and after a well-contested action, the prince's troops were rescued from the disgrace and destruction which the loss or delay of the convoy had rendered unavoidable. On this occasion the princess Janee Begum, wife of Azim Shah, proceeded with the convoy to join her husband, mounted her elephant, and advanced into the battle encouraging the troops. Aurungzebe expressed himself more gratefully to Ghazee-ud-deen for thus relieving his son than for any service ever performed by his officers.[1]

Khan Jehan, according to the orders which were given, had advanced towards Hyderabad, but Mahdhuna Punt's preparations were in a more forward state than was expected, and Ibrahim Khan, the supposed friend of the minister, met the Moghuls at Mulkair with an army of seventy thousand men. Khan Jehan's force being quite unequal to contend with this host, and a retreat being exceedingly dangerous under such circumstances, he threw up entrenchments and sent intelligence of his situation to the Emperor. Sultan Mauzum was immediately dispatched with a body of troops to his relief. In the meantime Ibrahim Khan, who had a fine army and had Khan Jehan completely in his power, made no vigorous attacks, and on the advance of Sultan Mauzum his conduct was so treacherous, or his exertions so feeble, that the Moghuls marched on to Hyderabad with little opposition. The king retired into the fortress of Golcondah, notwithstanding Mahdhuna Punt's remonstrances; but at this time Ibrahim Khan treacherously deserted to the Moghuls, the city of Hyderabad was taken possession of, and, contrary to Sultan Mauzum's orders, plundered by the troops. The wisest minister is obnoxious in times of public misfortune; the enemies of Mahdhuna Punt, at the instigation of the king's mother-in-law or some of the treacherous factions in league with the Moghuls, took advantage of the general outcry amongst the populace and assassinated him. Abou Hoossein, although he had many amiable qualities, was destitute of the firmness and decision in which only his safety could be found, and being thus left without an adviser sued for peace. Aurungzebe perceiving that the troops, the wealth, and

[1] Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.

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the preparations at Hyderabad were more formidable than he had contemplated, and that Beejapoor seemed likely to make considerable resistance, agreed to a peace, on being promised two crores of rupees in treasure and effects, which Sultan Mauzum was left to collect. The prince and Khan Jehan fell under the Emperor's displeasure for not securing the plunder of Hyderabad, and Aurungzebe, recollecting the vast treasure he had obtained there in 1655, became jealous of the wealth they were supposed to have secreted for purposes similar perhaps to what his own had been. Khan Jehan was therefore ordered to Lahore, and although he rejoined the Emperor some years afterwards, he was never again actively employed.[1]

The Emperor now moved to Beejapoor. The walls of the city were of immense extent, and the fort, which communicates with it, is six miles in circumference. To invest the latter closely therefore required the presence of the grand army. There were different breaching batteries erected, but the principal one, under the immediate superintendence of Turbeeut Khan, was on the south face.

Shirzee Khan, Abdool Raoof, Seedees Zalim and Jumshed were the officers who defended the fort under the young prince Sikundur. The garrison was not numerous, but, although ill-paid and short of provisions, they still showed some remains of Patan valour and fought with obstinacy. The Emperor, as he saw they must surrender, and as the occasion was not pressing, prudently deferred the assault after the breach was practicable, choosing rather to trust a little to the effects likely to be produced in them by reflection on their hopeless situation embittered by privation, than to assault men, who under such circumstances would have fought with desperation and exulted in an opportunity of dying with their swords in their hands.

Aurungzebe was not disappointed; for although they had still an inner fort much stronger than the outward works, the garrison were so much in want of provisions, that they were compelled to surrender on or about 15th October, 1686. Shirzee Khan concluded the terms through Ghazee-ud-deen, to whom the Emperor, agreeably to custom when he received such proposals through

[1] Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Beejapoor MSS., &c.

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any of his officers, was pleased to assign the nominal honour of the conquest.[1]

The principal officers were admitted into the imperial service, and a Munsub of seven thousand horse, with the title of Roostum Khan, was conferred on Shirzee Khan. The young prince, Sikundur Adil Shah, was kept a close prisoner in the Moghul camp for three years, when he died suddenly, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Aurungzebe.[2]

Beejapoor henceforth ceased to be a capital, and was soon after deserted. The walls, which are of hewn stone and very lofty, are to this day entire, and being surmounted by the cupolas and minarets of the public buildings, still present to a spectator from without the appearance of a flourishing city; but within—all is solitude, silence, and desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of the splendid palaces in the citadel, attest the former magnificence of the court. The great mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, already mentioned, is remarkable for its elegant and graceful architecture, but the chief feature in the scene is the Mausoleum of Mohummud Adil Shah, the dome[3] of which fills the eye from every point of view, and though in itself entirely devoid of ornament, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invest it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonizes with the wreck and desolation that surround it. In the climate where Beejapoor is situated the progress of decay is extremely rapid, and until lately nothing whatever was done to

[1] Beejapoor MSS. Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

[2] Beejapoor MSS. It is said he was put to death in consequence of some popular commotion in his favour. He is buried in Beejapoor. [V. A. Smith (*O.H.I.*) states that Sikandar died in prison fifteen years after the fall of Bijāpur, i.e. in 1701. A footnote on p. 17 of Cousens' *Bijāpur* (*A.S.I.*, xxxviii) states that he was poisoned in 1111 A.H. (A.D. 1699). Sikandar's grave at Bijāpur is a simple, uncovered structure, midway between the Dakhani Idgah and the unfinished mausoleum of Alī Ādil Shāh II.]

[3] This dome measures 130 feet in diameter; which is larger than that of the Pantheon at Rome, or, I believe, of St. Paul's in London, and very little less than that of St. Peter's. [According to the latest and correct measurements the exterior diameter of the dome is 144 feet, and the interior diameter 124 feet 5 inches. The total area covered by the dome, uninterrupted by supports of any kind, is 18,109·35 square feet, which is the largest space in the world covered by a single dome. A remarkable feature of the Gōl Gumbāz is its whispering gallery. (*A.S.I.*, xxxviii. 98–106.)]

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arrest its effects; but when viewed as mere ruins, the remains of that city, as they at present exist, are exceedingly grand, and as a vast whole far exceed anything of the kind in Europe.[1]

After the reduction of Beejapoor, immediate preparations were made by Aurungzebe for attacking Golcondah, but previously to violating the treaty so lately concluded by Sultan Mauzum, Aurungzebe added meanness to his want of faith by directing Sadut Khan to procure as much treasure and as many of Abou Hoossein's jewels as could be extorted, by working on the hopes or the fears of that weak prince.

A Moghul Foujdar,[2] or military governor of a district, was appointed to command in Beejapoor; and another, named Kasim Khan,[3] was sent with a detachment across the Kistna, to occupy as much of the country as possible and induce the Dessayes, or Zumeendars as they were commonly styled by the Moghuls, to acknowledge the imperial authority. Shirzee Khan of Beejapoor was sent to invade Sumbhajee's districts, and marched in the direction of Satara.

A.D. 1687.—Whilst the Emperor advanced towards Kulburga, on pretence of paying his devotions at the tomb of a celebrated

[1] [This description of Bijāpur is no longer applicable. 'The hum of busy life pervades the atmosphere; the jungle is well-nigh all cleared away; well-made roads take the place of tortuous paths through bush and brake; modern residences and bazaars cover the once ruinous sites; factory chimneys rise in unlovely contrast with graceful minarets; and the railway discharges its living freight at the very gate of the town' (Cousens, *A.S.I.*, xxxviii. 21). In 1877 an extensive clearance was carried out in the citadel as a famine relief work, and after the removal of the district head-quarters from Kaladgi to Bijāpur in 1885, several of the old Muhammadan buildings were utilized as offices and for other public purposes. More recently, under the stimulus of Lord Curzon's policy, Government has been at pains to conserve the monuments of Ādilshāhī rule, which are gradually recovering from the treatment received from those who devoted them to utilitarian ends. The Gōl Gumbāz mosque, which was used as a traveller's bungalow, has been restored, as also the Bokhara mosque, occupied for many years by the post-office.]

[2] The officer immediately superior to the Foujdar in a great province was the Nazim, but we seldom find this office mentioned in the later conquests of the Moghuls in the Deccan.

[3] It would appear by Scott's Deccan, vol. ii, p. 75, that Kasim Khan was left as Foujdar at Hyderabad, after the capture of Golcondah; but this mistake probably originates in his having been reinforced at that period from Hyderabad.

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saint,[1] Ghazee-ud-deen was directed to move in a direction east and somewhat south of Beejapoor, intended probably to intercept any reinforcements that might be sent from Sugger, Adonee, or any part of the Carnatic, to the assistance of Golcondah. The emissaries of Aurungzebe were busily employed corrupting the troops of Hyderabad by bribes and promises; many of the officers were drawn over, and the envoy, Sadut Khan, by the lowest artifice, obtained possession of the jewels, even to the ornaments of the women, which the king stripped off, vainly hoping that this degrading compliance would satisfy the Emperor or excite his commiseration. But feelings of pity never swayed the conduct of Aurungzebe; he declared war against Abou Hoossein by a manifesto, in which the principal articles of accusation, after a general charge of profligacy, were the employment of a Bramin minister and an alliance with the idolater Sumbhajee. Roused at length to indignation against the merciless tyrant by whom he was thus persecuted, but deserted by many whose services he had a right to expect, Abou Hoossein retired to the fort of Golcondah, supported by a few brave troops and officers who still remained faithful. The gallant defence of the fort, the heroic devotion of some of his followers, and the dignified self-possession he maintained to the last, have preserved his memory in Deccan tradition as the brave and good *Tannah Shah*, a title of doubtful meaning by which he is known in Maharashtra, but said to have been the name of a Fuqeer with whom the king was in habits of intimacy previous to his elevation.

The fort of Golcondah, after a siege of seven months, fell by treachery in the end of September, 1687.[2] Hyderabad is still a populous city, and forms, as our progress will explain, the capital of the Soobehdar of the Deccan. Though much inferior to Beejapoor it retains traces of a royal residence. The great mosque in particular is a fine edifice, and the tombs of the Kootub Shahee kings, with their glittering cupolas, overlooked by the fort of Golcondah, form one of the most striking prospects in India.[3]

[1] [The tomb of Khwāja Banda Nawāz, who came to Gulburga (Kulburga) in 1413, during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī.]

[2] Khafee Khan. Orme. [V. A. Smith (*O.H.I.*, p. 443) gives the month as October 1687. This is the date given in Professor J. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*.]

[3] [The architectural style developed at Golkonda differed from that of Bijāpur and the styles of Northern India. 'The tombs of the

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It was during the memorable siege of Golcondah that Sultan Mauzum, falling under the unjust suspicion of the Emperor, was placed in confinement; and he remained in that situation in his father's camp for six years, when he was released and sent as governor to Cabul. His only fault seems to have been a remonstrance in behalf of the persecuted object of the Emperor's unjust enmity, more honourable and generous than judicious, as it was attended with such effects to himself and to the unfortunate Abou Hoossein, who was sent to the fortress of Doulutabad, where he ended his days.[1]

To secure the new conquests, and reduce the whole of the territories subject to Beejapoor and Golcondah was now the first consideration. Reinforcements were sent to Kasim Khan in the Carnatic, to whose proceedings, as connected with the detail of Mahratta progress, we shall presently revert.

Khanzad Khan was sent to reduce the fort of Sugger between Kulburga and Beejapoor, in possession of a chief of the Berud tribe,[2] a cast of people in the Carnatic precisely similar to the

Kutb Shāhī kings, standing outside the fortress about half a mile to the north, are built of granite and characterized by narrow-necked domes of peculiar form.' (*O.H.I.*, 297, 298.)]

[1] An anecdote is told respecting him, which is probably true, but which I notice as characteristic of the pompous politeness of the Mahomedans of India. During Abou Hoossein's confinement in the Emperor's camp, previous to being dispatched to Doulutabad, a tune played by one of the Hindoostanee musicians of the imperial band gave the captive king great delight, and he wished he had a lack of rupees to bestow upon him. The wish was repeated to Aurungzebe, and instantly complied with.

Many of the natives of India are exceedingly susceptible of the powers of music, and some of the Hindoostanee airs are beautiful. Only a few specimens of an inferior description have ever reached the public in England; but should Major Tod, in his intended history, or in his personal narrative, publish any specimens of the old Rajpoot music, which he now only plays from memory, this anecdote of the last of the kings of Golcondah may be better understood.

[2] [The proper name of this tribe is *Bēdar* (i.e. hunters). Dark, muscular and coarse-featured, the Bēdars (Beruds) are an aboriginal tribe of the Kanarese-speaking districts and were notorious for theft and gang-robbery until reduced to comparative harmlessness in 1820. Nowadays some of them are watchmen and husbandmen, but the majority still rank as a wandering criminal tribe, addicted to robbery under arms. Towards the close of the nineteenth century they committed a series of murders and depredations in the Belgaum and Dhārwār Districts. It has been suggested that the Rāmosīs of the Deccan are a branch of the Bēdar tribe, but the connexion has not

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Ramoossees of Maharashtra. This chief was a Polygar, and could command twelve thousand infantry principally of his own tribe. His fort was situated amongst the hills and jungles, extremely difficult of access, but, in dread of the Moghul name, he surrendered. As it was an invariable rule of Aurunzgebe to bestow great honours on all who unresistingly acknowledged his authority, this Ramoossee Naik, greatly to the amusement of the courtiers, was raised to the rank of a commander of five thousand in the Moghul empire. He survived his honours but a few days, and his son Pemnaik, finding himself uncomfortable in the splendour of his new situation, withdrew to the woods, and collecting a band of his tribe took up his abode in Wakinkerah, a walled village near Sugger, where by plunder and robbery he gradually added to his numbers, and in less than twenty years we shall find the last personal effort of the mighty Aurungzebe directed to reduce the Berud Naik of Wakinkerah.

Azim Shah and Ghazee-ud-deen, at the same time that the other detachments were sent off, marched against Adonee, still in possession of Musaood Khan, formerly regent of Beejapoor. Considering resistance as altogether hopeless, Musaood Khan resigned his possessions, but declined entering the imperial service and died in respectable obscurity.

The eastern quarter of Golcondah was not overlooked, Rajamundree and the sea-ports of Mausulipatam and Ganjam were taken possession of; the detachments were successful in all

been definitely placed beyond doubt, and is in fact denied by Mackintosh in his account of the former (Bombay, 1833). The Bēdars in the Madras Presidency are now cultivators (Thurston, *O. and S.S.I.*). The chiefs of Sonda in north Kanara were, perhaps, Bēdars, and related to the Rāyas of Vijayanagar. The Bēdars, or Bōyas, were the old fighting caste of Anantapur and neighbouring districts. In 1750 Haidar Alī used a select corps of Bēdars at the battle of Jinji; in 1751 the army of Morār Rāo of Gūtī was composed chiefly of Bēdars; and the same people formed the army of the Polygār of Chitaldrug in 1755. They served as irregular troops under Tipū's government; and in the eighteenth century Harpanahalli was the seat of a powerful Bēdar polygār, whose family was founded by a Bōya on the subversion of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Both the Telugu and Kanarese-speaking Bēdars to-day are divided into *Uru*, or village-men, and *Myāsa*, or grass-land men, and these are again subdivided into various exogamous sub-classes. The usual titles of Bēdars and Bōyas are Nāidu, Nāik, Dōra, Dōrabidda (children of chieftains) and Vālmīkī. (Thurston, *C. and T.S.I.*, i. 180 ff.)]

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quarters,[1] and the governors of Kuddapah, Conjevaram, and Poonamalee submitted.[2]

Those tracts of Carnatic and Drawed which had been subject to the subverted kingdoms of Beejapoor and Golcondah, were indiscriminately termed Carnatic by the Moghuls; but the districts which had belonged to the former state were known as Beejapoor Carnatic, and those which had appertained to the latter as Hyderabad Carnatic. The former lay in the upper country or Carnatic proper, the latter extended from Guntoor along the Coromandel coast, and included portions of territory intermixed with the Mahratta possessions as far south as the Coleroon. No part of the Payeen Ghaut belonged to Beejapoor, as all its possessions in that quarter were conquered by Sivajee; but several places in the Balaghaut or Carnatic proper were still comprehended in the Hyderabad Carnatic, amongst which may be enumerated Gootee, near Adonee, and the districts of Gurumcondah, Gandicotta,[3] and Sidhout.

After the fall of Golcondah the grand camp moved towards Beejapoor, whilst the detachments, whose destination we have briefly noticed, were occupying and settling the country on every side, and before we revert to the share which the Mahrattas had in the events of this period, it is fit to explain, without a superfluous enumeration of all the establishment, the mode in which the Moghuls took possession of a district.

Two officers were appointed to it, the Foujdar and the Khalsa Dewan. The Foujdar was a military officer, in command of a body of troops, charged with the care of the police and the protection of his division. He held, or according to circumstances assumed, a greater or less degree of power. The regular amount allowed him for the maintenance of the district establishment was about 2½ per cent. of the government collections. The duties of the Dewan were entirely of a civil nature, and he was entrusted with the collection of the revenue, whether of the exchequer or on account of a Jagheerdar. The Moghul commanders who received what were called Jagheers from the newly acquired territories of Hyderabad and Beejapoor seldom had lands perma-

[1] Khafee Khan. [2] Orme.

[3] [Gandikōt (Gandicotta) is variously spelt Ganjikottah, Gunjcotta and Gunjicottah. It was captured in 1791 by Captain Little (*I.G.*, xii. 127–8). See *J. and Proc. A.S. Bengal*, vol. xiv, p. 350.]

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nently made over similar to the tenure by which the Mahratta Munsubdars held their possessions; the usual practice was to grant assignments for a term of years on specified districts for the support of their troops. Thus the Foujdars were more on the footing of feudatories than the Jagheerdars. The Foujdars, in conjunction with the Dewan, farmed out the districts to the Deshmookhs or Dessayes, and the Dewan realized the amount from them. There were commonly several Foujdars in each Soobeh. The Moghul conquests in the Deccan, which had formerly consisted of four Soobehs, now with the addition of Beejapoor and Golcondah were formed into six.

During the rapid progress of Aurungzebe's conquests, the personal inactivity of Sumbhajee is ascribed by the Mahratta writers to the effects of incantations of the magician Kuloosha. The fact appears to have been that Sumbhajee's habits had become abandoned, and he was generally lost in the stupor or derangement occasioned by a brutal excitement of the senses. He still might be roused to temporary activity; but, although many of his father's officers, besides the few who were employed, were well qualified to assist at this crisis, they were deterred from acting by the jealousy of Kuloosha or the violence of his master.[1]

The Mahratta Munsubdars, who had been in the service of Beejapoor after the fall of the capital, sent professions of duty to the Emperor, but they showed no readiness to join his standard.[2] Shirzee Khan was, as we have seen, detached for the purpose of attacking Sumbhajee's possessions, and the Munsubdars alluded to were ordered to co-operate, but it is not ascertained that they joined him. Shirzee Khan, after penetrating as far as Waee, was attacked and defeated by Humbeer Rao the Senaputtee, a victory dearly purchased by the loss of Humbeer Rao who was mortally wounded on the occasion.[3] The advantage which the Mahrattas had gained was not neglected in consequence of this misfortune, several of their detachments pushed forward and occupied a great part of the open country towards Beejapoor. Parties of Mahratta horse made their appearance at Golcondah during the siege[4] of that place, but they acted with no vigour and scarcely caused any interruption to the operations. The

[1] Mahratta MSS.
[2] Original letters in the possession of different families.
[3] Mahratta MSS.
[4] Khafee Khan.

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most important diversion which Sumbhajee attempted was by sending off a detachment to the Carnatic under the orders of Kessoo Punt Pingley, the late Peishwa's brother, with Suntajee Ghorepuray as his second in command.[1]

The preconcerted plan was to unite with Hurjee Raja Mahareek, and their ultimate design, the occupation of the districts in the upper Carnatic, which had been the Jagheer of Shahjee and were still held by Venkajee, from whom Sumbhajee had received neither share nor tribute since his accession. But on the arrival of the army at Ginjee, disputes and jealousies arose between Kessoo Punt and his nephew Neloo Punt; and it was supposed, or perhaps given out by the latter, that Kessoo Punt had some secret orders to dispossess Hurjee Raja of the government.[2]

Venkajee, whether aware of this expedition or foreseeing that it would not be in his power to defend the paternal Jagheer, was at this time in treaty with Chick Deo Raj,[3] Raja of Mysore, for the sale of Bangalore, but the negotiations having become a matter of notoriety, the Mahrattas at Ginjee were intent on possessing themselves of it before the transfer should take place, and the Moghuls became equally desirous of anticipating them. The dissensions which prevailed at Ginjee, which, as in all other situations, are the bane of active service, delayed the Mahrattas. Kasim Khan arrived first, took Bangalore without resistance, and sold it a few days afterwards to Chick Deo Raj for three lacks of rupees, the same sum as the Raja of Mysore had agreed to pay to Venkajee.[4]

Kessoo Punt and Suntajee Ghorepuray, frustrated in their design upon Bangalore, entered the country of Mysore, where

[1] Mahratta MSS. Such of my readers as are familiar with Mahratta names, will have some difficulty to identify Kessoo Punt Pingley with Mr. Orme's Keisswa Puntolo, which is, it seems, the mode of pronouncing the name by the natives of the Coromandel coast.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] [Chikka Dēva Rājā (Chick Deo Raj) belonged to the Hindu Wodeyar (Udaiyar) dynasty, which had acquired the territory of Mysore on the dissolution of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1565. He ruled from 1672 to 1704 (Duff's *Chronology of India*, 297). His cruelty was notorious (Wilks, *Hist. Sketches*, i. 128 f.; Rice, *Mysore*, i. 366 f.). His nose-cutting exploits are referred to by many writers (Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Times*, i. 104; Grose, 391; Nelson, *Madura*, pt. iii. 139; *Gazetteer*, *Trichinopoly* (1907), i. 55). See also Manucci (iv. 99, 460), and Thurston, *E.N.S.I.*, 386 ff. These references are given by Crooke on p. 43, vol. ii of the Hakluyt edition of Fryer's *Travels* (1909).]

[4] Wilks.

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they levied contributions and remained several months, but made no permanent conquests, and after hearing of the fall of Golcondah and the rapid progress of the Moghuls. they returned in the end of the year to Ginjee.

A.D. 1688.—Hurjee Raja, alarmed at the approach of the Moghuls and the submission of the neighbouring officers, at last united with Kessoo Punt, and they succeeded in possessing themselves of several places, but a large body of the Moghul troops arriving in the neighbourhood, and no cordial union existing among the Mahrattas, they were compelled to relinquish these new acquisitions and retire to the protection of their forts on each side of the Paliar.[1]

Ouscotta, another of the oldest Mahratta possessions in the Carnatic, was this year wrested from Venkajee by the Raja of Mysore, which might have easily been prevented by the aid of Sumbhajee's troops, but where Mahrattas have hereditary disputes, they can seldom be induced to set them aside, even in behalf of their common interests.

Their power in the Carnatic was rapidly declining, and if their strength in Maharashtra had not depended on causes altogether different from anything consolidated or regular, Aurungzebe's plans of conquest would not have proved visionary, and the Mahratta name must have speedily sunk into its former obscurity.

Sumbhajee had become completely careless of all general business, he spent his time between Panalla and Vishalgurh, or at a favourite house and garden in Sungumeshwur.[2] The only plan on which he seems to have been particularly intent in his present state of imbecility was connected with his early success, and during his lucid intervals he was planning the capture of Goa, but failure attended all his intrigues. The whole power was in the hands of Kuloosha, and the time of the minister seems to have been more occupied in managing his master's humours than in attending to the important business of the state. Prince Mohummud Akber, whose advice and intelligence had been of

[1] Orme.

[2] [Sangameshvar is situated in 17° 16′ N. and 73° 33′ E. on the Shāstri river, Ratnāgiri District, about twenty miles from the coast. In the seventh century it was the capital of a Chālukyan king, Karna, who built a fortress and temples, one of which still exists. In the fourteenth century it was for some time the residence of Basava, founder of the Lingāyat sect. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 168)]

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service to Sumbhajee, became disgusted with his situation, and after the fall of Beejapoor, finding he had nothing to hope for and much to fear by remaining longer in India, obtained Sumbhajee's permission, hired a vessel at Rajapoor, commanded by an Englishman, withdrew to the court of Persia, where he resided for twenty years, and died at Ispahan in 1706.

The laxity to which we have already adverted as having taken place in the discipline of the Mahratta army soon after Sivajee's death, greatly increased in a few years, and although extremely detrimental to Sumbhajee's resources as head of an organized state, it had a wonderful effect in extending predatory power, for every lawless man and every disbanded soldier, whether Mahomedan or Mahratta, who could command a horse and a spear, joined the Mahratta parties, and such adventurers were often enriched by the plunder of a day. The spirit which, independent of every other cause, was thus excited amongst a people fond of money and disposed to predatory habits can easily be imagined. The multitude of horsemen nurtured by former wars were already found too heavy a burden on a regular state, and no resources could support them. The proportion of the best troops which was retained in the imperial service would probably have soon enabled Aurungzebe to suppress the disorders, commonly attendant on Indian conquest, had there been no spirit kindled amongst the Mahratta people. But a pride in the conquests of Sivajee, their confidence in the strength of the forts, the skill and bravery of several of the Mahratta leaders, the ability and influence of many of the Bramins, and lastly, the minds of the Hindoo population, aroused by reports of the odious poll-tax to jealous watchfulness on the tenderest point, had, in addition to what we have already enumerated, excited a ferment which required not only vast means, but an entire change of measures, before it could possibly be allayed.

Aurungzebe possessed great military strength and pecuniary resource; he also had considerable local knowledge, and in the first instance the same power of confirming or withholding hereditary rights as his predecessors in conquest. Titles, Munsubs, and Jagheers were frequently bestowed and still more frequently promised, with a liberality greater than any former conqueror had shown; but presumption, jealousy, and bigotry soon deprived him of many of those advantages. He was not

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fully aware of the strength or the nature of predatory power, and instead of crushing it by the aid of the established governments, he pulled down those constituted authorities without replacing them; he involved himself with enemies on every side; he discharged the soldiery, whom, in addition to his own troops, he could not maintain, and thus sent armies into the field against himself. He supposed that he was not only acquainted with the details of arrangements necessary in a newly conquered country, but capable of superintending them; he placed little confidence in his agents, whilst he at the same time employed Mahomedans in all situations, to fill which, in many instances, policy and humanity alike dictated the selection of Hindoos. The confusion and disorder which ensued could not be tranquillized by the Emperor's fancied wisdom or the flattery and praises of his court and countrymen. The Mahrattas, more especially the Bramins, are not a people so easily dazzled as the Mahomedans, and in the course of a very short time they began to discover the weakness of the Moghuls.

The powerful Mankurees,[1] Duflay, Ghatgay, Manay, Nimbalkur, &c. during the siege of Beejapoor hovered about the imperial camp until the fall of the capital, when they withdrew to their Jagheers, sending their Wukeels with humble professions of duty and sometimes attending themselves; but from this time they joined plundering parties of their own countrymen, or submitted to the Moghuls, as circumstances invited or compelled them. There were few plunderers independent of Sumbhajee's parties or some Mankuree, because the Foujdar's troops were always too powerful for common depredators. A few *Pindharees*[2]

[1] Mankuree literally means a great man. It was originally, as above used, the name by which those Mahrattas who had been Munsubdars under the old Mahomedan monarchies in the Deccan were, and still are, distinguished. Latterly, however, it was assumed by every Mahratta at the head of a body of horse, who could boast of being a *Wutundar*. *Man-pan*, or rights and privileges, are words in the mouth of every Wutundar; and these rights and privileges, which, from the manner in which they are talked of and maintained, an Englishman might suppose involved the safety of their lives and properties, or the liberty of the subject at the least, are very often merely slight forms of that kind of respect indicated by precedence on particular occasions.

[2] About the borders of Maharashtra and the Carnatic there are a number of Pindharees; they cultivate lands in time of peace and plunder when the country is unsettled; they have been there for

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as all not belonging to Mahratta parties were termed, appeared about Beder, but they were soon suppressed or driven to join the Mahratta standard. No irregulars of that description received pay, but were frequently taken under the protection of some Mahratta chief and allowed to encamp near him, on condition of presenting frequent nuzurs, or in other words, giving up a part of their plunder.

The Mankurees, whilst their envoys were in the imperial camp professing "perpetual obedience and fidelity to Aurungzebe the king of the world," frequently sent their parties to plunder the Moghul districts; and in case of discovery the Bramin wukeel, who had secured the patronage of some great man at court by bribery, was ready to answer for or excuse the irregular conduct of his master's followers. The Moghul Foujdars were instructed to conciliate the Mahratta chiefs on condition of their agreeing to serve with fidelity. The chiefs were negotiating with the Foujdar; their wukeels were secure; and their followers, under the general name of Mahrattas, were ravaging some other part of the country.

The Moghul officers who had Jagheer assignments in the Deccan soon found that they could raise very little revenue; their corruption was increased by poverty, and the offenders who had, in the first instance, plundered their districts by purchasing the connivance of the Foujdars, bribed the Jagheerdars at court with a part of the pillage.

The hereditary rights and the family feuds which had been before usefully applied as an instrument of government, now became, in the general confusion of this period, a great cause of increasing disorder. The intricate nature of some of the hereditary claims in dispute, and the ingenuity of Brammins, who were always

some hundred years; many of them speak Hindoostanee, and call themselves Rajpoots. [The name *Pindārī* or *Pindāra* (*Pindharee*) appears to be Marāthi and to mean 'consumers of *pinda* (a fermented drink).' It is also spelt *Pendhārī* and, derived from *pendhā*, 'a bundle of straw,' would signify 'stealers of *pendhās*'—a suitable title for bodies of crop-stealers. A third and unlikely derivation is from Pandhār, near Burhānpur, on the Narbadā. The Pindārīs are found to-day in Nāsik, Khāndesh, and the Southern Marāthā Districts of Bombay, and are descended from the free-booters who followed the Marāthā armies, and were recruited originally from numerous sources, including Marāthā, Pathān, and Jāt. Hence Pindārīs are both Musalmān and Hindu. (*B.E.S.*, Monograph 101.) See also, for full discussion of the etymology of the name, Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), s.v. Pindarry.]

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the managers, made every case so plausible that the officers of government found little difficulty in excusing or at least palliating many acts of gross injustice, to which they scandalously lent themselves. Thus, the rightful owners had often good reason for complaint; they absented themselves with the troops, joined the plunderers, and when induced or compelled to come in, they boldly justified their behaviour by the injustice they had suffered.

When an hereditary office was forfeited or became vacant in any way, the Moghul government selected a candidate on whom it was conferred; but the establishment premium of the exchequer was upwards of six and a half years' purchase, or precisely 651 per cent. on one year's emoluments, one fourth of which was made payable at the time of delivering the deeds, and the remainder by instalments; but besides this tax, an infinite number of fees and perquisites were exacted by the clerks, all which lent encouragement to confiscations and new appointments. The Emperor increasing in years was soon overwhelmed in more important cares than the mere detail of business; his ministers and their underlings were alike negligent and corrupt, and even after deeds and papers were prepared, years elapsed before the orders they contained were put in execution.[1] In these remarks we have both recurred to events, and in some degree anticipated the consequences of those that are to follow; but such is a correct picture of the times for upwards of twelve years after the fall of Beejapoor and Golcondah. At the end of that period, the effects and continued growth of the causes enumerated completely undermined the Moghuls, and their power crumbled like the aged and still splendid fabric which it is impossible to repair, but which a few revolving seasons must level with the ground.

Upwards of a year was spent by the Emperor at Beejapoor, during which success attended his arms in every quarter, and nothing in Sumbhajee's upper country, except the strong forts, remained unsubdued. The Moghul troops had possessed themselves of Tattora, and of the range of forts built by Sivajee between that place and Panalla; and Aurungzebe was now preparing to enter on a regular plan for reducing

A.D. 1689.

[1] The account of the state of the country, and Aurungzebe's administration at this period, is taken from Mahratta manuscripts, original Mahratta and Persian letters, deeds and statements, and also from Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.

the whole of the forts, being in his opinion all that remained to complete the conquest he had so long meditated. His design, however, was soon partially obstructed by the breaking out of a disease in his camp, which swept off numbers of his troops, but on moving to Auklooj, on the banks of the Neera, it subsided.[1]

About this period the attention of the Emperor was attracted to the English, and in consequence of piracies which began to be committed by individuals, several of the factories belonging to the East India Company were seized.[2] This was no uncommon measure for Aurungzebe to adopt when any of the Moghul ships

[1] The disease which broke out in Aurungzebe's army at Beejapoor is mentioned by the same name as that which the natives of India now apply to the spasmodic cholera, but they bore no resemblance to each other. The disease was epidemic, and before it attacked the camp with such violence, had prevailed for some years both in the Deccan and in Guzerat. Khafee Khan describes it as commencing by a slight swelling under the ear, the arm-pit or groin, attended with inflamed eyes, and severe fever. It generally proved fatal in a few hours, and those who did recover became wholly or partially deaf or blind. [Though some of the symptoms mentioned by the author point to the identity of the disease in Aurangzeb's camp with the plague, which has ravaged India in recent years, the first trustworthy information of the occurrence of plague in India dates from 1812, when an epidemic broke out in Cutch, spread into Gujarāt and Sind, and did not die out until after the lapse of ten years. In 1828–9 a disease showing all the symptoms of plague is reported to have been prevalent at Hansi, in the Hissar District of the Panjāb. In 1836 another epidemic occurred at Pālī, in the Mārwār State of Rājputāna. The epidemic of recent years first broke out in Bombay during the autumn of 1896. (*I.G.* (1907), iv. 475; *B.C.G.*, ii. 190, 191.) The disease in Aurangzeb's camp was clearly bubonic in character; for, according to Khāfī Khān, 'the visible marks of the plague were swellings as big as a grape or banana under the arms, behind the ears, and in the groin, and a redness perceptible round the pupils of the eyes, as in fever or pestilence (*wabā*)' (Elliot and Dowson, vii. (1877), 337). For earlier references to pestilences (*wabā* and *ta'un*) in the fourteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, see *A History of the Progress of Plague in Bombay Presidency from September* 1896 *to June* 1899, by Captain J. K. Condon, Bombay Government Records, 1900.]

[2] [The English traders began at this time to assert themselves and to claim the right of fortifying their 'factories' or commercial stations. Aurangzeb's hostile attitude was also due in part to the action of the Interlopers who began about 1680 to trade with the East in open opposition to the East India Company. The Mughals were unable or unwilling to distinguish between the rival companies, or indeed between English merchants and English pirates like John Avery, and held the President and Council responsible for all the acts of their countrymen in the East.]

were taken, and he more than once threw the President at Surat into confinement. On the present occasion the Seedee was ordered to drive them from Bombay. Yakoot Khan made a descent upon the island, and possessed himself of Mazagon, Sion, and Mahim, but could make no impression on the fort. The attack, however, continued, until the English appeased Aurungzebe by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers and the humblest submission. The Seedee quitted the island, after he had remained upon it nearly a year.[1]

After the Emperor's arrival at Auklooj, plundering parties of Mahrattas were frequently heard of, but intelligence was received that one very large body had appeared near Nassuck, where the Moghul troops in the neighbourhood were not sufficient to oppose them. The prince Azim Shah was detached with an army to that quarter; a considerable force under Yeatikad Khan, the son of Aurungzebe's prime minister, Assud Khan, was ordered to prepare for the invasion of the Concan; and Tukurrib Khan, an active partisan, who had been a distinguished officer under the unfortunate Abou Hoossein, was sent with a detachment into the district of Kolapoor, of which he was also appointed Foujdar. The Moghul troops were in possession of the open country in that quarter, but the Mahrattas still occupied Panalla with a strong garrison. Tukurrib Khan, having on his arrival taken pains to inform himself of every thing in his neighbourhood, hearing that Sumbhajee spent his time at Sungumeshwur, entirely off his guard, conceived the bold project of seizing his person.

Having procured correct intelligence, and guides well acquainted with the Ghauts and the intricate windings of the route, he chose a few active infantry and a small party of horse with which,

[1] [The invasion of Bombay by the Sīdī is described in a letter from Bombay to the Court of Directors of January 25, 1698. The Sīdī landed with 20,000 men, seized the small fort at Sivri (or Sewri), plundered Māhīm and hoisted his flag in Mazagon fort, which had been abandoned. By February 15, 1689, he was master of the whole island, except the castle and a stretch of land to the south of it. From April to September 1689, Bombay was in very sorry plight. In December Child dispatched two envoys to Aurangzeb to sue for peace, the request for which was aided indirectly by certain external political factors; and finally in February 1690, the Emperor granted a new *firman* to the Company, which had to pay him Rs. 150,000 in satisfaction of Mughal losses, and to promise to expel 'Mr. Child, who did the disgrace.' The Sīdī finally left Bombay on June 8, 1690, nearly a year and a half after his first landing at Sivri. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 83–85.)]

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accompanied by his son, Ikhlass Khan, he set off from Kolapoor in prosecution of his enterprise. He was close upon Sungumeshwur before he was discovered, and when at last Sumbhajee's Jasooses ran to him with the intelligence, he was found intoxicated, and told them he would cut their noses off if they dared to bring such insulting stories about the approach of Mussulmans to him.

Ikhlass Khan had given little time for warning; he dashed on at the head of a small party, entered the gate of the Gurhee before the Mahrattas could close it, cut down all who opposed him, and thus secured an entrance to his father.

Most of Sumbhajee's followers saved themselves by a precipitate flight; the few that remained, at the head of whom was Kuloosha, endeavoured to defend their master, but Kuloosha being wounded by an arrow, they were speedily overpowered, and Sumbhajee, although he attempted disguise, was discovered by some valuable ornaments on his person, of which he had not time or presence of mind to divest himself. Besides Kuloosha there were twenty-four persons taken with him.[1]

Tukurrib Khan brought his prisoners in safety to Kolapoor, and on reporting his success, was directed to bring him under a strong escort to the imperial camp, which, previous to the arrival of Tukurrib Khan, had moved up the Beema and cantoned at Tolapoor,[2] at the junction of the Indooranee river, sixteen miles north-east of Poona.

No effort was made to rescue Sumbhajee; the measures of his favourite, added to his own misconduct, had rendered them both deservedly odious to the generality of his subjects; and even had his army been disposed to undertake any enterprise in his favour, its loose and disordered state would probably have prevented the attempt.

On the arrival of the prisoners in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, they were bound and exalted upon camels; Sumbhajee was deprived of his turban, drums and all sorts of noisy

[1] Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS.

[2] This village, originally called Nagurgaom, is said to have been named Tolapoor, or the place of weighing, in order to commemorate Shahjee's plan of weighing Morar Punt's elephant, by placing him on a boat, marking the draught of water, removing the elephant, replacing his weight with stones, and weighing them. An anecdote preserved in every Mahratta account of him, and recorded by Colonel Wilks.

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music sounded before him, and countless thousands flocked on all sides to see his entry into the camp. The prisoners were exhibited before Aurungzebe, and afterwards ordered into confinement, previous to their final sentence.

Some of the Moghul nobility suggested the propriety of sparing the life of Sumbhajee, as a means of inducing his troops to surrender the forts; and Aurungzebe also, with this view perhaps, did intend to spare him conditionally. But Sumbhajee, roused to a sense of his situation, stung with shame and remorse, expected and wished for nothing but death, and made use of every epithet of abuse to induce some rash soldier to kill him. When in this frame of mind, Aurungzebe sent a message offering him life on condition of his becoming a Mussulman. 'Tell the Emperor,' said Sumbhajee, 'that if he will give me his daughter I will become a Mussulman,' and concluded his reply by an invective on the Prophet.

No words more insulting than that speech could be used to a Mahomedan. The Emperor enraged, determined to make a terrible example of him; he ordered a red hot iron to be drawn across his eyes, his tongue to be cut out, and his head to be severed from his body.

Sumbhajee, in exact conformity with this mandate, was publicly executed in the camp bazar at Tolapoor, about the beginning of August, 1689, together with his favourite Kuloosha.[1] The Bramin minister, however unworthy in many respects, has, by a story characteristic of the invention of Mahomedans and by the hatred of some of the Mahrattas, been unjustly accused of forming a scheme for betraying his master.

Sumbhajee's character has been sufficiently depicted and scarcely requires a summary. He inherited some military virtue and was far from deficient in ordinary ability; but dissipation, vice, rashness, and cruelty, completely obscured his few good qualities, and a longer life would in all probability have greatly increased the catalogue of his crimes. But the Mahratta people, though for the last three years much estranged from him, heard of the murder of the son of Sivajee with indignation, and this cruel execution, meant to strike the leaders with terror, aroused their vengeance without alarming their fears.

[1] Mahratta MSS. Orme, &c.

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CHAPTER XI.

FROM A.D. 1689 TO A.D. 1707.

FROM the time of the execution of Soyera Bye, the widow of Sivajee, her son Raja Ram had been confined by his half-brother Sumbhajee in the fort of Raigurh. This confinement does not appear to have been more rigid than Sumbhajee found consistent with his own security. Raja Ram had the free use of the fort, and upon the death of his first wife, Sumbhajee married him to two others, the one named Tara Bye, the other Rajis Bye; the former of the family of Mohitey, the latter a daughter of Ghatgay of Kagul. Raja Ram lived on terms of friendship with Yessoo Bye, the legitimate wife of Sumbhajee, who with her son Sivajee resided in Raigurh.

A.D. 1689.—On the news of Sumbhajee's death, the principal Mahratta leaders repaired to Raigurh, when it was determined in consultation with Yessoo Bye that Raja Ram should be declared regent during the minority of Sivajee, afterwards known by the name of Shao, and who was then entering his sixth year. At this council the principal people, besides the parties mentioned, were Jenardin Punt Hunwuntay, Prillhad Neerajee, the son of the late Nyadeish Purdhan, Ramchundur Punt Bowreekur, Khundoo Bullal Chitnees, Mahadajee Naik Pansumbul, Suntajee Ghorepuray, Dhunnajee Jadow, and Khundee Rao Dhabaray.

Prillhad Neerajee, with that ascendancy which superior minds acquire in times of real difficulty, took the lead in the consultations of this important assembly. They planned their measures with wisdom, unanimity, and firmness. They took a full view of the power and the preparations of Aurungzebe. They calculated their means of resistance, and saw without dismay a public treasury exhausted, the laxity of all discipline, the unprovided state of the forts, and even the probability of their being reduced.

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Their first endeavours, therefore, were directed to lay in provisions in the forts and to keep the garrisons as complete as possible. The regulation of Sivajee, which gave the troops composing the garrisons a perpetual and hereditary subsistence from lands dependent on the forts, was of infinite importance at this period. Orders were immediately issued to preserve these institutions carefully; and the commanders of the forts, in addition to being warned to lay in as much grain as possible, were particularly enjoined to observe the orders for cutting and stacking the grass of the pasture lands under the protection of the forts, so as to preserve subsistence for the horse, when forage in more accessible parts might not be procurable. A wise precaution of Sivajee, which had already proved useful during the time of Sumbhajee.

It was resolved that Raja Ram should move about from place to place, along the line of forts from Raigurh to Vishalgurh; but, in order to distract the attention of the Moghuls, to make none of them his fixed residence; and should it be found unsafe for him to remain in Maharashtra, it was settled that he should quit the country and repair to Ginjee on the coast of Coromandel.

Yessoo Bye and her son remained in Raigurh, and the family of Raja Ram retired to Vishalgurh. The Mahratta chiefs were to act according to circumstances, but to keep most of their horse for the present at no great distance from the person of Raja Ram.

The Moghul besieging force, under Yeatikad Khan, destined for the Concan, could not enter that country before the fair season. The first place attacked was Raigurh; but the Moghuls, though assisted by the Seedee, made little progress for several months, till a discontented Mahratta, named Sooryajee Peesal, who had served in the army of Sivajee, joined Yeatikad Khan and engaged to bring a body of choice Mawulees, provided he should be entrusted with the command of them and obtained the Khan's assistance in getting possession of the hereditary rights of Deshmookh of Waee, to which he pretended a claim. These conditions being accepted, Peesal performed his part of the agreement, and the early surrender of the fort was principally ascribed to his exertions. Peesal accompanied Yeatikad Khan, and the Seedee had several of his ancient possessions restored to him.

A.D. 1690.

The widow of Sumbhajee and her son, Sivajee, fell into the hands of Yeatikad Khan; they were conveyed to camp, where the Khan

was received with particular distinction and honoured with the title of Zoolfikar Khan. Yessoo Bye and her son found a friend in Begum Sahib, the daughter of Aurungzebe, and the Emperor himself became partial to the boy, whom he named Sahoo, an appellation which, pronouncing it Shao, he ever after chose to retain.

After the capture of Raigurh, detachments from the grand army advanced to Merich and Panalla, which were surrendered to the Moghuls, and Raja Ram was now advised to make good his way to Ginjee as soon as possible, before his plan of retiring there should be suspected. As preliminary arrangements, he had, by the advice of Prillhad Neerajee, adopted the precaution of appointing Neeloo Punt Moreishwur to his father's situation of Peishwa; a measure which secured Ginjee in his interests. The command of Vishalgurh, Rangna, and all the forts, with full and complete powers of government in the old provinces, was confided to Ramchundur Punt Bowreekur, with the title of Hookmut-punah. Under him was placed Pureshram Trimbuck, a Bramin, who from the humble situation of hereditary Koolkurnee of Kinneye had brought himself into notice and had given proofs of intelligence and spirit. Seedojee Goojur, dignified with the title of Surkheil,[1] was entrusted with the general command of the fleet, the superintendence of the maritime ports, and the defence of the coast. His second in command was a Mahratta, named Kanhojee Angria, whose father Tookajee Angria,[2] had

[1] [i.e. *Sar Khel* or chief commandant. Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Jervis (1796–1857), in his MS. studies of the Marāthā people, states that Kanhojī Angria was granted the title of 'Surkhyle' (i.e. *Sar Khel*) for distinguished service against the 'Hubshee chief of Kolaba' (i.e. the Sīdī ruler of Janjīra) subsequent to the year 1698 (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, xxii. 64). In the forged letter of October 12, 1718, which Rāmā Kāmati was charged with having written to Angria, thereby disclosing the plan of the English for an attack on Khānderi, Angria is addressed in the preamble as 'Senhor Kanhoji Angria Sarqueel' (i.e. *Sar Khel*) (*B.C.G.*, ii. 93).]

[2] [The name Angre or Angria is derived from Angar or Angarvādi, a village near Harnai, Ratnāgiri District. Downing (*Compendious History of the Indian Wars*, 1737) states that Kanhojī Angria's parentage was doubtful. According to one account he was the son of an Arabian Cofferey' (Arab slave), and had been in the East India Company's service as a peon (armed attendant). According to another he was the son of 'a Portuguese Cofferey and a Kenery (Kanarese- or Konkani-speaking) woman.' Among Angria's captains was one James Plantain, who had been associated with Mulatto Tom, a natural son of the

early distinguished himself in Sivajee's fleet. The foresight of Prillhad Neerajee had also been the means of opening a correspondence with all the principal Mankurees, which, although it did not immediately induce them to make common cause against the Moghuls, directed their inclinations to that end.

Mahadajee Naik Pansumbul, an old man who had great weight with the Sillidars of the country, was appointed Senaputtee and left in Maharashtra. At his recommendation, the different leaders dispersed their horse amongst the villages, with directions to assemble at such place and by such signal as might afterwards be made to them by the Senaputtee, and that all their friends, brethren, and connections should join the Bhugwa Jenda[1] wherever it might appear.

After showing himself in his different forts, Raja Ram joined his confidential friends at Rangna, ready to prepare for flight. Having disguised themselves as Lingait Banians,[2] they proceeded to Soonda, and thence across the country towards the opposite coast. The party of Raja Ram on this occasion consisted of twenty-five persons, and amongst them are found the names of Prillhad Neerajee, Suntajee Ghorepuray, Dhunnajee Jadow, and Khundee Rao Dhabaray. Although the plan was well concerted, Aurungzebe got intelligence of the Raja's flight, and immediate orders were sent to Kasim Khan, Foujdar in the Beejapoor Carnatic, to intercept him. Similar orders were transmitted by

pirate Avery. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 86, 87.) Downing gives an interesting account of Plantain, who appears to have been a first-class scoundrel. Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Jervis (1796–1857), in his MS. studies of the Marāthā people, gives a brief account of the Angria family, and describes Kanhoji as the son of Tukoji, a Marāthā chief. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, xxii. 64.) Jervis's account is reproduced verbatim on page 660 of Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), i. (1885).]

[1] The orange standard of the Mahrattas. This colour, as already mentioned, is sacred to Mahdeo, and the flag carried religious as well as military feeling along with it.

[2] [The Lingāyats are a religious community resident in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, and date their establishment in the twelfth century when a reformer, Basava of Kalyāni, Hyderābād, first brought them into prominence. They are Shaivas, and wear the *lingam* suspended round their necks. Originally the movement was anti-Brahmanical, and caste distinctions were entirely ignored by the earlier converts, many of whom had belonged to the Jain religion. The converts of a later date are ranged in subdivisions based on profession and occupation, and despite their principles, castes exist among them to-day.]

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Kasim Khan to his friends, and Raja Ram was in great jeopardy in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, where the slight circumstance of having his feet washed by a servant first attracted attention. The wary observation of Khundoo Bullal discovered that there was a plan for arresting the whole party, and to disappoint the scheme, Khundoo Bullal with the majority of the party remained cooking their victuals, whilst Raja Ram, Suntajee Ghorepuray, and Dhunnajee Jadow went off by one route, and Prillhad Neerajee with Khundee Rao Dhabaray travelled by another.

Khundoo Bullal and his companions were taken, as had been foreseen: they were examined, confined, and beaten to extort confession, but on their firmly persisting in a preconcerted story and denying all knowledge of any fugitives from Maharashtra, they were released and finally joined Raja Ram, who, with the others, had reached Ginjee in safety.

The first news they heard from Maharashtra was the death of Mahadajee Naik the Senaputtee: this event, although it disconcerted their measures for the time, was fortunate for the Mahratta cause, as it brought Suntajee Ghorepuray into immediate power, an officer of much greater ability and enterprise.

The primary care of Raja Ram was to establish a court on the plan of his father, which, though at first little more than nominal, was of much importance in giving consequence to his party.

The Purdhans now appointed were as follow: 1st, Neeloo Punt Moreishwur, Peishwa; 2d, Jenardin Punt Hunwuntay, Amat; 3d, Shunkrajee Mulhar, Suchew; 4th, Ramchundur Trimbuck Poonday, Muntree; 5th, Suntajee Ghorepuray, Senaputtee; 6th, Mahadajee Gudadhur, Somunt; 7th, Neerajee Rowjee, Nyadeish; 8th, Sreekuracharya, Pundit Rao.

The appointment of Peishwa having been previously filled, and Prillhad Neerajee continuing the soul of their cause, a new rank was instituted which raised him above the Purdhans by the title of *Pritee Needhee*, literally meaning the likeness or representative of the Raja himself. Although Prillhad Neerajee was fond of titles and show, a taste which he probably acquired when envoy on the part of Sivajee at the court of Golcondah, the dignity conferred upon him was entirely unsolicited. Suntajee Ghorepuray, now the oldest representative of the Kapsee family, besides the rank of Senaputtee, was further dignified with some additions to his hereditary titles and styled Hindoo Rao Mumlukut-Mudar.

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He was also entrusted with a new standard called the *Juree Putka*,[1] or Golden Pennon; and in imitation of the Imperial officers of the highest rank, he was authorized to beat the *nobut* or large drum, and assume various other insignia. Dhunnajee Jadow got the title of Jeysing Rao, and in consequence of the demise of Mahadajee Naik, both Suntajee and Dhunnajee were sent back to Maharashtra 'to collect men and plunder the Moghuls.'[2]

Raja Ram was formally seated on the throne,[3] and the new court began to exercise all the forms of government. Gold bangles, clothes, shawls, and letters announcing the event, were secretly forwarded and pompously presented to all the principal Hindoos throughout Maharashtra,[4] and what is very remarkable, Enams, Jagheers, &c. in the Mahratta country, then in actual possession of the Moghuls, and places which never had belonged to his predecessors were profusely bestowed, but few of them were confirmed[5] by Raja Ram or Shao, after they had obtained control over the territory which the Raja thus pretended to alienate. Unsubstantial, however, as such gifts were, they had the effect of strengthening his cause, of keeping alive an interest in it, and of drawing numbers of persons to Ginjee.

A.D. 1691.—Aurungzebe, as soon as he heard of these proceedings, detached Zoolfikar Khan with a large army into the Carnatic, vainly hoping that he would be able to strike off this last head of the Mahratta power; but the hydra had lost none of its vigour; parties under the name of Mahrattas, though they may have been discharged horsemen from Beejapoor and Golcondah, were this season plundering at Nassuck, Bheer, and Beder at the same time; whilst hundreds of horse, that had shared in the campaigns of Sivajee, were flocking to Suntajee Ghorepuray and Dhunnajee Jadow, the oldest and most popular leaders among them. The want of funds was greatly felt by Suntajee in his

[1] [i.e. *Jari Patka*, 'the Banner of Cloth of Gold.']

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] Some of the Mahrattas, jealous of the right of the elder branch, do not admit that Raja Ram ever sat on the throne. They say that he sat on the Gadee, or cushion, merely as regent, holding the powers of the state in trust for his nephew, Shao, then a prisoner in the Moghul camp.

[4] Mahratta MSS. Khafee Khan.

[5] In the course of my official duties, after the late conquest of Maharashtra, I have had some of these very deeds, which neither Raja Ram nor any of his successors admitted, presented in hopes that they would be recognized by the British government.

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attempts to organize a force on the old system, which he never was able fully to effect, but Ramchundur Punt gave him every aid in his power.[1]

In the exposed state of the Payeen Ghaut, as Prillhad Neerajee considered that Suntajee and Dhunnajee could give more effectual aid to Ginjee by remaining in Maharashtra, he engaged a Mahomedan officer, formerly in the service of Beejapoor, to attempt some opposition on the approach of the Moghuls. The attempt was made, although unsuccessfully, and the officer in question afterwards joined the Moghuls.

In Zoolfikar Khan's army there were a number of Mahrattas both in the cavalry and infantry. In the latter were the same body of Mawulees that had assisted in the capture of Raigurh,[2] and among the former there were two of the relations of Raja Ram, Gunnajee and Ranoojee Sirkay, who having deserted to the Moghuls when Annajee Dutto was executed, had attained commands and were esteemed good officers. The second in command to Zoolfikar Khan in this army was Daood Khan Punnee[3] a Deccan officer of some repute, but notoriously addicted to drinking. The fort of Ginjee consists of several contiguous hills, strongly fortified, and is many miles in circumference. The Moghuls never considered an army capable to undertake a regular siege, unless sufficiently large to surround the place invested and completely obstruct communication. Zoolfikar Khan, finding his force inadequate for this purpose, after he had commenced some works, represented that a reinforcement was necessary, and until it should arrive, he left a detachment at Ginjee and undertook an expedition to the southward, where

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] By the proceedings of a Punchayet respecting the Deshmookhee of Waee, during the early part of the reign of Shao, which may be considered a very authentic and useful manuscript, and is now in possession of the Hindoo Deshmookh, it appears, that Peesal, the Mawulee commander, came over to Raja Ram, during the siege of Ginjee, but failing afterwards in obtaining all he wished, again rejoined Aurungzebe, and became a Mussulman to gain his end.

[3] I believe he was the ancestor of the Nabob of Kurnoul. [The Nawāb (Nabob) was deposed in 1842 for an attempt to wage war against the Government of India. His territory was annexed, and with certain additions was formed into the present Karnūl District, Madras The Nawābs of Karnūl were descended from Aurangzeb's officer, Daud Khān; and Karnūl was for a brief period the extreme limit of the Mughal Empire.]

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he levied contributions both from the Rajas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

But this requisition for troops was not immediately complied with; the Deccan was far from being in that state which made it easy for Aurungzebe to spare large reinforcements, without running great risk of having the whole country in a state of insurrection. The depredations of the Naik of Wakinkerah had become so troublesome, that an army under the prince Kaum Bukhsh and Roh Oolah Khan was ordered to destroy his town; but they were obliged to besiege it, and came ill-prepared to overcome the defence which was maintained against them.[1]

A.D. 1692.—Ramchundur Punt was as useful in Maharashtra as the Pritee Needhee at Ginjee; he had an excellent second in Pureshram Trimbuck, who used great exertions in restoring the arrangements of the forts and giving spirit and zeal to the garrisons. Ramchundur moved from place to place, but fixed his principal residence at Satara, where by the aid of his head Carcoon, Shunkrajee Narrain Gaudekur, he not only attended to every military disposition, but regulated the revenue and established some order in the country. He had raised troops of his own, and had cut off several straggling parties of the Moghuls, before Suntajee and Dhunnajee returned; but when they joined him, Ramchundur proposed a plan for surprising the Foujdar at Waee, to which Suntajee, greatly pleased,[2] immediately consented, took the Foujdar with all his troops prisoners, and established a Mahratta *Thanna* in the place. The mere presence of Suntajee and Dhunnajee animated Ramchundur's followers, and he incited his commanders to follow their example. He sent them out to make their established collections, as the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee were termed, from the Moghul territory; and as they became encouraged by success, his officers added a third contribution for themselves under the head of *Ghas-dana* or forage money. In this manner a distinct army was raised, of which the principal leaders were Powar, Thorat and Atowlay. The commanders received honorary presents and rewards from court, the title of Wiswas Rao was conferred on Powar, Dinker Rao on Thorat, and Shumsher Buhadur on Atowlay.

[1] Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.

[2] It is not known what was the stratagem proposed which pleased Suntajee so much, and which he executed so successfully.

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Ramchundur was particularly partial to the Mahratta *dhungurs*,[1] or shepherds, a great number of whom served among his troops, and many of the ancestors of those who afterwards became great chiefs in the empire, began their career under Ramchundur Punt.

Shunkrajee Narrain, hitherto known as an able Carcoon, had received charge of the Waee district and had retaken Rajgurh, which, after the fall of Raigurh, had been surrendered to the Moghuls. A still more important service was performed by Pureshram Trimbuck, who surprised and retook Panalla.

Suntajee headed another attack on the Moghul officer stationed near Merich, against whom he was as successful as at Waee, and Ramchundur, in consequence, by virtue of the powers vested in him, gave him a grant of the Deshmookhee of Merich. As soon as Suntajee and Dhunnajee had collected a sufficient body of troops, mindful of their object of effecting a diversion in favour of Ginjee, they made their appearance on the banks of the Godavery, which was the only part of the country where scarcity, from one cause or other, did not prevail. They there plundered and destroyed every thing, and cut off several of the Moghul convoys coming from Hindoostan. Parties were soon sent against them; but Aurungzebe found that he had not ordinary freebooters to suppress; instead of fleeing from his detachments, they defeated three of them successively, took the commander each time prisoner, and, according to a rule invariably observed by Suntajee, exacted a large ransom before they would grant their release. This system was according to Sivajee's general rule, but contrary to his practice; for he took a pride in releasing great men, although he always made what he could by the middling class of prisoners. Suntajee conformed to Sivajee's discipline as far as was practicable, and was particular in obtaining security for the good conduct of his followers, always preferring Mahratta Wutundars to any other class of men. Dhunnajee

[1] [The name of the Dhangar, or shepherd, caste is derived, according to Russell, from *dhan* meaning properly 'wealth,' and secondarily 'small stock' (cf. the two meanings of the word 'stock' in English). It is doubtful whether the secondary meaning of *dhan* is 'small stock,' i e. sheep and goats. Both in Marāthi and Kanarese it usually signifies 'cattle.' Dhangars are found to-day chiefly in the Khāndesh, Ahmadnagar and Nāsik Districts, and are cattle dealers and graziers of sheep and goats. The chief representative of the caste in Central India is the Mahārājā Holkar of Indore. (Russell, *T. and C.C.P.*, s.v. Dhangar.)]

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Jadow was not so strict nor so good an officer as Suntajee, but he was a more popular leader.[1]

A.D. 1693.—Whilst they were thus spreading their ravages to the northward, Aurungzebe shifted his encampment on the banks of the Beema, apparently undecided with respect to his future operations. He at last resolved to support Zoolfikar Khan, and at all events reduce Ginjee. The prince Kaum Bukhsh, under the guidance of the prime minister, Assud Khan, was destined for this service. He was directed to leave Roh Oollah Khan at Wakinkerah, the siege of which was afterwards abandoned, and move on the route to Ginjee, where he was soon joined by Assud Khan with a large army. On approaching the Payeen Ghaut parties of horse made their appearance and by skirmishing delayed their advance, but they finally sat down before the place and invested it.

A.D. 1694.—Zoolfikar Khan, on being deprived of the command by the arrival of the prince, was exceedingly mortified, and even Assud Khan, after the late success of his son at Raigurh, considered the supersession unjust on the part of the Emperor, particularly as it was well known that it had been brought about by Joudpooree,[2] the prince's mother, and the favourite wife of Aurungzebe.

[1] Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Khafee Khan and Scott's Deccan.

[2] I had fallen into the mistake of my predecessors, by writing the name Oudepooree; but I learn from my friend Major Tod, the best authority for information respecting the Rajpoots, that she was not a princess of Oudepoor, but of Kishengurh, a minor division of Joudpoor; and that the name, by which she was known, was Joudpooree. [Tod's statement conflicts with a letter written by Aurangzeb to Kām Bakhsh, in which he says: 'Udepuri, your mother, was with me in my sickness. She intends to accompany me' (Bilimoria, *Letters of Aurangzeb*, 1908). The letter is also printed in the Appendix to Waring's *A History of the Mahrattas* (1810), pp. 208–9, where the words are rendered as follows: 'Odipooree, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but everything has its appointed time.' Dr. V. A. Smith writes that 'she was not so-called because she belonged to the Udaipur family. According to Manucci (Irwin), i. 361, she was a Georgian by birth, and had been in the harem of Dārā Shikoh. She is called Udaipurī in the *Maâsir-i-Alamgiri* (Elliot and Dowson), vii. 196). I believe she was so called because Aurangzeb met or married her at Udaipur. Grant Duff's note is erroneous.' See also J. Sarkar, *A History of Aurangzib*, i. 64; Tod's *Annals*, &c., ed. Crooke (1919), i. 440; Orme, *Fragments*, 119.]

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The Mahratta ministers, who like all Bramins are ever on the watch for such opportunities, speedily turned this jealousy, which they foresaw would prove reciprocal, to their own advantage. They courted both, but they first gained Zoolfikar Khan, who entered into a secret compact with Raja Ram for the purpose of obstructing the prince's measures, which he did, either by thwarting his plans where the execution depended on himself, or by preparing the besieged to counteract every intended operation.[1]

The Emperor, probably conceiving that his army must draw the Mahrattas southward, moved to Gulgulla[2]; but Ghorepuray still continued to the northward, and Ramchundur's parties levied contributions as far east as Sholapoor.[3] Aurungzebe, finding his feint unsuccessful, brought back his unwieldy host to Brimhapooree on the Beema, below Punderpoor, where he established his principal depôt and built a cantonment, in which he held his court; and from that point the operations of his armies, and the affairs of his empire, were directed for several years.[4]

A.D. 1695.—The Portuguese about this time had fallen under his displeasure, and war was waged against them in every part where they had settlements in India. Great cruelties were exercised on the defenceless inhabitants subject to that nation in the northern Concan,[5] but numbers found an asylum in their forts of Damaun and Bassein; at last, the Moghul courtiers, bribed by the viceroy at Goa, represented the advantage of making peace with the Portuguese, for the purpose of procuring cannon in order to reduce the Mahratta forts; a sure way to carry their point, as the Emperor's age and imbecility had become apparent, and to flatter his favourite scheme rendered even the wily Aurungzebe the dupe of that despicable deceit and artifice, which he had all his life practised on others. A like means was used to pacify him with regard to the English. The ravages of the pirates continued; and as the Moghuls always concluded

[1] Mahratta MSS. [2] Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.
[3] Mahratta MSS.
[4] Mahratta MSS. Original papers. Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.
[5] From local usage on the west of India, we are in the habit of applying the designations of northern and southern Concan to the Concan north and south of Bombay.

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that one or both the English East India Companies were engaged in these depredations, the Emperor, although a considerable revenue was derived from the customs on their trade, would have driven them from the coast, had they not been protected by the fort of Bombay, which, defended by their artillery, was considered impregnable. One capture, that of the Gunj-Suwaee,[1] the largest of the Moghul ships, proceeding from Surat to Mocha with many pilgrims as passengers, gave particular offence and occasioned the seizure of the chief at Surat, with several other Englishmen, who were imprisoned for a considerable period, until the affair was adjusted.

A.D. 1696.

In the meantime, years had been already wasted before Ginjee. Suntajee Ghorepuray, after committing great havoc and defeating or eluding all that were opposed to him in Maharashtra, left two active officers, Pursojee Bhonslay[2] and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, both of whom had served under Sivajee, to give spirit to the Mahrattas in Gungthuree and Berar. With an army of upwards of twenty thousand horse, Suntajee passed to the west of the grand camp by the Satara road, pushed on towards the Carnatic, and as soon as he got within a certain distance of Ginjee, detached about one third of his troops, under Dhunnajee Jadow, who, making rapid marches, brought the first news of his approach by attacking some of the Moghul posts in the neighbourhood of the fort. Orders were immediately issued to the different small divisions to concentrate and form larger bodies to the right and left; but the Moghuls, always slow to obey, were not aware of the activity of the horse that now attacked them, whilst Dhunnajee, assisted both by troops and signals from the

[1] [The *Ganj Sawai* (styled *Gunsway* in the English letters of this date) was seized by the pirate John Avery in 1695. About twenty of the men who accompanied Avery were subsequently arrested and executed in Ireland. The Court of Directors in a letter to Surat in 1696 make it clear that if the Musalman governor had not put all the English, including the President, into irons, they would have been killed by the mob in revenge for the seizure of the pilgrim-ship. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 85.)]

[2] He was originally a common Sillidar, and a Wutundar of the village of Dewoor, near Satara, where he was born. This person was the ancestor of the Rajas of Nagpoor. In one manuscript, he is said to have been a native of the village of Hingunberdee, near Poona. [The representative of the family at Nāgpur still bears the title of Rājā of Deor (Dewoor). See Introduction, page l.]

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fort, cut in upon them and did great execution before the manœuvre ordered could be executed.[1]

Suntajee Ghorepuray, with less haste, brought on the main body of Mahrattas. Upon his arrival at Covrepauk he was opposed by the Foujdar, Ali Murdan Khan, with a considerable army, but the Foujdar was speedily routed, the whole of his baggage and camp-equipage plundered, and he himself, on his flight towards the camp at Ginjee, was overtaken, made prisoner, and released for a high ransom.

The victorious Mahrattas, with their usual activity when successful, beat in the Moghul outposts in every direction; destroyed their foragers, and so completely cut off their communications that neither supplies nor intelligence could reach them. Reports of the Emperor's illness and death were industriously circulated by the Mahrattas, who then made overtures to Kaum Bukhsh, and proposed to make him Emperor. The prince either listened to their proposals, or at all events Assud Khan and his son affected to believe that he did, and they determined on placing him under restraint.[2] The Mahrattas, apprised of what was going forward, taking advantage of the bustle and dissension, which the circumstance naturally created in the Moghul camp, attacked and harassed them with additional vigour. The personal troops of Kaum Bukhsh refused to fight, all became alarm and uproar; at last the Moghuls burst their cannon, abandoned their batteries, and were in turn besieged in their lines.

Whilst in this situation, and in great distress for supplies, a truce was proposed; from which party it originated seems uncertain, but the probability is that it came from the Moghuls; an agreement, however, was concluded between Assud Khan and Suntajee. The Moghuls were to be permitted to retire to Wandewash unmolested, and to remain until Assud Khan should receive a reply from the Emperor, according to which it was stipulated that he should abide.[3]

Aurungzebe, foreseeing all the consequences of this ill-advised proceeding, immediately ordered Assud Khan and the prince to

[1] Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS.

[2] [For the treason of Prince Kāmbakhsh, see Letter clxxiv in Bilimoria's collection. (*O.H.I.*, p. 444 and footnote.)]

[3] Scott's Deccan. Mahratta MSS.

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the presence, moved with the grand camp to Beejapoor, and directed Zoolfikar Khan to prosecute the war.

But the siege of Ginjee was not immediately renewed. The Mahrattas were accused of not having observed the truce, because they attempted to cut off a convoy of provisions which the Foujdar of Carnatic Beejapoor was escorting to camp, and which he saved by throwing himself into Covrepauk. Their having retaken Permacoil and several other forts was still less justifiable; and Zoolfikar Khan, in order to recover these places and punish the violation of the agreement, marched to the southward and repossessed himself of the forts. Continuing this march, he entered into an alliance with the Raja of Trichinopoly, and obliged the Raja of Tanjore, one of the sons of Venkajee, to restore several places wrested from the latter, and to pay a considerable contribution to himself; after this arrangement Zoolfikar Khan recrossed the Coleroon and again sat down before Ginjee.[1]

The clandestine intercourse was still carried on with Raja Ram[2]; and it is not improbable, from his desire to protract the siege, that Zoolfikar Khan, upon the demise of the Emperor, may have had designs of ultimately establishing an independent government in the Carnatic for himself.

During Zoolfikar Khan's absence in Tanjore, Suntajee Ghorepuray laid waste the Beejapoor Carnatic. To punish his depredations, a considerable force was sent off from Beejapoor under different leaders, and being joined by Kasim Khan, Foujdar of the province, the whole were about to march in quest of Suntajee; but their advanced tents had scarcely been pitched when his troops attacked and destroyed the guard, and the Mahrattas were flying about the main body on all sides, before the great men had time to caparison and mount their elephants.

Kasim Khan's authority did not extend beyond his own troops; the other leaders, as rash as they were destitute of resource, followed their own plans, and each body fought or defended itself as it best could; while the Mahrattas, profiting by their distraction, never ceased harassing them, charging and firing upon them by day, and rocketing them by night. At last the Moghuls on the third day sought shelter under the walls of the gurhee of

[1] Scott's Deccan. [2] Mahratta MSS.

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Dodairee. There was a small quantity of provisions in the place, which, though sold by the Banians from the top of the walls at an enormous price, was soon exhausted. This state of privation became intolerable, but they were beaten troops badly commanded, and could not try by a brave effort to save themselves. An attempt was made to rescue them, but Suntajee attacked and defeated the party coming to their relief, whilst it was still at a distance, so that the despairing men heard nothing of the effort. In this situation the Moghul officers surrendered. Kasim Khan had served with reputation: he did not survive the disgrace, but took poison and died. The other officers, besides being stripped, had to pay a large ransom for their release, and on their return to the imperial camp they were divested of their honours, and appointed to distant and inferior commands.[1]

Himmut Khan, the officer who had made the unsuccessful attempt to relieve Dodairee and the son of Khan Jehan Buhadur, being at his own request reinforced from the grand camp by an army sufficient to cope with the Mahrattas, proceeded in search of Suntajee. He was soon found. The Mahrattas, on being vigorously charged on the plain, fled, and Himmut Khan pursued the fugitives, until they had, according to Mahratta custom, drawn him into difficult and broken ground, when they turned round, attacked in their usual desultory manner, killed Himmut Khan, totally defeated his army, and plundered his baggage.

Suntajee retiring towards Ginjee was attacked by Zoolfikar Khan, and pursued to a considerable distance. When the latter turned to resume the siege, Suntajee attended him a march in the rear.[2] This manœuvre is not unusual with Mahrattas; in the instance alluded to, however, the pursuit was probably a mere feint, as an intimacy subsisted between Zoolfikar Khan and Suntajee, which there is some reason for suspecting that the rivals of the latter afterwards misrepresented to his prejudice.

A.D. 1697.—At Ginjee the same languid operations continued, and the siege at this time would probably have been bloodless, but for the inebriety of Daood Khan, Zoolfikar Khan's lieutenant, who, when intoxicated, always turned out his men to storm the fort and exterminate the infidels[3]; these fits only produced

[1] Khafee Khan and Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Scott's Deccan.

[2] Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan. Mahratta MSS. [3] Wilks.

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frequent skirmishes, but the conduct of Zoolfikar Khan, having at last aroused the suspicion of the Emperor, the Khan was privately warned by his friends, that unless he speedily effected the reduction of Ginjee and the capture of all the principal people, no influence could save him from disgrace and ruin. This information the Moghul general communicated to Raja Ram, and as he was now obliged to press the siege, he connived at a plan for the Raja's escape through his relations the Sirkays, who agreed to convey him safe to Vishalgurh, to take charge of his family, and to join him themselves on the first opportunity, provided they received certain hereditary rights and the town of Dabul in the Concan, in Enam. All these conditions being settled, Raja Ram, by the assistance of the Sirkays, escaped through the Moghul lines and reached Vellore, where he was received by Mannajee Moray the commandant.[1]

After remaining there a short time he set off with his conductors for Vishalgurh, where he safely arrived in December. Ginjee was taken early in January. It was carried by escalade,[2] and the wives and family of Raja Ram, who had joined him from Rajapoor by sea, were, as preconcerted, made over to the Sirkays as their relations, which Zoolfikar Khan permitted on the Sirkays making a public representation of the loss of honour they should sustain, in case of their female relations being exposed unveiled, or given in charge to persons of another cast. They were shortly after conveyed to Maharashtra.

A.D. 1698.

Zoolfikar Khan ordered many of Raja Ram's people into perpetual confinement; and although he had acted this deceitful part to screen his treachery from the Emperor, many were executed as plunderers and insurgents; amongst others, Naroo Prillhad, the son of Prillhad Neerajee, suffered as a rebel. The Pritee Needhee had died previous to the fall of Ginjee.[3]

During the preceding year, the main body of the Mahrattas did little against the common enemy. Dissensions had for some time prevailed between Suntajee and Dhunnajee; but by the judicious counsel of the late Pritee Needee, the Raja had long remained neutral in their quarrel, and thus prevented an open rupture. But after the death of Prillhad Neerajee, Raja Ram

[1] Mahratta MSS., and English Records.
[2] Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.
[3] Mahratta MSS.

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had no such prudent monitor. He had for some time smothered his jealousy of Suntajee Ghorepuray, which now uncontrolled, and worked upon by others, gave Ghorepuray an enemy where he had the best right to expect a protector, and Dhunnajee Jadow, encouraged by the Raja, raised a strong faction against him. Nor did Aurungzebe neglect so favourable an opportunity of practising his favourite policy of creating division among his enemies; he had emissaries among the Mahrattas, who fomented their jealousies and kept him informed of all that passed.

Suntajee's army was corrupted, and he had but just time to escape with a few followers from a combined attack made upon him by a part of his own and Dhunnajee Jadow's troops. This sedition happened in the neighbourhood of Beejapoor,[1] parties were sent in pursuit of Suntajee, whilst the main body of the Mahrattas separated. One half accompanied Dhunnajee Jadow into the Carnatic, where Zoolfikar Khan had lately been exerting himself with great success against the smaller detachments of the Mahrattas, and was very anxious to possess Vellore, which he thought would effectually suppress their power in that quarter. The other half of the Mahratta army marched to join the Raja at Satara, which, at the recommendation of Ramchundur Punt, became the seat of government.[2]

Jenardin Punt having died, the office of Amat was restored to Ramchundur Punt, from which he had been removed by Sivajee in 1676, to make room for Rugonath Punt Hunwuntay: his late services eminently entitled him to high honour and reward, and his principal Carcoon, Shunkrajee Narrain Gaudekur, was raised to the rank of Suchew,[3] which office had become vacant by the retirement of Shunkrajee Mulhar to Benares during the siege of Ginjee. The appointment of the new Suchew displeased Puresh-ram Trimbuck, who conceived his claims to that honour greater than those of Shunkrajee Narrain.

Timmojee Rugonath Hunwuntay, the son of the late Jenardin Punt, having effected his escape from prison at Ginjee in a very dexterous manner, rejoined Raja Ram, by whom, in consequence

[1] Khafee Khan. [2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] [Shankarājī Narayan was the ancestor of the present chief of the Bhor State, Poona, who has the title of Pandit of Bhor and Pant Sachiv (Suchew), and ranks as a first-class Sardār of the Deccan. The succession has been maintained by several adoptions. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 507.)]

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of his family pretensions and supposed talents, he was raised to the rank of Pritee Needhee.

Seedojee Goojur, who died about this period, had been engaged in constant warfare with the Seedee, and with various success; but, by the activity of Kanhojee Angria, the Mahratta fleet had made many valuable prizes. Vessels of all nations were attacked; repeated descents were made along the coast, and few of the defenceless mercantile towns, from Travancore to Bombay, escaped a visit from these depredators. The Mahrattas continued in possession of most of their forts on the coast; they had maritime depôts at Severndroog and Viziadroog, but the principal rendezvous of their fleet continued, as in the time of Sivajee, at Kolabah.[1] The Sawunts, Deshmookhs of Waree, when their districts were not overrun by the Moghuls, adhered to Raja Ram, but the Dessaye of Carwar continued independent, and, as usual under such circumstances, assumed the title of Raja.

Suntajee Ghorepuray, whom we left pursued by parties of his enemies, was hunted from place to place, and had hitherto foiled them all; but Nagojee Manay, Deshmookh of Muswar, stimulated by private revenge, continued the pursuit with unrelenting perseverance; until, having overtaken Suntajee in the act of bathing in a small rivulet to refresh himself, at a moment when he thought his enemies far behind, though alone, tired and defenceless, the assassin rushed down and slew him on the spot. Having severed the head from the body he brought it to the skirts of the imperial camp and sent it to Aurungzebe. Nagojee shortly after sent a petition for re-admission into the imperial service, which he had entered and quitted in the same manner as all the hereditary officers and Mankurees were in the habit of doing at this period. A free pardon, high encomium, and additional honours were readily bestowed, which proves the acceptable service he had rendered by this murder. Suntajee Ghorepuray was one of the best officers of whom the Mahratta annals can boast, and his eulogy is best recorded, when we say he was the terror of the Moghul detachments for seven years.

The death of Suntajee and the atrocity of the deed brought back many of his followers to a sense of their own ingratitude. His sons Ranoojee and Peerajee, and his nephew Seedojee, who had fled from the army in dread of Dhunnajee, were soon rejoined

[1] Mahratta MSS. Bombay Records.

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by a number of Suntajee's followers, on which they erected their family standard and began to plunder the Moghul territory on their own account.[1]

A.D. 1699.—Raja Ram, after he had remained a short time at Satara, proceeded with his army to the northward, where he was joined by Pursajee Bhonslay, Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, Neemajee Sindia, Atowlay Shumsher Buhadur, and other commanders who had for some time been plundering in Candeish, Gungthuree, and Berar. The combined armies, which now formed a greater force than Sivajee had ever commanded, proceeded under Raja Ram, who entered Gungthuree, claiming as his established right the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee. All who submitted to the payment of these demands were protected, and the Moghul garrisons that remained passive spectators were not molested, but such as made unsuccessful opposition were put to the sword. On this occasion the Mahrattas were more systematic in their exactions than they before had been; where they could not obtain ready money they took promissory notes from the Patells, according to the practice first introduced by Sivajee, and in this manner went on through Nandere, Berar, and Candeish.

[1] Mahratta MSS., and an account of the Ghorepuray family, received from the late Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray, Umeer Ool Oomrah, which was originally compiled for the late Sir Barry Close. I likewise received a history of the Ghorepuray family from the late Mr. Thackeray, which I lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay. [The Literary Society was founded by Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder of Bombay, in 1804, and in 1829 was affiliated to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland under the title of the Bombay Branch R.A.S. In 1873 the Bombay Geographical Society, founded in 1831, was amalgamated with it. The Society, which still flourishes, possesses a fine library and collection of Indian coins. Ranade (254–5) states that he had a careful search made for the documents which Grant Duff handed over to the Literary Society, but failed to recover any trace of them. An impression was prevalent that they had been burnt, but in all probability they were lost or misappropriated. Some of these documents, notably one headed *Jabita Svarājya* (i.e. statement of Svarāj), were subsequently traced by Rāo Bahādur D. B. Parasnis. Their discovery is referred to by Mr. P. V. Mavji of Bombay, in a paper on *Shivaji's Svarājya*, at pp. 30–42, vol. xxii of *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, at the conclusion of which he expressed his intention of depositing with the B.B.R.A.S. 'photographs and copies of the original papers and writings from which Grant Duff constructed his work. . . .' Mr. Mavji's article is dated December 18, 1903. See also article on *Maratha Historical Literature*, by D. B. Parasnis, at pp. 168–78, vol. xxii of *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, read before the Society on January 19, 1905.]

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When he had nearly completed his tour, Raja Ram left Khundee Rao Dhabaray in Buglana, Neemajee Sindia in Candeish, Pursajee Bhonslay in Berar, and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur in Gungthuree, to collect what they termed the outstanding balances due to the Raja.

Pursajee Bhonslay, when appointed to this duty in Berar, got the title of Sena Sahib Soobeh, and Hybut Rao Nimbulkur was styled Sur Lushkur; both these officers received the Juree Putka, or Golden Pennon, on this occasion.[1] Raja Ram, on his return, attacked Jaulna, which he was plundering when the Moghul army came suddenly upon him; they attacked and pursued his troops with a vigour and perseverance to which they had of late seldom been unaccustomed[2]; but to account for their activity on this occasion, we must revert to the proceedings of Zoolfikar Khan and Aurungzebe.

In the Carnatic, affairs under Dhunnajee Jadow had not been prosperous. Zoolfikar Khan, although a corrupt, ambitious man, was an active commander, and now the only Moghul officer of whom the Mahrattas stood in any awe. He had repeatedly defeated Dhunnajee, when the Emperor, hearing of the march of Raja Ram, sent express orders for Zoolfikar Khan to repair to the cantonment at Brimhapooree. It was then determined, in consultation with Assud Khan and several of the principal officers, to adopt a new plan of operations, by which, whilst one army attacked the Mahrattas in the field, another was destined for the reduction of their forts. This last the Emperor reserved for himself, giving the command of the pursuing army to the Prince Bedar Bukht, the son of Azim Shah, with Zoolfikar Khan as his lieutenant, whose first effort was the attack and pursuit of Raja Ram's army, to which we have just alluded.

The Emperor's preparations being completed, the cantonment at Brimhapooree was evacuated, much to the regret of the indolent Moghul officers, many of whom had built excellent houses at that station. A depôt was formed under the protection of the Gurhee of Machnoor, which was within the line of the cantonment, and a strong guard was left for its protection. Aurungzebe's march was nearly due west, and he encamped

[1] [The *Jari Patka* was always carried before the Bhoslēs of Nāgpur in later days, and was regularly sent to every occupant of the Nāgpur throne after accession. It also appears as a mint-mark on their rupees. (*J. and Proc. A.S. Bengal*, vol. xiv, p. 343.)]

[2] Mahratta MSS., and original papers, both in Persian and Mahratta.

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under the fort of Wussuntgurh, on the twentieth day after quitting the Beema. Batteries were erected, and in three days the garrison surrendered. The Emperor named the fort *Kuleed-i-futih*, or the key of victory, and was much pleased by the event. As Panalla had been unsuccessfully attacked by Moiz-ud-deen, the son of Sultan Mauzum, some years before, the Mahrattas were impressed with an idea of its being about to be besieged, and directed all their preparations towards its defence. But Aurungzebe marched for Satara, a movement wholly unexpected, as the fort was not provisioned for above two months. This neglect was considered a great misfortune, and gave rise to a suspicion that Ramchunder had purposely left it unprovided; of this suspicion Aurungzebe afterwards took advantage; and when Ramchundur, during the siege, was called away to Singurh in consequence of the illness of Raja Ram, Aurungzebe wrote a letter[1] which fell into the hands of Pureshram Trimbuck, and widened a breach that had for some time existed between him and Ramchundur Punt.[2]

Aurungzebe, on his arrival before Satara, pitched his own tents on the north side of the fort on the site of the present village of Kurinja. Azim Shah was stationed at a village on the west side, which has since retained the name of Shapoor. Shirzee Khan invested the south side, and Turbeeut Khan occupied the eastern quarter; chains of posts between the different camps effectually secured the blockade. The fort of Satara occupies the summit of a hill of moderate height, but very steep; its defences consist of a scarp of upwards of forty feet in perpendicular black rock, on the top of which there is a stone wall. It was defended by Pryagjee Purvoe, Havildar, who had been reared in the service of Sivajee. He vigorously opposed the Moghuls, and disputed every foot of ground as they pushed forward their advanced posts. As soon as they began to gain any part of the hill he withdrew his troops into the fort, and rolled down huge stones from the rock above, which did great execution, and until they could throw up cover, were as destructive as artillery. The blockade, however, was complete, no communication could be held with the country, and as the small stock of grain in the garrison was soon exhausted, the besieged must have been com-

[1] Copy of the original in possession of the Raja of Kolapoor.
[2] Mahratta MSS.

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pelled to surrender; but Pureshram Trimbuck, who had thrown himself into the fort of Purlee, purchased the connivance of Azim Shah and conveyed provisions to the besieged.[1]

The divisions on the west and south faces erected batteries, but the grand attack was directed against the north-east angle, which assumes nearly the shape of a tower and is one of the strongest points: the rock being forty-two feet high, and the bastion, now on the top of it, consists of twenty-five feet of masonry, making a total height of sixty-seven feet.

A.D. 1700.—Turbeeut Khan undertook to mine this angle, and at the end of four months and a half had completed two mines. So confident were the Moghuls of success that the storming party was ready formed, but concealed as much as possible under the brow of the hill from the view of the garrison. Aurungzebe was invited to view the spectacle, and a stratagem was formed to draw all the garrison towards the bastion, by the Emperor's moving off from that side in grand procession, so that when the match was ready to be applied, hundreds of the Mahrattas, attracted by this splendid retinue, crowded to the rampart, and amongst others Pryagjee the commandant. The first mine was fired, it burst several fissures in the rock, and occasioned so violent a concussion, that a great part of the masonry was thrown inwards and crushed many of the garrison in its ruins. The storming party, in their eagerness, advanced nearer; the match was applied to the train of the second and larger mine, but, being improperly constructed, it burst outwards, with a dreadful explosion, and upwards of two thousand of the Moghuls are said to have been destroyed on the spot. Pryagjee, the Mahratta commandant, was buried in the ruins by the first explosion, close to a temple dedicated to the goddess Bhowanee, but was afterwards dug out alive. His escape was considered a happy omen, and under other circumstances might have been of much consequence in animating the Hindoo garrison to prolong the defence, but Azim Shah could no longer be induced to connive at the transport of the grain; proposals for surrendering were therefore made through him, and the honour of the capture, which he so ill-merited, was not only assigned to him, but the place received his name and was called by the Emperor Azim Tara.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

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Satara surrendered about the middle of April, and Purlee was immediately invested; the siege lasted till the beginning of June, when, after a good defence, the garrison evacuated it. The south-west monsoon having set in with all its usual violence, the Moghul army, from a total want of arrangement, was exposed to considerable distress and hardship before the camp could be moved to a distance from the hills. After much loss, both of baggage and of lives, the army reached Kowauspoor on the banks of the Maun, where the rains are comparatively light.[1]

In the meantime a great change had taken place in the Mahratta government. Raja Ram, when the Punt Amat was called to see him, had just returned from Jaulna, having experienced a long and fatiguing pursuit from Zoolfikar Khan. He was suffering from a spitting of blood and inflammation of the lungs, brought on by violent exertion during this retreat. After lingering about thirty days, his illness proved mortal: he expired in the fort of Singurh about the middle of March, a month before the fall of Satara.[2]

The ruin of Suntajee Ghorepuray is the only crime which stains the memory of Raja Ram. But that alone is of magnitude, and if we admit as an excuse that he was worked upon by the enemies of Suntajee, the weakness of the man but detracts from the virtues of the prince. He possessed some share of the military enterprise of his father, but he had no genius for civil government; his measures were ably directed by Prillhad Neerajee, who appears to have been a very uncommon person, and, in his total disregard of self-interest, is almost a singular instance amongst Bramin statesmen. Raja Ram was naturally mild in his disposition, addicted to no vices, and was distinguished by uncommon liberality to his followers.

The death of Raja Ram, although the news was received in the Emperor's camp at Satara with great rejoicing, produced no event favourable to the subjugation of the Mahrattas. The Raja left two sons: the elder, named Sivajee, by Tara Bye Mohitey, was ten years old at the time of his father's death; and the younger, named Sumbhajee, by Rajis Bye Ghatgay, was in his third year.

[1] Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

[2] Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme, who is often on the borders of truth, without being rewarded as his research deserved, mentions this as the manner of Sivajee's death.

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Tara Bye, with the assistance of Ramchundur Punt Amat, Shunkrajee Narrain, and Dhunnajee Jadow Senaputtee, immediately assumed the reins of government, and her son Sivajee having been seated on the gadee or cushion of state, Rajis Bye, with the general consent, was placed in confinement.

Timmojee Rugonath being found unfit for his high station, Pureshram Trimbuck[1] was raised by Tara Bye to the rank of Pritee Needhee, and received general charge of all the forts. This preferment excited much jealousy on the part of Ramchundur Punt, who does not appear to have been aware that there were suspicions of his fidelity; but the decided tone and conduct of Tara Bye obliged him to appear reconciled to the measure. Tara Bye did not fix her residence in any fort, but moved about according to circumstances. Dhunnajee Jadow took to the open field: confining his operations to no particular part of the country, he spread his horse in every quarter and performed many signal exploits. Nimbalkur, Bhonslay, and Dhabaray likewise distinguished themselves in the same manner, whilst Thorat, Chowan, Sindia, Powar, Atowlay, and various other chiefs, headed large bodies of troops in different directions, and levied tribute under the various heads of Chouth, Surdeshmookhee, and Ghasdana[2]: the last mentioned item of Ghasdana was generally considered the personal perquisite of the chief.

Contrasted with the splendour of the Moghul camp already described, we may view the horde accompanying one of these freebooters:—Different from the organized bands of Sivajee, but still more destructive to a country, an irregular assembly of several thousand horsemen united by preconcerted agreement in some unfrequented part of the country. They set off with little provision, no baggage except the blanket on their saddles, and no animals but led horses, with bags prepared for the reception of their plunder. If they halted during a part of the night, like the Pindharees of modern times, they slept with their bridles in their hands; if in the day, whilst the horses were fed and refreshed, the men reposed with little or no shelter from the scorch-

[1] [Parasurām Trimbak was the son of the Kulkarni of Kinai village, Sātāra District. According to the *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 504, he was granted the title of *Pratīnīdhī* in 1698, the office becoming hereditary in 1713. The present chief of Aundh is descended from Parasurām Trimbak and holds the title of *Pant Pratīnīdhī*.]

[2] Mahratta MSS.

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ing heat, excepting such as might be occasionally found under a bush or a tree; and during that time their swords were laid by their sides, and their spears were generally at their horses' heads stuck in the ground; when halted on a plain, groups of four or five might be seen stretched on the bare earth sound asleep, their bodies exposed to the noon-day sun, and their heads in a cluster under the precarious shade of a black blanket or tattered horse-cloth extended on the points of their spears. The great object of this class was plunder; and the leaders and their troops, though they generally rendered a partial account to the head of the state, dissipated or embezzled the greater part of their collections.

The Mankurees began to profess obedience to the descendant of Sivajee, and sometimes joined his standard; but they always plundered on their own account when an opportunity offered. The Ghorepurays committed great devastations along the eastern confines of Maharashtra, from the Godavery to the Kistna. The revenues raised by the Emperor in the Deccan had become very inconsiderable, and, to support his army and the splendour of his court, he drew vast treasures from Hindoostan; caravans after caravans were poured into the Deccan—the Mahrattas frequently intercepted them, and the imperial troops on many occasions behaved in the most dastardly manner.

The victories and marches of Zoolfikar Khan, as detailed in Persian manuscripts, are scarcely credible; but, on the testimony of his enemies, he is justly entitled to very great merit for his indefatigable exertions, at a time when so few of the Moghul officers discovered the smallest talent or energy. Public virtue was unknown amongst them, and they were corrupt, slothful, and indifferent. One cause of this general debasement was the great age and increasing infirmities of the Emperor, and the character of his sons. The prospect was full of trouble. Men paused at the threshold of a period which must open with great commotion, and seemed rather inclined to reserve energy for the coming struggle than to exert themselves in the tiresome endless warfare in which they were engaged.

A.D. 1701.—The reign of Aurungzebe, however, was prolonged beyond all expectation, and the old man persevered to the last in his fruitless endeavours to stifle Mahratta independence. During the ensuing four years, he was almost entirely occupied in the siege of the forts, and in that period he successively reduced

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Panalla, Vishalgurh, Singurh, Poorundhur, Rajgurh, and Torna.[1]

A.D. 1702. Chundun, Wundun, and Pandoogurh were also surrendered to his officers. But in the meantime the Mahrattas multiplied. In 1702 they levied contributions from Surat and Burhanpoor, and extended their operations every year. Wherever the demands of Chouth and

A.D. 1705. Surdeshmookhee were promptly acknowledged, they carefully refrained from plundering. In 1705 the Emperor received accounts, almost at the same time, of their having crossed the Nerbuddah in great force and extended their ravages to the heart of Malwa; that the whole of Candeish and Berar were overrun; and that fifteen thousand Mahrattas had broken into Guzerat,[2] defeated the troops of the assembled Foujdars, and that nothing appeared but slaughtered soldiers, houseless ryots, and the ripened fields in devastation or flames.

On this intelligence great preparations were made, Zoolfikar Khan was sent after the body in Malwa, Ghazee-ud-deen was appointed Soobehdar of Berar, and Azim Shah despatched to Ahmedabad to take charge of the government of Guzerat. Each had a considerable army, and it was hoped from the character of the generals that these countries would soon be cleared.

But these apparently vigorous efforts of the government were unsubstantial; there was motion and bustle, without zeal or efficacy: the empire was unwieldy, its system relaxed, and its officers were corrupt beyond all example. It was inwardly decayed, and ready to fall to pieces as much by its own irrecoverable weakness as by the corroding power of the Mahrattas, whom the Mahomedan wars had trained, and their imbecility now allured to that predatory life to which the natives of Maharashtra are prone; as yet, however, their plundering hordes did not comprehend that they were conquerors. A general sentiment pervaded the whole body of the Hindoo population in the Mahratta country, but it was not so actively excited as to create a general union, for a purpose so exalted as that of throwing off a foreign yoke and vindicating their civil and religious liberties. There

[1] Torna was escaladed in the night, and carried sword in hand by Uman Oolah Khan, the only officer who particularly distinguished himself in these sieges. Khafee Khan says all the rest of the forts were obtained by bribing the Killidars.

[2] Khafee Khan, Scott's Deccan, and Mahratta MSS.

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was a common sympathy, but there was no common effort; their military spirit was not so much excited by patriotism as by plunder, and those who enjoyed greater advantages under the Moghuls, in consequence of the struggle, than they were likely to do by the establishment of the independence of their country, eagerly desired a continuation of the war.

Many of the Moghul officers in charge of districts were in the pay of both parties, and likewise wished that the existing confusion might continue. Parties of Mahrattas in the service of the Moghuls met, rioted and feasted with their countrymen, and at parting, or when passing within hearing of each other, they used to mock the Mahomedans by uttering an *Ulhumdulillah*[1] and praying for long life to the glorious Alumgeer.[2]

[1] A common exclamation of the Mahomedans, signifying, 'Praise be to God.' [*Alhamd-ul-illah* (*Ulhumdulillah*), 'All praise belong to Allah,' is the first word of the second line of the *Surat-ul-Fatihah* of the Koran, which is variously termed 'the opening of the Book,' 'the sufficing Sura,' 'the Sura of praise, thanks and prayer,' 'the healer,' 'the treasure.' This Sura is recited several times in each of the five daily prayers and on other occasions. Muhammadans always conclude this prayer with *Amin* (Amen). I have heard a Muhammadan woman in Bombay exclaim, '*Shukr Alhamd-ul-illah*' after a sudden and involuntary sneeze, which may be compared with the exclamation, 'God bless you,' occasionally heard on similar occasions in England. The words are a spirit-scaring charm. In a footnote to the tale of *Ibrahim and Jamilah*, Burton (*Thousand Nights and a Night*) states that the pagan Arabs held sneezing a bad omen which often stopped their journeys, and that the Prophet himself counselled the use of the phrase at the time of sneezing, as it had power to ward off seventy diseases—'If one of you sneeze, let him exclaim, "Alhamdolillah," and let those around salute him in return with "Allah have mercy upon thee," and lastly let him say, "Allah direct you and strengthen your condition."']

[2] Mahratta MSS., and original Mahratta and Persian letters. It is unnecessary to acquaint most of my readers, that Alumgeer, or 'Conqueror of the world,' was the title assumed by Aurungzebe on his accession, but I have followed the example of my predecessors in Deccan history, and have retained his own name.

The following translation, from an original Persian letter, throws considerable light on the state of the country about this period. It bears no date, but from several circumstances, is evidently written when Aurungzebe was besieging Panalla or Vishalgurh. It fell into my hands, amongst several bundles of original Persian letters and papers, belonging to a Bramin's family, and I was at some pains to ascertain its history. The writer of the letter was a Bramin, who had been very active in assisting the Moghuls to reduce the country in 1688-89. In consequence of his services, he had been dignified

Upon the reduction of Rajgurh and Torna, the Emperor, after halting some months near Joonere, finally quitted the neighbour-

with the titles of Raja and Maharaja,[1] and appointed to the revenue management of the district of Kuttao. During the absence of Puddajee Ghatgay Deshmookh, who had gone abroad to plunder at the time, this Bramin got temporary charge of the valuable Deshmookhee claims of Boodh and Mullaoree: however, upon the return and submission of the Deshmookh, he lost these advantages, but retained charge of the fort of Booshengurh, the management of that district, and the village of Kuttao, which last his posterity enjoy in Enam to this day. Puddajee Ghatgay was placed under his surveillance. This letter, either never sent or afterwards recovered, is written from Kuttao to a Moghul officer in charge of the province, but at that time collecting a convoy of grain at Phultun and Barramuttee, to be conveyed to the grand camp.

After compliments: 'Your letter has been received, wherein you mention your intention of proceeding to Nubhee Shahdroog (Panalla), and forwarding the grain to camp, and that the Thanna of Mulcapoor has been plundered, of which you desire to have correct intelligence The same thieves have cut off all supplies from the Thanna of Kurar, by which that place is much distressed. The names of the thieves are Mahdoo Rao (Pureshram's brother), Tookhoo Mulhar, Sunta Nandhera, Lingoo Manay, Bhala Ghatgay, Shahjee Nimbalkur, and others. They have ten thousand horse, and are now near this place, between Ound and Korygaom. Oosman Khan, who was proceeding from the presence to join you, was furnished by me with one hundred horse and one hundred infantry, but he has been obliged to remain here (in Kuttao), and cannot advance.

'The thieves find shelter in Mortizabad and various other districts, from whence they sally forth and plunder. Once or twice I have sent parties after them, and have cut them up. By the connivance of Foujdars, Jagheedars, and Krorees, who all share with them, these people are protected. On this head, I have made representations to Court, and have even obtained mace-bearers and made them produce the stolen articles: these people therefore are all inimical to me. Regarding the thieves, I have further sent for intelligence, and if we are sufficiently strong, you and I can unite and attack them. Meer Lootf Oolah has written that your favour is very great towards me, and therefore it is now generally known that our friendship is great and of long standing. You must know that Puddajee, the Thannadar of Boodh, has given his sister to * * *,[2] and thus formed a connection with him; he actually went to Ound, when the thieves were there, taking with him Beeroo Bye, the mother of Shao Nimbalkur; they eat out of the same plate together; he was feasted by them, and they by him, for three days, during which they had great rejoicing. It is your province to watch over and guard the king's garrisons. The imperial army is now within twenty kos of us. What will it be when

[1] These titles are still enjoyed by his descendants. This Bramin family is the only one in Maharashtra in which the practice of secluding the women exists.

[2] Indistinct in the original.

hood of Poona, of which place he had also changed the name to Moyabad,[1] and marched towards Beejapoor.

Some of the Moghul officers were anxious to negotiate a peace; and the favourite son of the Emperor, Kaum Bukhsh, whose plans were early directed to the establishment of an independent kingdom at Beejapoor, and who in his views seems always to have had some injudicious scheme of conciliating the Mahrattas by admitting a part of their claim, now contrived to obtain the Emperor's consent for opening a negotiation with Dhunnajee Jadow.

Overtures were first begun by proposals for releasing Shao, the son of Sumbhajee. The negotiation proceeded, and Aurungzebe had, for a few days, been brought to consent to the payment of ten per cent. of the whole revenue of the six Soobhehs of the Deccan as Surdeshmookhee, for which the Mahrattas were to engage to maintain order with a body of horse. On the news of this concession, the Mahrattas, who notwithstanding their predatory character are at all times exceedingly eager to have any right formally recognised, flocked to Dhunnajee's camp. Their expectations rose with their assembled numbers; but their increasing insolence; their tone changed from supplication to demand; their near approach to the camp, and their stipulating for honorary dresses to seventy principal officers among them, entitled to that distinction from the Emperor, led Aurungzebe to suspect treachery as well as insult. He therefore broke off the negotiation, and recalled his ambassador, who was attacked soon after he left the Mahratta camp, a circumstance which confirmed the Emperor in his opinion.[2] Aurungzebe seems to

they move to a distance, and what may we not expect? If you do not believe this representation, send your own spies to ascertain the truth of it. Until you seize and confine all such offenders, how can we ever expect to suppress them? You should restore charge of the Boodh and Mullaoree districts to me, from whence I have been displaced, and if you approve of the application, forward it to Court.'

Underneath there is written, evidently a private postscript. 'I have had a secret interview with Mahdoo Rao, Pureshram's brother and I told him, that if Pureshram give up Kelneh and visit the Emperor, he will certainly be put to death, and that nothing is now to be apprehended, as the rains are at hand. Mahdoo Rao has written this to Pureshram.'

[1] [i.e. Muhīābād, so named after Prince Muhīu-l-millat, eldest son of Prince Muhammad Kāmbakhsh by the Rānī Manoharpuri, who died at the age of ten near Poona (*J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, vol. xiv, pp. 365–8.]

[2] Khafee Khan

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have returned to the eastward, from an apprehension that the disorders prevalent in Maharashtra were likely to spread over Telingana and the Carnatic, but although there were partial disorders occasioned by Beruds in the one, and Pindharees in the other, the inhabitants of those countries are a very different race, and were less prone to those habits of predatory enterprise, which had long distinguished the natives of Maharashtra. The people of the Carnatic are not unwarlike: in bodily frame they are at least as robust as the Mahrattas, and at this period a great part of the Emperor's infantry were men raised in that country. Banditti, however, started up in various parts, and so daring had their chiefs become, that some of them carried on an open traffic for the goods plundered by their gangs. The independent Mahratta chiefs, particularly the Ghorepurays, had of late years committed constant ravages about Beejapoor, Kulburga, and Beder.[1] Pemnaik, the Naik of Wakinkerah, although repeatedly compelled by the imperial generals to pay large fines, no sooner saw the Moghul troops retire to a distance, than he recommenced every species of rapine. The Mahrattas maintained a good understanding with this chief, and Dhunnajee Jadow, whilst the Emperor was besieging the forts in the Syhadree mountains, lodged his family in Wakinkerah, as affording greater security than any other place. The power of the Naik had become so formidable, that the Emperor, after his arrival at Beejapoor, judged it necessary to proceed against him in person.[2]

Wakinkerah was merely a fortified town, but the siege lasted many months: Pemnaik defended himself with resolution, drove back the Moghul advanced posts, whilst Dhunnajee Jadow perpetually harassed their camp. The imperial officers had become so dastardly, and the troops so shameless, that the mere appearance of Dhunnajee's cavalry made them turn to flight.[3]

The best officers were at a distance. Zoolfikar Khan was directed to join, and a like order was sent to Daood Khan in the Carnatic.[4] The former had returned to Aurungabad, after driving

[1] Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS.

[2] Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

[3] The Mahrattas say, that when a horse refused to drink and started at his own shadow, it was a common joke amongst the Moghuls, to ask him why he was afraid, 'One would think you saw Dhunnajee in the water.' This anecdote is recorded by Mr. Scott Waring.

[4] Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan.

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Neemajee Sindia from Malwa, and as the Mahrattas had been principally employed to the northward, the Carnatic had not been infested by large bodies of them for several years. The important fortress of Vellore was surrendered in 1704 by Mannajee Moray to Daood Khan,[1] for which Moray was promised a Munsub by the Emperor, but he never came to demand it, having on his return to Maharashtra gone off to join his countrymen. Daood Khan left Sadut Oolla Khan as his Naik or deputy in both Carnatics, and arrived in the Emperor's camp shortly after Zoolfikar Khan. They were both officers of courage and experience, they attacked the place with resolution, and the town of Wakinkerah was evacuated, after the environs had been stormed and taken, with heavy loss on both sides.[2]

The Mahrattas in the meantime were plundering the open country in every direction, Ramchundur Punt Amat had particularly distinguished himself by retaking Panalla and Pawungurh by escalade. Tara Bye, on this event, determined to reside at Panalla, and admitted Ramchundur Punt to a very large share of power. Pureshram Trimbuck, the Prithee Needhee, had retaken Wussuntgurh and Satara. The latter was surprised by the artifice of a Bramin named Annajee Punt. This man had escaped from prison at Ginjee, and assumed the character of a mendicant devotee. Having fallen in with a party of Moghul infantry marching to relieve the garrison of Satara, he amused them with stories and songs, obtained alms from them, and so ingratiated himself with all, that they brought him with them, admitted him into the fort, and, on account of the amusement he afforded, allowed him to live there. Annajee Punt had formerly been a Carcoon of Mawulee infantry, and soon saw the practicability of surprising the place, if assisted by a few of his old acquaintances. He patiently watched his opportunity, informed Pureshram Trimbuck of his design, and having introduced a body of Mawulees into the fort, the enterprising but remorseless Bramin put every man of the garrison to the sword.

Shunkrajee Narrain Suchew did not remain inactive; as soon as the Moghul troops withdrew from that part of the country, of which he was the chief manager, he retook Singurh, Rajgurh,

[1] Original Firman from Aurungzebe to Mannajee Moray, in possession of his descendants.

[2] Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

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Rohira, and some other places. The Moghul garrisons were composed of a large proportion of Carnatic infantry; and these men latterly could not be brought to stand the onset of the Mawulees.

The loss of these forts, particularly Singurh and Panalla, gave Aurungzebe great vexation, and augmented an illness under which he laboured, and from which he recovered very slowly.

Zoolfikar Khan was sent to retake Singurh, and previous to his departure the Emperor committed Shao to his charge. Zoolfikar Khan, partly from hatred to Kaum Bukhsh, bitterly inveighed against the overtures that had been made for peace, and Aurungzebe was equally conscious of the error; yet, with some design of releasing Shao, he had now recourse to the half-measure of causing letters to be written to the Mahrattas from Shao as their lawful prince, inviting them to submit. Had he released him at once, a division would probably have taken place amongst the Mahrattas. Under any circumstances, the other expedient was unwise, but particularly inconsistent in Aurungzebe, as it was in effect acknowledging the legitimacy of Sivajee's government and consequently admitting the injustice of Sumbhajee's execution. The result was, as might have been expected, of no avail.

Zoolfikar Khan was successful in obtaining possession of Singurh, owing to the want of supplies; but as soon as he retired, it was as speedily retaken by Shunkrajee Narrain from the same cause. The grand army moving towards Ahmednugur was attacked by the Mahrattas on the march, a great part of it was defeated, and had the Mahrattas improved an advantage which they gained, the Emperor of the Moghuls, their inveterate foe Aurungzebe, would have been a prisoner in their hands. It is curious to observe how the Moghul writers undesignedly record their own humiliation on this occasion, by dwelling upon this fortunate escape with abundant self-congratulation. The character of the imperial army was in some degree retrieved by the gallant charge of Khan Alum, a brave officer, whom, under the name of Ikhlass Khan, we have seen so active at the capture of Sumbhajee.

A.D. 1707.—Aurungzebe arrived at Ahmednugur, and on pitching his camp on the same spot which it had occupied in such splendour twenty-one years before, he predicted that his

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end was near, by observing that he had this day finished his campaigns, and that his last earthly journey was completed. The contrast between his former and his present circumstances is remarkable; but when we also reflect on the intervening events, we have not merely a striking picture, but a curious history of the growth of predatory power, and of the means by which it was nurtured. Aurungzebe had only three surviving sons, Sultan Mauzum, or Shah Alum, governor of Cabul, Azim Shah, and Kaum Bukhsh. Azim Shah joined his father at this period, and was appointed to the government of Malwa; Kaum Bukhsh was appointed to Beejapoor, and was immediately sent to take charge of his new government.

In the meantime Zoolfikar Khan, who continued pursuing and attacking the Mahrattas, had gone off across the Kistna to aid the son and nephew of his old opponent Suntajee Ghorepuray, who had been attacked by Dhunnajee Jadow, in consequence of their having plundered in some of Tara Bye's districts; Zoolfikar Khan had assisted the Ghorepurays and driven off Dhunnajee, when news reached him that the Emperor had died at Ahmednugur on the 28th Zeekaad, 1118 A.H. (or 21st February 1707).[1] He therefore immediately suspended operations, and marched with all expedition to join the Deccan army, which fell under the command of Azim Shah, the prince nearest to the grand camp.

Feb. 21.

In regard to the character of Aurungzebe, the facts connected with the rise of the Mahrattas are sufficient to prove, that from the time he usurped the throne, there is nothing in his conduct which deserves the high encomium which has in general been bestowed on his talents and government. Previous to his elevation, he displayed very considerable ability; together with an iniquity almost unparalleled. His boundless ambition was concealed by deep dissimulation, and his boldness was equal to his hypocrisy. His success in placing the diadem of Hindoostan on his own head, after overcoming his powerful rivals; his literary acquirements; his attention to business; and the

[1] [Aurangzeb's heart and viscera are buried in Ālamgīr's Dargah, near the town of Bhingar, which adjoins the modern cantonment of Ahmadnagar. His embalmed body was buried in holy ground in the village of Khuldābād or Rauza, near Daulatābād. (*O.H.I.*, p. 446.) The date, February 21, given by Grant Duff, is old style. (For old and new styles of reckoning see *O.H.I.*, Introduction, p. xvi.)]

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simplicity of his personal habits, amidst a court so remarkable for splendour and magnificence, gave a tone to general opinion amongst his contemporaries, which his subsequent misconduct and misrule could not entirely efface. He was ambitious of a character for wisdom; and his low craft and mean policy are partly ascribable to this weakness. His great political error was the overthrow of Beejapoor and Golcondah, instead of applying their resources to the suppression of predatory power. His suspicion and bigotry, his presumption and obstinacy, alike tended to prevent the tranquillization of that tumult, of which his own measures were a principal cause; whilst his pomp weakened the efficiency of his armies, and exhausted the finances which should have maintained his wars.

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CHAPTER XII.

FROM A.D. 1707 TO A.D. 1720.

A.D. 1707.—It has been already mentioned, that upon the fall of Raigurh the widow and son of Sumbhajee were carried prisoners to the imperial camp. They were received within the enclosure of the royal tents, and at the request of Begum Sahib, the Emperor's daughter, a place was assigned to them near herself, and she continued to show them unremitting kindness during many years of captivity. The boy was at first constantly with her, and Aurungzebe, during his visits to his daughter, took much notice of him. Shao's original name was Sivajee, but that by which he afterwards became known was a familiar name given him by Aurungzebe, and his choosing to retain it in preference to that of his renowned grandfather, is as remarkable[1] as that our English appellation of '*the Sahoo Raja*,' meaning the sovereign of the Mahratta nation, applied from his long reign to Shao's successors as well as to himself, should have had its origin in an unbecoming pun of the Emperor Aurungzebe. The attendants who followed the family into captivity were allowed to communicate with the Mahrattas in the Moghul army; an indulgence which did not extend to Shao, his mother, or to Muddun Sing, the illegitimate son of Sumbhajee, also made captive at Raigurh. Every kind of intercourse with the Mahrattas in rebellion was, to all the family and their followers, most strictly forbidden.

[1] The more remarkable, because reflectively it was an insult and at best a very coarse joke. It is either much for, or against the Emperor's bon-mot, that a corresponding word is not easily found in English. *Sahoo* means the reverse of thief, and was used in allusion to Shao's father and grandfather, of whom Aurungzebe seldom spoke, but as *the thief*, *the robber*, &c. [The name is properly written Shāhu. See footnote on page 376, *infra*.]

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Yessoo Bye was a woman of much prudence and carefully avoided intrigues. When Aurungzebe began to evolve the scheme of releasing Shao, he proposed to marry him to the daughters of two of the most distinguished Mahrattas in the imperial service, and to secure them in his interests by additional favours; these were Jadow of Sindkheir, to whom the Emperor had given the title of Roostum Rao; and Sindia, Patell of Kunneirkheir,[1] whose illegitimate offspring, as heads of a Mahratta principality, are well known in the modern transactions of India. Shao was connected with Jadow by the mother's side, and the proposal being agreeable to all parties, the nuptials were celebrated in a respectable manner, but without pomp; and the Emperor, besides conferring favours on Jadow and Sindia, bestowed on Shao the districts of Akulkote, Indapoor, Sopa, and Neywassa, in Jagheer. On this occasion, Aurungzebe, amongst other presents to Shao, gave him a sword he had himself frequently worn, and restored two swords which Shao's attendants had always urged him, if possible, to recover; the one was the famous Bhowanee of Sivajee; and the other, the sword of Afzool Khan, the murdered general of Beejapoor, both taken at Raigurh.[2]

But Aurungzebe, as we have seen, could not resolve on giving effect to this plan, and after his death Shao continued in the camp

[1] Mahratta MSS. In this chapter the English reader will find a more than usual number of harsh names, which he may be inclined to think might have been omitted with advantage, but they will, in most instances, deserve attention, as those of the ancestors of the principal Mahratta chiefs. [Kannerkhera (Kunneirkheir) is a village sixteen miles east of Sātāra. The ancestors of the family were *silāh-dārs* under the Bahmanī Sultāns. The founder of the ruling family of Gwālior was Rānojī Sindia, one of his illegitimate sons being the famous Māhādajī Sindia.]

[2] All the three swords are in possession of the Raja of Satara. [This is no longer the case. See footnote on the sword Bhavānī, p. 230-1, *ante*. A few years ago a large collection of heirlooms belonging to the family of the ex-Rājās of Sātāra, containing robes, tent-hangings, *wāghnaks*, and many miscellaneous articles of antiquarian value, dating from the time of Sivājī, were sold by order of the District Court, Sātāra. They were purchased by Mr. Purushottam Visrām Māvji, of Bombay, and were for several years exhibited in his house near Breach Candy. About six years ago they were purchased from him for the Prince of Wales' Museum of Western India, which was used as a hospital for Indian troops during the War.]

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of Azim Shah, and was by that prince carried to a considerable distance beyond the Nerbuddah, when on his march at the head of the army lately employed in the Deccan, to contend for the throne with his brother, Sultan Mauzum, who was advancing from Lahore.[1]

Tara Bye and her ministers improved the opportunity which the absence of the main body of the Moghul army afforded. Dhunnajee Jadow defeated Lodi Khan, the Foujdar of Poona, retook Chakun, and the Mahrattas were rapidly occupying as well as plundering the country, when Azim Shah, by the advice of Zoolfikar Khan, determined to release Shao, but to retain his mother, brother, and family as hostages for his good conduct; promising, however, that in case he should succeed in establishing his authority, and continue stedfast in attachment and allegiance, he should receive the tract conquered by his grandfather from Beejapoor, with an additional territory between the Beema and Godavery.[2]

Shao sent forward one of his attendants, personally known to Pursojee Bhonslay and Chimmajee Damoodhur, then at the head of some Mahratta troops in Berar and Candeish, for the purpose of announcing his approach and soliciting their assistance. They immediately joined him, and their example was soon followed by Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, Neemajee Sindia, and other chiefs. Letters intimating his approach were dispatched by Shao to Tara Bye, but as she did not choose to relinquish a power she had so long held, or renounce her son's pretensions to the sovereignty, she affected to believe him an impostor, assembled the whole of her ministers, declared her intention of opposing this pretender, and called upon all the principal officers to attest their fidelity to the cause of her son by the most solemn oaths. On their compliance, she appointed Ramchundur Punt and Neeloo Punt to assist her with their counsel; Dhunnajee Jadow and Pureshram Trimbuck to command in the field; Shunkrajee Narrain to defend the Ghaut-Mahta; and Kanhojee Angria Sur Kheil, who had been appointed by Raja Ram to the command of the fleet upon the death of Seedojee Goojur, was placed in charge of the coast. Poond Sawunt of Waree also sent assurances of fidelity to Tara Bye.

[1] Khafee Khan. [2] Mahratta MSS.

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Shao, on hearing of these proceedings, halted at the Godavery, in hopes of being able to dispel any opinion there might really exist of his being an impostor; but his army having increased to fifteen thousand men, he determined by the advice of Pursojee Bhonslay to move forward without further delay. Dhunnajee Jadow and the Pritee Needhee advanced to oppose him. The people of the country seemed inclined to the cause of Tara Bye; and one village had the audacity to fire on his troops. Several of his men being killed, the place was assaulted and a severe example made of the offenders. During the attack, a woman bearing a boy in her arms rushed towards Shao, and threw down the child, calling out that she devoted him to the Raja's service. Shao took charge of him, and in commemoration of his first success, called him Futih[1] Sing, to which he afterwards added his own surname of Bhonslay, and always treated him like his own son. Such was the extraordinary origin of the Rajas of Akulkote.

As the armies drew near to each other, means were successfully employed to detach Dhunnajee Jadow from the cause of Tara Bye; and the Pritee Needhee, finding he was not supported in an action which took place at the village of Kheyr,[2] twenty-two miles north of Poona, withdrew from Dhunnajee's troops and fled to Satara. Shao, joined by Dhunnajee, advanced to Chundun Wundun, of which he obtained possession. He seized the families of all persons acting against him; sent a summons to Shunkrajee Narrain, Punt Suchew, to deliver up Poorundhur, which he had taken a short time before, and an order to Pureshram Trimbuck to surrender Satara; neither of them obeyed; but Shaik Meerah, a Mahomedan officer who commanded under the latter, confined him and gave up the fort.

A.D. 1708.—Shao, on obtaining possession of Satara, formally seated himself on the throne, in the month of March, 1708. Gudadhur Prillhad was appointed Pritee Needhee, and Byhroo Punt Pingley was made Peishwa. The brother of Byhroo Punt, Neeloo Punt Moreishwur, who still adhered to Tara Bye, died shortly after at Rangna. Dhunnajee Jadow was confirmed in

[1] Futih means victory. The child's father's name was Lokhunday.

[2] [This is the modern Khed, head quarters of Khed *tāluka*, situated on the left bank of the Bhīma, twenty-six miles north of Poona. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 518–19.)]

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his rank of Senaputtee, and the right of making collections in several districts was delegated to him. At this period of confusion the revenue was realized on no fixed principle, but levied as opportunity presented itself in the manner of contribution. The principal Carcoons employed by Dhunnajee in revenue affairs, were Abbajee Poorundhuree,[1] Koolkurnee of Sassoor[2] (Sasswur) near Poona, and another Bramin Koolkurnee of Sreewurdun,[3] in the district of Choule, a village then claimed by the Seedee, from which, in consequence of some intrigue connected with the Seedee's enemy Angria, he had fled to Sassoor, and had been recommended to Dhunnajee Jadow by Abbajee Poorundhuree and Pureshram Trimbuck. The name of this Koolkurnee, afterwards so celebrated as the founder of the Peishwa's power, was Ballajee Wishwanath Bhutt.[4]

Meanwhile the two eldest sons of Aurungzebe, Sultan Mauzum and Azim Shah, had fought a bloody battle near Agra, in which Sultan Mauzum was victorious. The army from the Deccan, commanded by Azim Shah, engaged under great disadvantages, owing to the pertinacity of that headstrong prince, who at least accelerated discomfiture by his want of preparation and by his neglect of arrangement among his troops. He paid the forfeit of his obstinacy with his life. There fell with him his two sons, together with Turbeeut Khan, Dulput Rao Boondelay, Ram Sing Harra,[5] the gallant Khan Alum, and a great proportion of the officers experienced or distinguished in Mahratta warfare.

[1] The ancestor of the present great family of Poorundhuree.

[2] [The modern Sāswad, head quarters of Purandhar *tāluka*, on the left bank of the Karha, sixteen miles south-east of Poona. Near the junction of the river and one of its minor tributaries stands the walled mansion of the Purandhare family, which was once strongly fortified and held a detachment of British troops at bay for ten days in 1818. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 530.)]

[3] [Srīvardhan to-day is a small coast-town in the Janjīra State. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, under the Ahmadnagar, and afterwards under the Bijāpur dynasty, it was a port of some importance. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 494.)]

[4] Mahratta MSS. It is proper to mention that among Mahratta Bramins, Bhutt and Grehust, in speaking of their own cast, are nearly synonymous with clerical and secular. Custom has introduced this distinction. Bhutt, however, in the text was merely the surname of Ballajee Wishwanath, not a religious appellation.

[5] [Bundēla (Boondelay) and Hāra are the names of Rājpūt clans, the former now occupying Bundēlkhand, and the latter found in small numbers in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Bundēlas

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Kaum Bukhsh, who was sent to Beejapoor by Aurungzebe a few days before his death, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and declared himself Emperor upon the demise of his father; his authority was at first acknowledged, but having no stability of character, he was soon deserted by most of his troops; he first endeavoured to conciliate the Mahratta Mankurees, who showed some disposition to listen to his overtures, but they were soon disgusted with his petulance and folly. Sultan Mauzum, who had used his victory with moderation, and was now on his march to the Deccan, generously offered him the kingdoms of Hyderabad and Beejapoor; but Kaum Bukhsh preferred the desperate chance of encountering the whole army of Hindoostan, and was killed near Hyderabad in an attack made upon him by his old and inveterate enemy Zoolfikar Khan, who was joined on the occasion by a body of Mahrattas, sent by Shao, under the command of Neemajee Sindia.[1]

The affairs of Kaum Bukhsh were considered so desperate, that after he had refused the offer made by Sultan Mauzum, it was conjectured that he intended to follow the example of his uncle, Sultan Mohummud Akber, and retire to Persia; orders were sent to all the seaports to intercept him, and two lacks of rupees, with an extension of the company's privileges, were promised by Zoolfikar Khan to Mr. Pitt, governor of Madras, if he would apprehend the fugitive. To this Mr. Pitt agreed, but refused the present.[2]

are held to be derived from the Gaharwār, or Gherwal, Rājpūts, who were probably an aristocratic section of the aboriginal Bhar tribe with some infusion of Rājpūt blood. The Bundēlas became prominent in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, after the fall of the Chandēl Rājpūts, their most successful chief being Rājā Chhatarsāl of Panna, in the eighteenth century, who was virtually ruler of all Bundēlkhand. The country known as Bundēlkhand is partly in the United Provinces, partly in the Central Provinces, and partly in Native States. It is bounded on the north by the Jumna; on the north and west by the Chambal river; on the south by the Central Provinces, and on the south and east by Rīwā and the Kaimūr hills. (Russell, *T. and C.C.P*, iv. 438–40; Sleeman's *Rambles*, ed. Smith (1915), p. 144 n.)]

[1] Khafee Khan. Memoirs of Eradut Khan. Original letter from Zoolfikar Khan to Shao.

[2] Original letters from the Madras Records. This Mr. Pitt was the father of Lord Chatham. [He was the grandfather, not the father, of the Earl of Chatham. Thomas Pitt (1653–1726), the Governor of Madras, often called 'Diamond Pitt,' was the second son of John Pitt, rector of Blandford St. Mary. He was appointed President of

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Zoolfikar Khan, who was in the army of Azim Shah in the battle of Agra, after supporting his reputation as an officer, escaped from the field, and Sultan Mauzum, by the advice of his excellent minister, Monaim Khan, not only pardoned, but promoted him to high rank; conferring on him the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and the title of Umeer Ool Oomrah. By Zoolfikar Khan's representations, Sultan Mauzum at first lent his countenance to Shao's party, which tended to increase the Raja's consequence amongst his countrymen, and would have been followed by more substantial advantages in a formal grant of the Surdeshmookhee, but Monaim Khan, unused to Bramin artifice, having been visited by the Wukeels of Tara Bye, was persuaded by them that Tara Bye's son, Sivajee, was the lawful Raja of the Mahrattas. Zoolfikar Khan, impatient at his listening to these pretensions, betrayed an irritation which the minister resented, and Sultan Mauzum, unwilling to disoblige Monaim Khan and at the same time not displeased to find an excuse for deferring such a concession, seemed to comply with the minister's proposal in favour of Sivajee, and desired that the deeds for the Surdeshmookhee should be made out in his name; he, however, postponed their delivery until the claim to the Mahratta supremacy should be decided, by the issue of the contest which was then in progress between the candidates.[1]

Shao's army was cantoned at Chundun Wundun, in the neighbourhood of Satara, during the monsoon, and he neglected no preparation to enable him to reduce his rival. Amongst other expedients, he made an unsuccessful application to Sir Nicholas Waite, the Governor of Bombay, for a supply of guns, ammunition, European soldiers, and money.[2] At the opening of the fair season, after celebrating the Dussera, preparations were made to renew the war against Tara Bye. Panalla was invested, the siege pressed with vigour, and the Havildar who commanded offered to surrender on condition of being confirmed in his station.

Fort St. George, Madras, on November 26, 1697, and assumed office in 1698. After an extension in 1703, he finally relinquished the office in 1709. His eldest son, Robert Pitt, of Boconnoc in Cornwall, married the daughter of the Hon. Edward Villiers, of Dromana, Waterford; and their younger son, William, afterwards became Earl of Chatham. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)]

[1] Khafee Khan.

[2] Bruce's Annals.

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This proposal was readily acceded to, and Vishalgurh was surrendered by the agent of Pureshram Trimbuck on the same terms. Shao next marched towards Rangna, where Tara Bye then was, but hearing of the approach of the army, she quitted Rangna and fled to Malwan. The Havildar of Rangna refused to surrender and opposed the besiegers with resolution; an assault was made and repulsed, and Shao, on the approach of the monsoon, abandoning the siege, retired to Kolapoor where he cantoned the troops.[1]

A.D. 1709.

At the opening of the fair season it was intended to prosecute the war, but about that time an agreement was entered into with the Moghuls, which waived the grand question of hereditary claim, and rendered the reduction of Tara Bye a point of less pressing personal interest to Shao. Zoolfikar Khan, who attended the court of Sultan Mauzum on his return to Hindoostan, left Daood Khan Punnee as his deputy in the six Soobehs of the Deccan, and obtained for him the government of Burhanpoor in addition to his other appointment. Daood Khan settled with such Mahratta chiefs as acknowledged Shao's authority, to allow them, with certain reservations, one fourth of the revenue, but reserved the right of collecting and paying it through his own agents. Daood Khan's intimacy with most of the Mahratta chiefs, his connection with Zoolfikar Khan, and the terms of friendship between the latter and Shao, not only preserved Shao's ascendancy, but, except in instances where independent plundering bands occasionally appeared, procured a tolerably correct observance of the terms mentioned.[2]

In the end of the year Shao returned to Satara, and married two wives, one of the Mohitey and another of the Sirkay family. His other two wives were still with his mother at Delhi, where one of them, the daughter of Sindia, shortly afterwards died. Dhunnajee Jadow, after a long illness caused by the breaking out of an old wound in his leg, died on his way from Kolapoor on the banks of the Warna. His Carcoon, Ballajee Wishwanath, had accompanied him on that service, and during his sickness had the management of all his affairs, which created an unconquerable jealousy on the part of Chunder Seyn Jadow, Dhunnajee's son and several Bramins in his service.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Khafee Khan.

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A.D. 1710.—The army had scarcely returned to Satara when Tara Bye, encouraged by the Havildar at Panalla, marched towards that place reinforced by the troops of Poond Sawunt, and it was immediately restored to her. It was now resolved, in order to give her party credit and the appearance of a rising cause, to make that fort and the neighbouring town of Kolapoor the future residence of her court. Ramchundur Punt continued stedfast in the interest of her party, and Shunkrajee Narrain likewise maintained her cause. As the territory of the latter was reckoned the foundation stone of the empire, from Sivajee's having first established himself there, Shao determined to reduce the Suchew instead of renewing the attack on Panalla. About this time he entertained the design of removing his capital to Ahmednugur, but as it gave offence to Zoolfikar Khan, Shao, at his desire, relinquished the intention.[1]

A.D. 1711.

An army proceeded towards Poona, and succeeded in obtaining possession of Rajgurh, but most of the Suchew's forts being well stored with provisions and garrisoned by veteran Mawulees, were reckoned impregnable. It was therefore with no small satisfaction that Shao heard of his having put a period to his existence,[2] an act which it is said he committed from remorse, in consequence of having taken a solemn oath to maintain the cause of Tara Bye against his lawful prince.

A.D. 1712.—Just at this time, in the month of January, Sivajee, the son of Tara Bye, died of the small-pox. This prince was an idiot, but his death occasioned a considerable change at Kolapoor. Ramchundur Punt seized the opportunity to remove Tara Bye from the administration, and to place Sumbhajee, the son of Rajis Bye, the young widow of Raja Ram, in her stead; a measure which had the sanction of Hindoo usage and was therefore supported by common consent. Tara Bye and Bhowanee Bye, her son's widow, said to have been pregnant at the time of her husband's death, were put into confinement,

[1] Original letters from Zoolfikar Khan.

[2] He performed the *Jul Sumadh*, or voluntary death by water, which is not uncommon among Hindoo devotees. It is effected by placing a wooden platform upon several earthen pots, with their mouths turned down, to which the planks are fastened, and small holes are bored in the earthen vessels; the whole is placed on deep water, on some river accounted holy, and the devotee seats or ties himself on the platform, which gradually sinks with him.

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and Ramchundur Punt, unfettered by Tara Bye, began to exert himself with renovated vigour.

But Shao, whilst Daood Khan's government continued, was secured in the ascendancy; he was also surrounded by most of the experienced ministers, and was totally exempt from that cruelty and excess, which his enemies gave out that he inherited, with many other vices, from his father Sumbhajee. The loss of Shunkrajee Narrain was a severe blow to the cause of the opposite party, and Shao, in that temper of conciliation, for which he is deservedly applauded, seized the advantage which the sanction of lawful authority always bears, and immediately dispatched clothes of investiture to Narroo Shunker, son of the late Suchew, then a child of two years old; at the same time confirming as a matter of course his Mootaliq, or principal agent, in that situation. This measure immediately secured to him the services of that party, and the Suchew never afterwards departed from his allegiance. Shao was not equally successful in binding all the members of the Pritee Needhee's family to his interest. He released Pureshram Trimbuck, restored his honours by the removal of Gudadhur Prillhad, and confirmed him in his former charge of Vishalgurh and its dependencies. The Pritee Needhee sent his eldest son, Kistnajee Bhaskur, to assume the management of the fort and district; but he had no sooner obtained possession than he revolted, tendered his services to Sumbhajee, and was made Pritee Needhee at Kolapoor. On this defection Pureshram Trimbuck was again thrown into confinement, and Shao, under a belief that the revolt had been encouraged by him, intended to have put him to death, but he was dissuaded from this design, which, even if just, would have made him odious in the country.

A.D. 1713.

In consequence of changes at the Imperial court, Daood Khan was removed to the government of Guzerat, which dissolved the agreement between the Moghuls and the Mahrattas.

Chunder Seyn Jadow, who had been appointed Senaputtee on the demise of his father, was sent off from Satara with a considerable army, and directed to levy the Chouth, Surdeshmookhee and Ghasdana from the Mpghul districts. He was attended on this occasion by his father's Carcoon, Ballajee Wishwanath, who was now charged with collecting and appropriating a share of the revenue for the Raja, a situation of control which under no

circumstances was likely to be favourably viewed by the Senaputtee. The jealousy formerly entertained was increased tenfold, and on a very slight cause, arising from a dispute about a deer run down by one of Ballajee's horsemen, the suppressed enmity burst out in attempted violence; and Ballajee was obliged to flee for his life, first to Sassoor, where the Suchew's agent in Poorundhur did not think it prudent to protect him, although he begged hard to be permitted to enter that fort. The horsemen, his pursuers, were in sight; but the commander of the fort was obdurate. With a few followers, amongst whom were his sons Bajeerao and Chimnajee, Ballajee Wishwanath attempted to cross over to Pandoogurh, a fort in the opposite valley, but Jadow's horsemen were already in his route and searching for him in every quarter. In this dangerous extremity he contrived to conceal himself for a few days, until two Mahrattas, the one named Peelajee Jadow[1] and the other surnamed Dhoomal, then common Sillidars in his service, collected by their influence with their relations a small troop of horse, and promised to sacrifice their lives, or carry him and his sons that night to the Machee[2] of Pandoogurh.

Ballajee Wishwanath, as the manuscripts state, 'did not particularly excel in the accomplishment of sitting upon a horse,'[3] but the Sillidars, although they had a skirmish, performed their promise, and the commander of the fort protected him by Shao's orders. Chunder Seyn Jadow peremptorily demanded his being delivered up to him and threatened in case of refusal to renounce his allegiance for ever. Shao was not prepared to punish this insolent demand, but he refused to give up Ballajee and sent orders to Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, Sur Lushkur, then near Ahmed-

[1] [Pīlājī Jādav (Peelajee Jadow) was not a Marāthā in the strict sense of the term. He was a Rāmosī, who on several occasions performed good service in the Marāthā cause, and was subsequently appointed Sar Nāyak (chief headman) of the Rāmosīs of Poona and Purandar by the Rājā of Sātāra about 1730. The appointment of Sar Nāyak became extinct about 1790. In 1832 a descendant of Pīlājī Jādav was resident near Sāsvad, Poona District, and enjoyed an annual pension of 5,000 rupees from the British Government. (Mackintosh, *Account of the Ramoosies*, Bombay (1832), pp. 57, 59.)]

[2] Machee is a village attached to all hill-forts, commonly situated on the face of the hill completely under protection, and is sometimes fortified.

[3] His biographer adds, 'and at this time required a man, on each side, to hold him on.'

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nugur, to march for Satara immediately. In the meantime Ballajee Wishwanath was cooped up in Pandoogurh, which was surrounded by the Senaputtee's troops. Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, already jealous at not being made Senaputtee, and greatly incensed at Jadow's behaviour, obeyed the order with all speed; the latter hearing of his arrival at Phultun, quitted Pandoogurh and marched to Dewoor. The armies fought, and the troops of Jadow being defeated, he retired to Kolapoor, accompanied by Ghatgay Shirzee Rao. The latter was confirmed by Sumbhajee in his hereditary possessions at Kagul, but both went off to meet Cheyn Koolich Khan (Nizam Ool Moolk), who had just been appointed for the first time to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and from whom Jadow received a large tract of territory in the neighbourhood of Balkee, twenty-five miles east of Beder, as a Jagheer for the support of his troops.[1]

After the death of Sultan Mauzum[2] in 1712, the distractions which prevailed by the usual contentions of the Moghul Emperor's sons, the subsequent revolution effected for his grandson Ferokhsere, and the barbarous execution of Zoolfikar Khan, were followed by important changes in the government of the Deccan. Of these changes, the first to be mentioned was of much importance, both as it removed Daood Khan from the government, and as it brought a person to the temporary charge of the viceroyalty, who subsequently bore a leading part in Deccan affairs. This was the appointment of Cheyn Koolich Khan, the son of Ghazee-ud-deen. His original name was Meer Kummer-ud-deen; the title of Cheyn Koolich Khan,[3] with a munsub of five thousand horse, was conferred on him when a very young man by Aurungzebe, under whom, in the latter years of that Emperor's reign, he held the important post of Soobehdar in the province of Beejapoor. Cheyn Koolich Khan had materially contributed to the success of the two Syuds, Abdoollah Khan and Hoossein Ally Khan, to whose bravery, skill, and exertions Ferokhsere owed

[1] Mahratta MSS. Hudeequ-i-Alum. This Persian MS. to which I here refer for the first time, is a voluminous history of Nizam Ool Moolk and his successors. It is a modern and respectable work, written by Mohummud Aboo Turab and dedicated to Meer Alum, the well known minister of Nizam Ally. I had two copies of this work, the one was lent to me by Mr. William Erskine.

[2] Or Shah Alum the 1st.

[3] [i.e. Chīn Kilich Khān, known later as Āsaf Jāh.]

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his throne.[1] Amongst courtiers as well as states, friendship is as often the result of common enmity as of common interest; Cheyn Koolich Khan, who was known to have been the enemy of Zoolfikar Khan, was immediately appointed to succeed to the viceroyalty of the deceased minister, and dignified with the title of Nizam Ool Moolk, whilst Daood Khan was removed to the government of Guzerat.[2]

It was at this period that the disaffected Senaputtee went over to Nizam Ool Moolk, by whom he was well received and rewarded in the manner already mentioned. He was accompanied by Ghatgay, Shirzee Rao, of Kagul, and an officer named Rumbhajee Nimbalkur; the latter became distinguished in the Moghul service and got the title of Rao Rumbha, which descended to his posterity. Nizam Ool Moolk, on arriving at Aurungabad, seemed disposed to favour the cause of Sumbhajee, which, without inquiring into the private motives that may have inclined him to that party, was now the wisest policy the Moghuls could have adopted. Jadow, eager for revenge, and Nizam Ool Moolk desirous of suppressing the ravages of Shao's officers, sent an army against the Sur Lushkur, who retired from the Godavery to the Beema. Shao, in order to support him, sent forward a body of troops under Ballajee Wishwanath, whom he now dignified with the title of *Sena Kurt*, or agent in charge of the army. Ballajee effected a junction with Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, who fell back to the neighbourhood of Poorundhur, where they proposed to stand an engagement. A battle was fought in which the advantage claimed by the Mahrattas is contradicted by their subsequent retreat to the Salpee Ghaut. A detachment of Mahrattas from the Moghul army under Rumbhajee Nimbalkur took possession of the Poona district, and Rumbhajee obtained

[1] Khafee Khan, Khuzaneh Amirah, and Muasir Ool Oomrah. The two last Persian authorities are both valuable. The Khuzaneh Amirah was written in the Deccan by Meer Gholam Ally, a native of Belgram in the province of Oude. He is celebrated as a poet as well as a historian; he is the author of the Suroo Azad, and his works are much prized by the Mahomedans of the Deccan. The Muasir Ool Oomrah (Biography of the Moghul nobles) is much celebrated in the Deccan; it was written by Shah Nuwaz Khan, or Sumsam ud Dowlah, with whose public character the reader of oriental history is already acquainted, from the works of Mr. Orme, Colonel Wilks, and others.

[2] Khafee Khan.

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a Jagheer in the neighbourhood. At length an accommodation took place, the terms of which are not ascertained, but hostilities ceased, and the Moghuls returned to Aurungabad.[1] Nizam Ool Moolk kept his troops in motion during the fair season, but after they went into cantonments for the rains, a plan he invariably adopted, the Mahrattas, acting under different leaders, resumed their depredations.

All the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas, in the Moghul districts of Maharashtra, fortified the villages where they resided, on pretence of defending themselves, but they frequently joined or assisted their countrymen, of whatever party, in escape, defence, or concealment. One very rich caravan of treasure, escorted by a large detachment under Mohummud Ibrahim Tebreeze, was attacked on the route from Surat to Aurungabad, the troops were entirely destroyed, and the property carried off.[2] This robbery was probably committed by Khundee Rao Dhabaray. For many years that officer had subsisted his followers in Guzerat and Kattywar, and exacted a tribute in those provinces. He acknowledged Shao as his chief, and when Daood Khan was appointed to Guzerat, he withdrew from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad and established himself in the strong country about Naundode and Rajpeeplee[3]; whence it is likely, from the nature of the attack, this was his first sally.

As Nizam Ool Moolk favoured the Kolapoor party, Sumbhajee's influence was increased as that of Shao was diminished. Seedojee Ghorepuray,[4] the son of Byherjee, nephew of the famous Suntajee, and youngest brother of the first Moorar Rao of Gootee, was induced to declare for Sumbhajee, by whom he was dignified with the title of Senaputtee, and several of the Ghorepurays, both of Kapsee and Moodhole, joined the Kolapoor party: but Seedojee and his ally, the Patan Nabob of Savanoor, were too intent on their own schemes of conquest and plunder to quit the Carnatic. (It was about this period that Seedojee made a great acquisition by obtaining possession of Sondoor, a fort situated in a valley of singular strength, within twenty-five miles of Bellary.)

Kishen Rao Kuttaokur, a Bramin raised by the Moghuls,[5]

[1] Mahratta MSS. [2] Khafee Khan. [3] Mahratta MSS.
[4] Ranoojee the grandson of Suntajee fell in battle.
[5] The same whose letter is given in a note, pp. 304-5, *ante*.

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took post in the country about the Mahdeo hills, and without joining either party plundered the districts on his own account. Dummajee Thorat, an officer long under Ramchundur Punt, strengthened a Gurhee in the village of Hinghee or Hingungaom, near Patus about forty miles east of Poona, and levied contributions for thirty miles round. He was of the Kolapoor party, and acknowledged no chief except his old patron Ramchundur Punt, under whom he had first established himself, and from whom he received Sopa and Patus as a Jagheer during the siege of Ginjee. Even in Mahratta estimation he was a lawless ruffian.[1] Oodajee Chowan, another of Ramchundur's officers and a native of Hutnee, took the Gurhee of Buttees Serala, and in a short time became so formidable that Shao was glad to enter into a compromise, by conceding the Chouth of Serala and Kurar, which Chowan long continued to receive as a personal allowance. There were several other petty depredators who declared themselves Sumbhajee's adherents, but the most formidable of all was Kanhojee Angria, then in possession of the coast from Sawuntwaree to Bombay, who was extending his sway over the province of Kalliannee in the Concan.

Such was the state of anarchy which now prevailed, that without a sudden change of fortune and a greater efficiency in Shao's government, his authority over the Mahrattas must soon have become nugatory. Ballajee Wishwanath instilled some vigour into his councils, and began to take a lead in public affairs. He proposed to reduce Dummajee Thorat, and set out for that purpose; but he was seduced to a conference, treacherously seized and thrown into confinement, together with his friend Abbajee Poorundhuree, his two sons, Bajee Rao and Chimnajee, and several of their immediate retainers.

Thorat threatened them with the torture of fastening horses feeding-bags, filled with ashes, on their mouths, and with ultimate death, unless he received a large ransom for their release. After

[1] An anecdote of this freebooter is related by his countrymen with much horror. It is necessary to premise that one of the most sacred of oaths, amongst Mahrattas, is taken by holding the leaves of the tree called *Bel*, conjoined with Turmeric, which in the Mahratta language is known by the name of *Bandar*. Thorat was accused of having forfeited his oath, and treacherously seized Ballajee Wishwanath, after swearing on the Bel-Bandar. 'And what of that,' said Thorat, 'don't I eat Bandar daily, and what is Bel but the leaves of a tree?'

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enduring many indignities, the amount of their ransom was at last agreed upon and paid by Shao, who now applied to the Suchew to stop the progress of Thorat. The Suchew accordingly prepared to attack him; but his troops were defeated, and both the Suchew and his Mootaliq were taken and thrown into confinement at Hingungaom.[1]

At the same time that the Punt Suchew undertook this service, two expeditions were prepared at Satara: the one under the Peishwa, Byhroo Punt Pingley, went to protect the Concan and repel Angria; and the other, commanded by Ballajee Wishwanath, was ordered to suppress Kishen Rao Kuttaokur. This Bramin had become so bold and confident that he marched to Ound to meet Shao's troops, but he was totally defeated, principally by the bravery of Sreeput Rao, the second son of Pureshram Trimbuck the Pritee Needhee, who had urged his son to perform some action which might wipe away the misconduct of his elder brother and procure his father's release. Shao, accordingly, once more restored the Pritee Needhee to his liberty and rank. Kishen Rao, after perfect submission, was pardoned, and received the village of Kuttao in Enam, a part of which is still enjoyed by his posterity.

This success was of considerable importance, but a like good fortune did not attend the Peishwa's expedition. Byhroo Punt was defeated and made prisoner by Angria. The fort of Logurh was taken; Rajmachee surrendered; and it was reported that Angria was about to march for Satara. All the force that could be spared was collected to oppose him under Ballajee Wishwanath, who undertook the command, with hopes of being enabled, from his former connection with Angria, to effect an accommodation more desirable than any that might result from a protracted contest with a powerful neighbour. Ballajee knew Angria to be a leader of considerable ability as well as enterprise, and that his resources were not bounded by the extent of the districts in his possession, but were chiefly obtained by daring and extensive piracies. Ballajee was successful in his endeavours; and Angria, on condition of receiving ten forts,[2] and sixteen fortified places

[1] Naroo Shunker, the Punt Suchew, was then a child; but amongst Hindoos, the guardian generally considers the presence of his ward necessary on occasions of importance.

[2] These were the island of 1. Kenery (Kundeyree), 2. Kolabah,

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of less strength [1] with their dependent villages; on being confirmed in command of the fleet and his title of Surkheil, agreed to renounce Sumbhajee, to release the Peishwa, to restore all his conquests except Rajmachee, and to maintain the cause of Shao.

By this agreement the Seedee found himself deprived of some places of which he had enjoyed the revenue for twenty years. The consequence was an immediate rupture between that chief and Angria, in which Ballajee Wishwanath, co-operating against the Seedee, invaded his territory and soon compelled him to submit.

A.D. 1714.—Ballajee having performed this service in a manner so entirely to Shao's wishes, was received on his return to Satara with the greatest distinction; and in consequence of the failure of Byhroo Punt Pingley,[2] that minister was removed from the dignity of Mookh Purdhan, and Ballajee Wishwanath was appointed Peishwa in his stead. His friend, Abbajee Poorundhuree, was confirmed as his Mootaliq, and Rammajee Punt Bhanoo [3] as his Furnuwees.

Mannajee Moray, after the desertion of Chunder Seyn Jadow, had received clothes of investiture as Senaputtee, but had not performed the services that were expected of him; he was now

3. Severndroog, 4. Viziadroog, 5. Jyegurh, 6. Deodroog, 7. Kunnikdroog, 8. Futihgurh, 9. Oochitgurh, 10. Yeswuntdroog.

[1] 1. Byroogurh, 2. Kotla, 3. Vickutgurh, 4. Manikgurh, 5. Mirggurh, 6. Sagurgurh, 7. Russalgurh, 8. Palgurh, 9. Gurhee Karaputtun, 10. Ramdroog, 11. Rajapoor, 12. Amber, 13. Sataolee, 14. Kamtey, 15. Sreewurdun, and 16. Munrunjun. (Copy of original papers.

[2] [With the dismissal of Bahiropant (Byhroo Punt) the Pinglē family sank into insignificance. Shāhu Rājā, in return for past services, granted to the family in perpetuity certain lands and forts, yielding annually Rs. 60,000. These were subsequently seized by the Pēshvā Mādhu Rāo in 1768, who granted in lieu thereof an annual income of Rs. 10,000. Even this reduced grant was sequestrated as soon as Bājī Rāo became Pēshwā in 1796, and the Pinglē family was reduced to poverty. After the overthrow of Bājī Rāo, and on the recommendation of Mountstuart Elphinstone, the representative of the family was granted an allowance of Rs. 1,800 from the Poona treasury, to which the Rājā of Sātāra added an allowance of Rs. 480 per annum. On the death of the Rājā this latter allowance was continued by the Bombay Government at the instance of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere until 1856. The present representative of the family is a third-class Sardār of the Deccan, and draws an annual stipend as manager of the temples at Pratāpgarh and Mahābaleshvar. (Parasnis, *Mahableshwar*, pp. 44–47.)]

[3] Ancestor of the celebrated Nana Furnuwees.

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ordered with Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, to accompany Ballajee into the Poona district, for the purpose of reducing Dummajee Thorat. As Ballajee was apprehensive that the Suchew, who was still a prisoner in Hingungaom, might be killed if the place were attacked, he was prevailed upon by Yessoo Bye, the Punt Suchew's mother, to endeavour to obtain his release before hostilities commenced. This was accordingly effected, and Yessoo Bye, in gratitude to the Peishwa for saving her son, made over to him the Suchew's rights in the Poona district, and gave him up the fort of Poorundhur as a place of refuge for his family, then residing in Sassoor. On the same pretence, Ballajee obtained a grant of it from Shao, by which concession that prince forged the first link in the chain which afterwards fettered his own power and reduced his successors to empty pageants of Bramin policy.

The force assembled in the Poona district was too powerful for Thorat. He was soon forced into the Gurhee of Hingungaom, which was breached and stormed. Dummajee Thorat was made prisoner, and the Gurhee was destroyed.

A.D. 1715.—The Sur Lushkur returned to the Godavery after quarrelling with the Raja for not appointing him Senaputtee, and they were never reconciled. The Peishwa induced the Moghul agent,[1] in charge of the Poona district, to make over the superior authority to him, on promising that Rumbhajee Nimbalkur's Jagheer should be respected. He immediately suppressed a body of banditti which infested it; gave his attention to restoring order in the villages; discontinued all farming of revenue; and encouraged cultivation by the usual means of very low and gradually increasing assessments.[2]

The affairs of the Mahrattas began to wear a more favourable aspect in all quarters; but after the confusion, weakness, and total anarchy which have just been described, the rapid expansion of their power from about this period, under the authority of Shao, is on any view very remarkable, and at first, until the cause be investigated, might seem quite incredible. The circumstances, however, which preserved that prince's ascendancy will be satisfactorily explained; and as to the domestic confusion among the Mahrattas, it may be considered the re-action of their

[1] He was a Mahratta, named Bajee Kuddum.
[2] Mahratta MSS.

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predatory power ;—their present state was like a flood with its channel completely obstructed, which rises on its natural barriers, till surmounting or bursting through them it inundates the plains.

The influence of Ballajee Wishwanath continued to increase, and no affair of importance was undertaken without his advice. A conciliatory policy was agreeable to Shao and dictated all Ballajee's measures. The system of Sivajee was the groundwork of their arrangements ; but, since the time of Sumbhajee, the necessity of preserving the Raja's supremacy by profusely issuing deeds, confirming to the successful Mahratta leader the possession of all the territory in which he could establish himself, was ruinous both to their union and resources as a nation. The nature, however, of the tribute which Sivajee's genius had instituted, suggested a remedy for the endless divisibility which every additional acquisition of territory was likely to create. The expedient adopted, which must have been long contemplated, will be shown in its proper place ; and although it but temporarily ensured its end, is the most ingenious as well as the deepest scheme of Bramin policy which is to be found unconnected with their religious system. The ministry, as far as practicable, was composed of the old retainers, and the situations of those who adhered to the Kolapoor party were conferred on their near relations.

The following is a list of the ministry at this period :—

Pritee Needhee, Pureshram Trimbuck.

The eight Purdhans.

1. Peishwa, or Mookh Purdhan. Ballajee Wishwanath.
2. Amat. Amba Rao Bappoo Rao Hunwuntay.
3. Suchew. Naroo Shunker.
4. Muntree. Naroo Ram Shenwee.
5. Senaputtee. Maun Sing Moray.
6. Somunt. Anund Rao.
7. Nyadeish. Honajee Anunt.
8. Pundit Rao. Moodhgul Bhutt Oopadheea.

Pursojee Bhonslay and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur both died about this time. The son of the former, Kanhojee Bhonslay, was confirmed by Shao in all his father's possessions, and succeeded to his title of Sena Sahib Soobeh, but the rank of Sur Lushkur was conferred on Dowulshee Somwoushee, together with all the rights and honours of the situation. The son of Hybut Rao, whose

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succession was set aside, quitted Shao's standard, joined Chunder Seyn Jadow, and afterwards received Barsee and other districts as a Jagheer from Nizam Ool Moolk.

(Shao was not destitute of ordinary ability, he was naturally generous, liberal to all religious establishments, observant of forms enjoined by the Hindoo faith, and particularly charitable to Bramins.) The Ghaut-Mahta and the rugged Concan were his birthright, but unused to climb Ghauts, or wander and live in the wilds of the mountain-forest, like his hardy grandfather, Shao's childhood was spent within the enclosure of the imperial seraglio, and it is not surprising that, seduced by the pomp and luxury of which he partook, his habits should have continued those of a Mahomedan. He occasionally showed all the violence of the Mahratta character,[1] and for the time anger overcame his indolence, but in general he was satisfied with the respect and homage paid to his person, and the professions of obedience invariably shown by the ministers to his commands; he was pleased at being freed from the drudgery of business, and in following his favourite amusements of hawking, hunting, and fishing; he did not foresee that he was delegating a power, which might supersede his own. As legitimate head of the Mahrattas, the importance of that nation was increased by the manner in which he was courted by the Moghuls, and the dignities and rights conferred upon him, in consequence of his situation, gave an influence and respect to the name of Shao, which under other circumstances he could never have attained. Both the sons of Sivajee followed the example of their father, from the period when he mounted the throne, and always declared their independence; but Shao acknowledged himself a vassal of the throne of Delhi, and whilst styling himself king of the Hindoos, he affected in his transactions with the Moghuls to consider himself merely as a Zumeendar, or head Deshmookh of the empire.

The Emperor Ferokhsere, soon after his accession, upon the cessation of hostilities at the Salpee Ghaut, appointed Shao to the rank of ten thousand horse,[2] and for seventeen months, or during the first government of Nizam Ool Moolk, the policy and vigour of that viceroy had greatly tended to control the Mahrattas.

[1] In comparison with the Bramins, the Mahrattas are extremely violent, which forms a striking contrast with the inflexible placidness which the former can command.

[2] Original letter from Ferokhsere to Shao.

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Ferokhsere, at a very early period, began to entertain a jealousy of the Syuds, to whom he owed his elevation, and mutual distrust soon followed. He consented to appoint the younger Syud, Hoossein Ally Khan, to the viceroyalty of the Deccan; in hopes that by separating the brothers he should weaken their power and compass their destruction. In applying for this appointment, Hoossein Ally Khan intended to follow the example of Zoolfikar Khan and govern by deputy, but relying on the Emperor's assurances, he was prevailed upon to depart for the Deccan, openly declaring, however, that if anything should be meditated against his brother, he would be in the capital in twenty days. Ferokhsere, under whose authority Daood Khan was removed to Guzerat, now dispatched secret instructions to that officer to oppose the new viceroy, promising that, if successful, he should be appointed to the six Soobehs of the Deccan in his stead. Daood Khan, from his known influence with the Mahrattas, and other circumstances, was considered a person peculiarly fit for this commission; which, at the command of the Emperor, he readily undertook. The only Mahratta, however, that had come forward, or had time to join him, was Neemajee Sindia, who, content with a Jagheer he received from Zoolfikar Khan in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, attached himself, during the dissensions of his countrymen, to the Moghul viceroy for the time being. On the present occasion, in observance of the same temporizing rule, when Hoossein Ally Khan and Daood Khan came to a battle, Neemajee Sindia galloped about at a distance, awaiting the result, and seeing victory declare in favour of Hoossein Ally, after the death of Daood Khan, the Mahratta congratulated the victor and joined his standard.[1]

A.D. 1716.

Ferokhsere, disappointed in his treacherous scheme, but still intent on the destruction of the brothers, with the greatest professions of cordiality, secretly encouraged resistance to the viceroy's authority, both amongst the servants of his government and the Mahrattas: a base and silly policy, which in the end could hardly fail to meet with its deserts.

The first expedition, directed by Hoossein Ally Khan against the Mahrattas, was for the purpose of opening the communication between Surat and Burhanpoor, and suppressing the depredations of Khundee Rao Dhabaray, who had established a line of posts

[1] Khafee Khan.

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along that route, and exacted one-fourth of the effects of all travellers who did not purchase his passport. Eight thousand men were sent off under Zoolfikar Beg to destroy this freebooter, but Dhabaray hearing of their march, threw himself in the way, suffered himself to be pursued in the usual manner, until the Moghuls were broken, when wheeling round, the experienced Mahratta completely defeated them, killed the commander, and plundered his troops even of their clothes.[1]

Maokoob Sing, the Dewan of Hoossein Ally Khan, set out accompanied by Chunder Seyn Jadow to avenge this disgraceful defeat. Khundee Rao effected a junction with the troops of the Sur Lushkur, and gave the Moghuls battle near Ahmednugur. A severe conflict took place, in which both parties claim the advantage, but the Moghuls returned to Aurungabad.[2] Khundee Rao Dhabaray, who had been long absent from court, went to Satara after these successes, paid his respects to Shao, and was raised to the rank of Senaputtee of the empire, Mannajee Moray having been removed for inability and misconduct.[3]

The Mahratta officers, encouraged by their success and by the secret overtures of Ferokhsere, now extended their encroachments; and, in addition to the Chouth which they had agreed to receive from Daood Khan in lieu of all claims, they everywhere levied the Surdeshmookhee.

It was under these circumstances that Hoossein Ally Khan, distracted by Mahratta depredations on one side and court intrigues on the other, had recourse to negotiations with Shao.[4] Shunkrajee Mulhar, originally a Carcoon under Sivajee, and appointed Suchew by Raja Ram at Ginjee, retired as has been mentioned, during the siege of that place, to Benares. Having become tired of a life so little in unison with his former habits, he engaged, although then a very old man, in the service of Hoossein Ally Khan when appointed to the Deccan. He soon gained the confidence of his master, and at an early period entered into a correspondence with his old friends at Satara. He

[1] Khafee Khan, Muasir Ool Oomrah, and Mahratta MSS.

[2] Mahratta MSS., and Khafee Khan. I have here rather followed the Mahratta, than the Moghul account, because subsequent events corroborate the former.

[3] Mahratta MSS.

[4] Khafee Khan and Mahratta MSS.

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represented to the viceroy, that if the Mahratta claims were recognized, they would have an interest in the prosperity of the country; that this was the only way to restore tranquillity, and a certain means to obtain powerful allies, by whose aid he might rest secure from present intrigues and eventually defy the avowed hostility of the Emperor.

In these opinions he was supported by Mohummud Anwar Khan, the governor of Burhanpoor, a person high in the confidence of Hoossein Ally Khan. Shunkrajee Mulhar was therefore dispatched to Satara, for the purpose of effecting an arrangement and alliance between the Moghuls and his countrymen.

This mission laid open a grand prospect to the aspiring mind of Ballajee Wishwanath. Besides the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, including the Beejapoor and Hyderabad Carnatic, with the tributary states of Mysore, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, Shao demanded the whole of the territory in Maharashtra which had belonged to Sivajee, with the exception of his possessions in Candeish; but in lieu of which, territory adjoining the old districts, as far east as Punderpoor, was to be substituted. The fort of Sewneree was required to be given up, and the fort of Trimbuck restored. The old districts in the Carnatic were also demanded, and a confirmation of some conquests lately made by Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, in Gondwaneh and Berar; and lastly, the mother and family of Shao were to be sent from Delhi as soon as practicable.

On these conditions Shao promised to pay to the imperial treasury,—for the old territory, a Peshkush or tribute of ten lacks of rupees:—for the Surdeshmookhee, or ten per cent. of the whole revenue, he bound himself to protect the country, to suppress every species of depredation, to bring thieves to punishment, or restore the amount stolen, and to pay the usual fee of six hundred and fifty-one per cent. on the annual income, for the hereditary right of Surdeshmookh:—for the grant of the Chouth, he agreed to maintain a body of fifteen thousand horse in the Emperor's service, to be placed at the disposal of the Soobehdars, Foujdars, and officers in the different districts; but upon the grant of the Chouth, no fee was to be paid. The Carnatic, and the Soobehs of Beejapoor and Hyderabad, which were then overrun by the partisans of Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor, Shao

promised to clear of plunderers, and to make good every loss sustained by the inhabitants of those provinces, from the date of the final settlement of the treaty.

A.D. 1717.—Shunkrajee Mulhar had already sufficiently proved his desire to forward the interests of his countrymen, and Shao appointed him to conclude the terms, which, according to the above proposals, were, with some exceptions, conceded by Hoossein Ally Khan.[1]

The territory and forts not under the viceroy's control were to be recovered at some season of leisure, or in any manner which Shao might think fit; in the meantime, a body of ten thousand horse were sent to join the viceroy. Suntajee and Pursojee Bhonslay, relations of the Sena Sahib Soobeh, Oodajee Powar, Wiswas Rao, and several other commanders, were detached in charge of the Mahratta troops for this duty. Agents were at the same time sent to inquire into the state of the districts, and collect the extensive shares of revenue now assigned to them, whilst the Bramin ministers were devising a system for realizing their intricate claims, which it was by no means their object or their interest to simplify.

A.D. 1718.—The Emperor, however, refused to ratify the treaty which had been exchanged, and an unworthy favourite having given him great encouragement in his intrigues for the destruction of the Syuds, he became less guarded in his measures, and an open rupture seemed inevitable. Hoossein Ally Khan, therefore, prepared to march for the capital, and solicited aid from Shao.[2] Such an opportunity was not neglected. Ballajee Wishwanath and Khundee Rao Dhabaray proceeded to join the viceroy with a large body of troops, for which he agreed to pay them a certain sum daily, from the date of their crossing the Nerbuddah until their return; and Hoossein Ally Khan further promised that the treaty should be ratified, and the family of Shao released and delivered to his officers.[3] Ballajee Wishwanath

[1] Mahratta MSS. Copy of an original memorandum, and several original papers. Khafee Khan also partially confirms this account.

[2] The Moghul historians mention that the viceroy pretended to receive from Shao a son of Sultan Mohummud Akber, then residing at the Mahratta court. The Mahrattas do not record this circumstance, but, although very possible, as it was attended by no result, I have rejected it.

[3] Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

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was instructed by Shaó, on his departure, to endeavour, if possible, to obtain the cession of the forts of Doulutabad and Chandah, and an authority for levying the tribute, which had been for some time imposed by the Mahrattas, in Guzerat and Malwa. The plea on which these extraordinary pretensions to tribute were made, was that the chiefs who had already levied contributions in those provinces would break in and plunder, unless Shao could receive such an authority as must oblige the chiefs in question to look to him only for what they termed their established contributions, and that he would under these circumstances be responsible for the protection and improvement of the territories.

The combined army marched to Delhi, where the wretched Ferokhsere, as irresolute in his actions as he was bold in his intrigues, could not be prevailed upon to act any consistent part: he was alike submissive and deceitful; the friends who would have acted for him were suffered to be removed; and finally, after some tumult he was confined by the Syuds and subsequently put to death. Two princes of the royal household succeeded each other on the throne, and died within seven months.[1]

A.D. 1719.—Roshun Ikhtiar, the son of Jehandar Shah and grandson of Sultan Mauzum, was then raised to the imperial dignity by the title of Mohummud Shah, but the two Syuds, by whom all these changes were effected, conducted the affairs of the empire with absolute sway, and with the usual watchful jealousy of usurpers. They held the reins with a strong hand, but they were naturally desirous of retaining the services of such nobles of experience and ability as were not supposed hostile to their party. Of this number was Nizam Ool Moolk, but that officer was secretly inimical to their power: he had been removed from his government in the Deccan, to make room for Hoossein Ally Khan, and appointed to Mooradabad, where he had distinguished himself by his activity in reducing to order some rebellious Zumeendars of the province, who had sheltered themselves in the Sewalick mountains. He was recalled to court by the Emperor, and remained at Delhi for some time unemployed, but was at last dispatched as governor of the province of Malwa, at the recom-

[1] [Altogether four princes sat on the throne between the death of Farrukhsiyar and the accession of Muhammad Shāh. The reigns of the first three fall between February 18 and August 27, 1719. The fourth held the throne from October 1 to November 8, 1720 (*O.H.I.*, p. 456 n.).]

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mendation of the elder Syud. Although daring and ambitious, he inherited the temporizing policy of his father, and he was induced, on the confinement of Ferokhsere, to profess his allegiance to the pageant Emperor whom the Syuds had set up. He continued in his government of Malwa; but observing the troubles and disorders likely to arise, he waited in expectation of some favourable opportunity to aggrandize himself during the revolutionary period of which he foresaw the approach.

A.D. 1720.—Ballajee Wishwanath and his Mahrattas remained at Delhi until the accession of Mohummud Shah; and during the tumult which preceded the confinement of Ferokhsere, Suntajee Bhonslay and fifteen hundred of his men were killed by the populace in the streets of Delhi.[1] The army was paid by the Syuds, according to the agreement, and Shao's mother and family given over to Ballajee Wishwanath. Both the Peishwa and Senaputtee being anxious to return to the Deccan, they were permitted to depart; and, according to the treaty with Hoossein Ally Khan, they received three imperial grants[2] for the Chouth Surdeshmookhee, and Swuraje. The Chouth,[3] or one fourth of the whole revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, including the Hyderabad and Beejapoor Carnatic, and the tributary states of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Mysore; the Surdeshmookhee,[4]

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen, and Mahratta MSS. In the latter, the manner of his death is differently related; but here, the former is the preferable authority. He is said to have been the natural son of Pursojee Bhonslay. The Seyr-ul-Mutuakhereen is a well-known Persian work, which was translated into English by a renegado Frenchman named Mustapha. His manuscript translation is in the library at the India House.

[2] The original grants are in possession of the Raja of Satara: they are in the name of Mohummud Shah, dated in the first of his reign, A.H. 1131, A.D. 1719. The Emperor Mohummud Shah was not, in fact, placed on the throne till 1720; but during the months that intervene between his elevation and the dethronement of Ferokhsere, two princes had filled the throne, whose names were expunged from the records.

[3] The deed for the Chouth is dated 22d Rubbee Ool Akhir, A.H. 1131, and grants to Shao the fourth of the whole revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, simply on condition that he shall maintain fifteen thousand horse, for the purpose of assisting the military governors in preserving order and tranquillity in the country.

[4] The Surdeshmookhee grant is dated 4th Jummadee ool Uwul, or twelve days after that of the Chouth. It does not specify in the body of the deed that it is granted as an hereditary right; but the

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or ten per cent. over and above the Chouth ; and the Swuraje,[1] literally meaning *our own sovereignty,* or the districts possessed by Sivajee at the time of his death, which were granted to Shao, excepting the detached possessions in Candeish, the fort of Trimbuck with the adjoining district, and the conquests south

customary fee on such occasions is stated on the back of the instrument, as will be seen in the accompanying extract, which also shows the estimated revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, as registered by the Moghuls. The fee so calculated was commuted to 117,19,390 rupees, in consequence of the depopulated state of the districts.

			A.	P.
Soobeh	Aurungabad	123,76,042	11	3
Ditto	Berar	115,23,508	14	3
Ditto	Beder	74,91,879	12	3
Ditto	Beejapoor	785,08,560	14	1
Ditto	Hyderabad	648,67,483	0	0
Ditto	Candeish	57,49,819	0	3
	Rupees	1805,17,294	6	1
The Surdeshmookhee estimated in rupees, at .		180,51,730	0	0
Peshkush, or established fee on hereditary rights conferred, 651 per cent.		1175,16,762	0	0
The immediate payment on delivering the deed, one-fourth, or		293,79,190	8	0
The remainder, payable by instalments . .		881,37,571	8	0

[1] The following is a list of the sixteen districts included in the grant of the Swuraje. 1. Poona, 2. Sopa, including Baramuttee, 3. Indapoor, 4. Waee, 5. The Mawuls, 6. Satara, 7. Kurar, 8. Kuttao, 9. Maun, 10. Phultun, 11. Mulkapoor, 12. Tarla, 13. Panalla, 14. Azerah, 15. Joonere, and 16. Kolapoor. The Pergunnas north of the Toongbuddra, including Kopaul, Gudduck, Hullyal, and all the forts which were captured by Sivajee. The Concan, consisting of, 1. Ramnugur, including Gundavee, 2. Jowur, 3. Choule, 4. Beemgurh, 5. Beemree, 6. Kalliannee, 7. Rajpooree, 8. Dabul, 9. Jowlee, 10. Rajapoor, 11. Ponda, 12. Akolah, and 13. Koodal.

The above contain all that is useful from these deeds : to give a full translation is quite unnecessary, especially as to the generality of readers the substance will prove more intelligible.

[For a description of the extent of the *Svarāj*, and a list of the *subhas* and forts included in it, see article by P. V. Mavji, *Shivaji's Swarājya*, pp. 30–42, vol. xxii of *J.B.B.R.A.S.* ; also Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 455 ff. In modern days the word *Svarāj*, or *Svarājya* (Swuraje) has acquired a new meaning. In the mouth of 'moderate' Indian politicians it is supposed to denote only a pious aspiration towards self-government of the colonial type. To the 'extremists' it signifies the immediate and violent emancipation of India from British rule and complete independence. (Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (1910), p. 254.)]

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of the Wurdah and Toongbuddra rivers, which were not ceded. In lieu of such of these claims as lay to the north of the Beema, districts beyond the line of forts from Tattora to Muchindergurh, as far east as Punderpoor, were wholly ceded to Shao, and also those districts which Aurungzebe had promised to him at the time of his marriage in that Emperor's camp. The country watered by the Yairla, Maun, and Neera, celebrated for good horses and hardy soldiers, and the residence of some of the most ancient families in Maharashtra, who had not hitherto formally acknowledged the descendant of Sivajee, were by this cession placed under his authority.

The Mahrattas pretend that the conquests in Berar by Pursojee and Kanhojee Bhonslay, and their right to tribute in Guzerat and Malwa, were confirmed at the same time; but although some very indefinite verbal promise may have been given, and Ballajee Wishwanath left a wukeel, named Deo Rao Hingunee, for the purpose, as is alleged, of receiving the Sunnuds, yet subsequent events prove the falsity of the assertion. No such confirmation appears in the imperial deeds; the usual fees levied on an hereditary assignment are specified on the back of the grant for the Surdeshmookhee, but none of the three were given as perpetual alienations.

When Ballajee Wishwanath departed for Delhi, he left his Dewan, Abbajee Poorundhuree, as his Mootaliq or deputy in charge of his seal of office, and the duties of Peishwa continued to be carried on at the Mahratta court in Ballajee's name. On his return to Satara with the imperial deeds, the scheme for collecting and distributing the revenues, which all admit to have been projected by Ballajee, was examined, and the system before alluded to, which had already been partially introduced, was now generally promulgated. A brief analysis of their plans for collecting and appropriating the revenues will afford more insight into the character of the people and the nature of Bramin power than the subject promises. It furnishes not only some explanation of the mode adopted for preserving a common interest among the Mahrattas, and affording pretexts for encroaching on the Moghuls, but it exposes the laboured artifice, by which the illiterate Mahratta chief becomes wholly dependent on his Bramin accountant.

The Surdeshmookhee, or ten per cent. on the revenues of the

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six Soobehs of the Deccan, was first set aside and termed by the ministers the Raja's *Wutun*; a gratifying sound to the ears of a Mahratta, whether prince or peasant.

The imposition of the Surdeshmookhee of course reduced in a proportionate degree the actual collections from a country, the resources of which were already drained to the utmost; but the nominal revenue continued the same. To have collected even one-fourth of the standard assessment would probably at this period have been impossible; but the Mahrattas, in all situations, endeavoured to secure, in lieu of their Chouth, at least twenty-five per cent. of the real balance. But although they seldom could collect it, they always stated the Chouth as due upon the Tunkha, or standard assessment, because, even should a day of retribution arrive, no claim of Peshkush could be made by the Moghuls on that head, as none was specified on the deed.

In regard to the Surdeshmookhee, it suited both their foreign and domestic policy to keep that claim undefined; but one system in practice, that of exacting as much as they could, was as simple as it was invariable.

Of the seventy-five per cent. which remained to the Moghuls, one-third or twenty-five per cent. was received, according to established usage, by the Foujdar, and the balance was collected, sometimes for the imperial exchequer, but generally on account of some Jagheerdar, to whom, as I have already mentioned in a former chapter, the Moghul conquests in the Deccan were assigned for the support of troops. This general mode of appropriating the revenue, accounts for the seizures, resumptions, and cessions of territory, under the name of Jagheer, which was taken, retaken, and interchanged, during the later wars in the Deccan, between the Nizam and the Peishwa. It likewise explains the practice, which prevailed in many villages, even up to the period of the late conquests in Maharashtra by the British Government, of bringing fifty per cent. of the net revenue to account under the head of Jagheer, for which the Koolkurnees, in less than a century, could assign no reason except the custom of their forefathers.

The Swuraje, applied in the first instance to that part of the territory north of the Toongbuddra possessed by Sivajee at his death, was, upon the return of Ballajee Wishwanath, extended in its signification to the whole of the Mahratta claims, exclusive of the Surdeshmookhee. Of these claims one-fourth, or twenty-

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five per cent., was appropriated to the head of the state, in addition to the Surdeshmookhee ; and this fourth was known by the name of the *Raja's Babtee*[1] : the balance was termed Mokassa.[2] Upon the Mokassa there were two shares left at the disposal of the Raja ; the one was Sahotra, or six per cent., and the other Nargounda, or three per cent., both calculated on the whole Swuraje. The balance of the Mokassa was sixty-six per cent. of the whole of the Mahratta claims, exclusive of the Surdeshmookhee.

The Sahotra was bestowed by Shao on the Punt Suchew, as an hereditary assignment ; but it was only collected by the Suchew's own agents within the territory wholly possessed by the Mahrattas : separate collectors were sent by the Raja to realize it in distant districts. The Nargounda was granted to different persons at the Raja's pleasure.

The Purdhans, independent of salaries from the treasury, had many Enam villages conferred upon them. Ballajee Wishwanath received several districts adjoining Poona in personal Jagheer, including the fort of Loghur. The Pritee Needhee, the Peishwa, and the Punt Suchew were charged with the collection of the Babtee on the Raja's account. Thus there were distinct agents

[1] This was to distinguish it from other Babtee, or items of revenue. Thus they say, Surdeshmookhee Babtee, Mokassa Babtee, or items of revenue under these heads respectively.

[2] This word was no doubt adopted from the old name of the Beejapoor revenue officer. The Mahrattas are not very choice in their etymology, and appear to have been particularly arbitrary in fixing their revenue nomenclature. Nargounda, for instance, which is a corruption of the common Carnatic name for head Patell (Sur Patell, in Maharashtra), was applied to express three per cent. upon their whole revenue, exclusive of the Surdeshmookhee. The office of Nargounda, or Nargaora, was common under the Beejapoor government, in the districts south of the Kistna. Nar in the Carnatic is (I believe) applied, like turuf in Maharashtra, as a name for a smaller division of a district, and Gaora is synonymous with Patell. When Shao got possession of Panalla, he bestowed the hereditary right of Nargaora on his Chitnees, which, for some reason unexplained, had been forfeited by a Mahratta named Nagojee Bhaskur to the Beejapoor government. In this case, the Nargaora wutun, having been granted in the Arabic year 1110, A.D. 1709–10, before the plan of revenue distribution was thought of, it was simply an hereditary right, as head Patell of the turuf. [Nargounda is the Kanarese word *Nādagāvuda* (pronounced *Nārgauda*); *nāda* or *nādu* meaning a province, district, or the country, and *gāvuda* a headman. In Mysore the word denotes (*a*) the non-official headman of a district who settles caste disputes; (*b*) an official headman of several villages. (Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary.*)]

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for realizing the Babtee and Surdeshmookhee for the Sahotra of the Punt Suchew, for the Nargounda of the assignee to whom it belonged, and for Mokassa to different officers for maintaining troops.

The Mokassa was distributed amongst a great number of chiefs as military Jagheer, burdened, according to circumstances, with dues to the head of the state, both of money and of troops. The districts of old Mahratta Jagheerdars were exempted from the Chouth; but they generally were liable to the payment of Surdeshmookhee, besides furnishing their quota of horse. Such Jagheers, in a grant of Mokassa for a large tract, were always stated as deductions, and long before districts were conquered formal grants and assignments of their revenue were distributed. Numberless personal Jagheers and Enams, of lands and of whole villages, were alienated by Shao: the former commonly required the performance of some service, but the latter were entirely freehold. The Raja's authority was considered necessary to collect the revenues thus conceded; but authority, for which they were constantly petitioning, was a mere mockery. The Bramins soon proved, at least to their own satisfaction, that the Raja's Sunnud was sufficient for levying tribute in districts not specified in the imperial deeds. A district once overrun was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst the others were plundered *by virtue of letters patent.*

There were particular quarters of the country assigned to the principal officers, which, as far as they can now be ascertained, were as follow: The Peishwa and Senaputtee, charged with the command of a great proportion of the Raja's personal troops, were ordered to direct their attention to the general protection and defence of the territory. The former had authority to levy the government dues in Candeish and part of the Balaghaut; the latter was vested with similar authority in Buglana, and a right to realize the dues established by usage from Guzerat. Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, had charge of Berar Payeen Ghaut, and was privileged to make conquests and exact tribute from Gondwaneh to the eastward. The Sur Lushkur had Gungthuree, including part of Aurungabad; Futih Sing Bhonslay was appointed to the Carnatic; whilst the general charge of the old territory from the Neera to the Warna, and the collections from Hyderabad and Beder, were left to the Pritee Needhee and the

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immediate agents of the Raja. The Chitnees had particular charge of several districts in the Concan. The Punt Suchew enjoyed the revenue of the whole Sahotra, besides his old possessions in Jagheer. The agents for collecting the Raja's Zumeendaree dues were styled Naib Surdeshmookh.

Kanhojee Angria, retaining his districts in the Concan, levied his Chouth, as he termed it, by continuing to plunder the ships of all nations that appeared on the coast. For a time Angria refrained from molesting the English; but in consequence of his taking the ship *Success*, under British colours, war was renewed in 1717, and the settlement of Bombay was endangered by his intrigues with a Bramin, known by the name of Rama Kamatty,[1] who was employed in a confidential manner, and in command of the Sepoys, by the governor, Mr. Charles Boone.[2] On the accession of Mr. Phipps, as president in council, the war was vigorously prosecuted; but Kanhojee Angria continued to deride the efforts[3]

[1] Probably Komptee. There is a class of Carnatic Bramins so named; but Kamattees are of the labouring class, and much employed in Bombay as palanquin-bearers. [Rāma was a Shēnvī or Gāud Sarasvat Brahman, Kāmat being a common Shēnvī surname. A superfluous 'i' seems to have been affixed to the name in the documents of the period, one of which (Surat Council's letter to Bombay, June 30, 1690) refers to him as 'Ramajee Comajee' (Rāmāji Kāmat-ji). The name of a Shēnvī family in Goa is similarly altered in Portuguese to 'Camota' or 'Camotim,' which gives a clue to the alteration of the name in English documents. Rāma Kāmat was arrested, tried and condemned to imprisonment for life with the loss of his property, on the strength of a confession made under torture by his clerk, and of a letter which was subsequently proved to have been a forgery. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 93–95; Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, 328–54; Edwardes' *Rise of Bombay*.) For account of the Shēnvī Brahmans, see Wilson, *Indian Caste*, 1877, ii. 29, 30.]

[2] [Boone assumed the office of Governor on December 26, 1715, and was succeeded by William Phipps on January 9, 1722. The latter held office until January 10, 1729.]

[3] The following letter to the Bombay government is a curious specimen of his correspondence. It was received at Bombay, in November 1720, after an attempt on Viziadroog (or Gheriah) by an expedition under Mr. Walter Brown. I have given the letter nearly as it appears on the records, but have taken a few liberties with the translator's orthography.

Translate of Kanhojee Angria's Letter to the Honourable the President.

'I received your Excellency's letter, and have understood all your Excellency writes me. "That the differences that continue even until now are through my means; that the desire of possessing what

both of the English and Portuguese, who united to suppress his piracies. Angria used to pay a tribute to the Raja in guns, muskets, military stores, and ammunition. He also presented frequent nuzurs, in articles from Europe and China; and he was

is another's is a thing very wide of reason; that such-like insults are a sort of piracy; that such proceedings cannot continue long; that had I from my beginning cultivated trade, and favoured the merchant, the port I now govern might, by the divine favour, have in some measure vied with the great port of Surat, and my name have become famous; all which," your Excellency says, "is not to be brought about but by opening a fair trade; that he that is least expert in war generally comes off a sufferer thereby; and that he who follows it purely through a love that he hath thereto, will one time or another find cause to repent; that if I had considered this something sooner, I might have found some benefit and convenience thereby." Your Excellency says, "you are very well acquainted with the manner of my government, from its beginning, and for that reason you would not on any account open a treaty with me until I set at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here: after that, you would receive any proposition from me that was friendly, or might tend to an accommodation."

'At all which I very much admire, especially when I find your Excellency persuaded that I have been the cause of the past differences and disputes, the truth of which your Excellency will soon find when you examine both sides; for as touching the desire of possessing what is another's, I do not find the merchants exempt from this sort of ambition, for this is the way of the world; for God gives nothing immediately from himself, but takes from one to give to another. Whether this is right or no, who is able to determine?

'It little behoves the merchants, I am sure, to say our government is supported by violence, insults, and piracies; for-as-much as Maharaja (which is Sivajee) making war against four kings, founded and established his kingdom. This was our introduction and beginning; and whether or no, by these ways, this government hath proved durable, your Excellency well knows, so likewise did your predecessors; and whether it is durable or no, I would have your Excellency consider, it is certain nothing in this world is durable, which if your Excellency does consider, the way of this world is well known.

'Your Excellency is pleased to say, "if I had regard to the weal of the people, and favoured commerce, my power would be much augmented, and my port become like that of Surat"; but I never have been wanting to favour the merchants, trading according to the laws of this country, nor of chastising those transgressing the same as your Excellency well knows. "The increase of power depends on the divine will, in which human diligence little availeth." Until this day, I have kept up the power that was necessary: whether I shall continue it or no for the future, who can tell? but that will be as God is pleased to determine.

'Your Excellency was pleased to write, "that war proves most fatal to those where the use of the sword is not understood"; but in the government of his Excellency Charles Boone, nobody can say

sometimes charged with a very extraordinary duty, that of executing state criminals.

All the principal Mahratta officers had, as a further means of preserving intercourse and union, particular claims assigned to them on portions of revenue, or on whole villages, in the districts of each other. The greatest Mahratta commanders, or their principal Bramin agents, were eager to possess their native village; but although vested with the control, they were proud to acknowledge themselves of the family of the Patell or Koolkurnee; and if heirs to a miras field, they would sooner have lost wealth and rank than been dispossessed of such *wutun* or inheritance. Yet, on obtaining the absolute sovereignty, they never assumed an authority in the interior village concerns, beyond the rights and privileges acquired by birth or purchase, according to the invariable rules of the country.

Such is a brief outline of the system and arrangements settled by

there was not loss on both sides; for victories depend on the hand of God, and for this reason great men take little notice of such losses.

'Your Excellency is pleased to write, "that he who follows war purely through an inclination that he hath thereto, one time or another will find cause to repent"; of which I suppose your Excellency hath found proof; for we are not always victorious, nor always unfortunate.

'Your Excellency was pleased to write, "that you well understood the manner of my government, and for that reason you could not enter upon any treaty of peace with me, unless I would first set at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here." I very well know your Excellency understands the manner of my government from its beginning, therefore this gives me no wonder; but if your Excellency says you will admit any proposition, after having your people released, I must then likewise say, my people are prisoners under your Excellency: how can I then give liberty to yours? But if your Excellency's intent was cordially to admit any overtures of peace for ending our present disputes, and do really write me for that end concerning the liberty of your people, I am to assure you my intent is cordially the same. It is therefore necessary, that some person of character intervene, and act as guarantee between us, to whom I will presently send your Excellency's people. Your Excellency will afterwards do the like by mine: the prisoners on both sides, having by this means obtained their liberty, afterwards we shall enter on what relates to our friendship and treaty of peace for the avoidance of prejudice on both sides. For this end, I now write your Excellency, which I hope will meet with regard; and if your Excellency's intention be to treat of peace and friendship, be pleased to send an answer to this, that, conformable thereto, I may consider on what is most proper to be done. As your Excellency is a man of understanding, I need say no more.'

the Mahratta ministry on the return of Ballajee Wishwanath[1]; and such was the mode by which a common interest was created, and for a time preserved, among the Mahratta chiefs; whilst the character of Shao, the influence and power of Ballajee Wishwanath, the abilities of his sons Bajee Rao and Chimnajee, and the preponderance of Bramin opinion and authority, paved the way, though by gradual steps, for the supremacy and usurpation of the Peishwas.

[1] [Bālājī Visvanāth claimed that those levies (*chauth* and *sardeshmukhī*) should be calculated on the revenue as fixed either by Todar Mall in Akbar's or by Malik Ambar in Shāh Jahān's time, well knowing that no such amount of revenue could be raised from a ruined country. He thus secured the advantage of always keeping a bill for arrears in hand. He artfully arranged that several Marāthā chiefs should share the collections from a single district, in that way purposely introducing complications into the accounts, and increasing the power of his Brahman caste-fellows, who alone had the knowledge and intelligence equal to dealing with such accounts. Nobody except the Brahmans rightly knew what was due or to whom it was due. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 457–8.)]

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CHAPTER XIII.

FROM A.D. 1720 TO A.D. 1726.

A.D. 1720.—THE measures which the Syuds adopted were the reverse of conciliatory; they were respected by the people, but they neither gained the good-will of the nobility nor of the pageant Emperor whom they had raised. Nizam Ool Moolk, governor of Malwa, who always meditated the means of aggrandizing himself, encouraged by these appearances of discontent and secretly incited by persons in the confidence of Mohummud Shah, formed the resolution of throwing off his dependence on the Syuds and of resisting their authority by possessing himself of the resources of the Deccan. He was aided in his projected scheme by Murhummut Khan, a disaffected officer of considerable talent, whom he had gained, and the awakened suspicions of the Syuds determined his purpose.

Assuming the title of Asif-ja, Nizam Ool Moolk crossed the Nerbuddah at the head of twelve thousand men. The fort of Asseergurh was given up to him by Talib Khan for a sum of money; Burhanpoor was surrendered by Mohummud Anwar Khan, and the whole of Candeish in a very short time submitted. Chunder Seyn Jadow, Nimbalkur the son of Hybut Rao the late Surlushkur, Rao Rumbha Nimbalkur, several other Mahrattas, discontented with Shao, and some troops belonging to Sumbhajee from Kolapoor, attached themselves to his standard.[1]

At this juncture there were two armies in the interests of the Syuds, at no great distance from each other; the one under Dilawur Ally Khan was on the frontiers of Malwa, and the other was the army of the Deccan, stationed at Aurungabad, with the deputy viceroy, Alum Ally Khan, a nephew of the Syuds, left in charge of the government, when his uncle Hoossein Ally Khan

[1] Mahratta MSS., and Khafee Khan.

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departed for Delhi to depose Ferokhsere. As the rains were at hand, Nizam Ool Moolk probably contemplated that the advance of the former might be obstructed by the swelling of the Nerbuddah and Taptee, and that he should be able to decide the fate of the Deccan and become master of its resources, before the deputy viceroy could be reinforced from Hindoostan. Dilawur Ally Khan, however, marched with such rapidity, that he crossed the rivers whilst still fordable, but either incapable of perceiving or disdaining the advantage which would have been ensured by forming a junction with the troops at Aurungabad, and intent only on attacking his enemy, he marched straight for Burhanpoor. Nizam Ool Moolk prepared to receive him, and being aware of the impetuous character of his adversary, adopted an order of battle suggested by his experience of Deccan warfare: he sent forward and displayed a part of his army, to stimulate the ardour of Dilawur Ally Khan, who rushed upon them, pushed forward in imagined victory, was drawn into an ambuscade, defeated, and slain.[1]

Alum Ally Khan, the deputy viceroy, had not assembled the whole of his army, when news of this disaster reached Aurungabad; the troops of Shao, under Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur speedily joined Shunkrajee Mulhar, who, since the departure of Hoossein Ally Khan, had resided with the deputy viceroy as the envoy of Shao. Khundee Rao Dhabaray, who had just returned from Delhi, was likewise dispatched from Satara with a body of horse. Alum Ally Khan advanced towards Burhanpoor, and sent forward the Mahrattas to harass his opponent. Nizam Ool Moolk, who had been busily employed in preparing his own troops and sowing sedition among those of his adversary, likewise advanced; but the Poorna river being greatly swollen, his march was for a time interrupted, until a ford was discovered. The Mahratta horse on each side had frequent skirmishes as the Moghul armies approached each other; but Nizam Ool Moolk, previous to engaging, stationed his Mahrattas at a village some distance in the rear. Choosing an

[1] The Surat records, containing the report of the day (Monday, 20th June, 1720) give a different account, and say, 'Nizam Ool Moolk prevented the junction.' That he should do so was probable, but I have followed the concurring testimony of the Moghul historians, supported by Mahratta manuscripts.

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arrangement nearly similar to that by which his late success had been achieved, Nizam Ool Moolk attacked his adversary at Balapoor in Berar Payeen Ghaut, drew him into an ambuscade, where, after great efforts of personal valour, and after many of his troops had fled or deserted to his enemy, Alum Ally Khan at length fell, surrounded by Mahrattas slain in his defence. On this occasion the Mahrattas behaved as faithful auxiliaries and fought with bravery; they lost no person of note, except Shunkrajee Mulhar, who was mortally wounded and made prisoner.[1]

The news of this second victory, which was gained by Nizam Ool Moolk about the end of July, was received at Delhi with consternation by the Syuds, but with secret satisfaction by the Emperor. Various were the plans proposed by the two brothers, but it was at last determined, instead of yielding the government of the Deccan to Nizam Ool Moolk, a measure strongly advised by their Hindoo agent, Ruttun Chund, that the younger Syud, Hoossein Ally Khan, should march for the Deccan, taking with him the Emperor and a well appointed army sufficient to crush this formidable rebel.

Accordingly, Hoossein Ally Khan, accompanied by the Emperor, having made every preparation, took leave of his brother and commenced his march southward. The Tooranee Moghuls, friends and countrymen of Nizam Ool Moolk, dreaded the event of a war in the Deccan; but stimulated by the success of Nizam Ool Moolk, whom they considered a chief of their tribe, and encouraged by the connivance of the Emperor, a conspiracy was formed against the life of Hoossein Ally Khan by three daring individuals, on one of whom fell the lot of striking the blow. The assassin effected his deadly purpose at the expense of his life. The surviving conspirators, Mohummud Amin Khan and Sadut Khan, joined by Hyder Koolee Khan, immediately placed the Emperor at the head of such troops as they could command, proclaimed their resolution of freeing him from the tyranny of the Syuds, and after considerable bloodshed obtained the ascendancy in camp. An Indian army readily changes masters, and even under circumstances of national hostility, where the commander of the vanquished has been slain and his followers accept of service from the victor, the new chief,

[1] Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS

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to use their own expression, 'whose salt they eat,' frequently advances at their head with as much confidence as if they had never been his enemies; on the present occasion, although the army had previously looked on Hoossein Ally Khan as their master, they were employed under the name and authority of Mohummud Shah. The chiefs of the conspiracy, therefore, after they had prevailed over the immediate dependants of the Syuds, found no difficulty in securing the fidelity of the army, and the imperial standards were advanced towards the capital. Syud Abdoollah Khan, on hearing of this revolution, by means of the treasure at his command assembled a large army in a few days, and placing on the throne the rival to Mohummud Shah, marched forth to punish the murderers of his brother. The armies met at Shahpoor, where a bloody contest, long dubious, at length ended in the defeat of Abdoollah Khan, who was wounded and made prisoner.

Mohummud Shah, on thus becoming entire master of the empire, in gratitude for the services he had experienced, appointed Mohummud Amin Khan his vizier; Khan Dowran received the title of Umeer Ool Oomrah, Kummur-ud-deen Khan, the son of Mohummud Amin, was raised to high dignity, Hyder Koolee Khan and Sadut Khan were also promoted, and all those who had distinguished themselves in the battle of Shahpoor were rewarded and honoured.[1]

The Emperor entered his capital in splendid procession, and for many days nothing was heard but rejoicing and festivity. Letters of submission and professions of loyalty poured in from every quarter; Nizam Ool Moolk offered his congratulations; Shao's envoy was equally prompt in paying homage, and the chiefs of the European factories, through the different Soobehdars and Foujdars, sent humble offers of congratulation and best wishes for His Majesty's long and happy reign.

The reign of Mohummud Shah was indeed long, but ages of ordinary decay were crowded into that period. The rapid ruin of the empire, and the terrible fate over-hanging the venerable Delhi, form a melancholy contrast with the gaiety and splendour which now gladdened its inhabitants, and for which the Moghul capital was still celebrated. Suitable answers and returns were

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen.

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made to all the messages, letters, and presents, which crowded in upon the young Emperor. Nizam Ool Moolk, whose successful revolt had been the primary cause of the present happy revolution, was particularly honoured, and shortly afterwards, in consequence of the sudden death of Mohummud Amin Khan, he was not only permitted to retain his viceroyalty, in addition to his government of Malwa, but raised to the office of vizier of the empire; arrangements, however, in the Deccan and Carnatic, to which we shall presently revert, prevented his appearing at court until the month of January 1722.

Amongst the appointments of this period, it is proper to mention those of Hyder Koolee Khan to Guzerat, which he at first governed by deputy; and of Sadut Khan, first to Agra and afterwards to Oude; during the short time the latter held both governments, he also entrusted Agra to a deputy. Sadut Khan has been already mentioned as an active conspirator against his former patrons the Syuds, and he afterwards bore a large share in the events of his time, but he is best known in British India as the ancestor of the present King of Oude.

The first event which attracted the attention of the new administration at Delhi, and on the issue of which that of all India was probably fixed, arose from the rebellion of the Rajpoot prince of Joudpoor, Ajeet Sing, who, originally in the interest of the Syuds, had possessed himself of Ajimere. Hyder Koolee Khan and Sadut Khan proposed marching to reduce him to obedience, but Khan Dowran, the principal minister in the absence of Nizam Ool Moolk, unwilling to relinquish the command of the expedition, was at the same time afraid of losing his influence when at a distance from the young Emperor; he was also averse to quit the pleasures of the capital, and at last assented to the appointment of Kummur-ud-deen Khan for this service. The latter, however, required some preliminary concessions in regard to his powers of command, which could not be complied with; in short, the expedition was abandoned, and the imperial authority compromised, by admitting excuses and professions of submission from Ajeet Sing, which were tendered to the Emperor through Khan Dowran. Nor did a mere pardon suffice; by the influence of Khan Dowran, Ajeet Sing was appointed to the government of Agra, in consequence of the assassination of the deputy of Sadut Khan, and thus, as the Khan was not

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consulted, the Emperor's enemy was conciliated at the expense of his friend.

In the meantime, several important changes had also taken place at the Mahratta court, chiefly owing to the death of three of the principal ministers—Pureshram Trimbuck, Ballajee Wishwanath and Khundee Rao Dhabaray. Sreeput Rao, second son of the Pritee Needhee, had succeeded his father Pureshram Trimbuck previously to the return of Ballajee Wishwanath from Delhi. The Peishwa's health had suffered considerably from the fatigue of the journey and the labour he had bestowed on different arrangements after his return: he therefore obtained permission from the Raja to retire for a short time to Sassoor, where his family resided, but his constitution being completely exhausted, he only survived a few days.[1] He left two sons, Bajee Rao and Chimnajee, and two daughters, Bhew Bye, married to Abbajee Naik, the brother of Bappoojee Naik, a rich banker of Baramuttee; and Annoo Bye, the wife of Narrain Rao Ghorepuray of Eettul Kurinjee,[2] connections which have reference to future circumstances. Ballajee's eldest son, Bajee Rao, was not formally invested with the dignity of Peishwa for nearly seven months after his father's death; the reason for this delay is no where explained, but it may be attributed to the absence of the principal officers; or Bajee Rao may have joined the army, which did not return beyond the Godavery for some time after the battle of Balapoor.

Oct.

The troops of Khundee Rao Dhabaray behaved with great bravery on that occasion; and one of his officers, Dummajee Gaekwar, who with several of his sons had long stood high in Khundee Rao's estimation, had so particularly distinguished himself that on his return he recommended him to Shao in the warmest manner. The Raja, in consequence, appointed him second in command under Khundee Rao, with the title of Shumsher Buhadur.[3] Such was the origin of the ancestor of the reigning

[1] One authority, the Calendar of the Poona Duftur, states his death in April 1721; but the origin of the mistake is accounted for by the delay which occurred in the appointment of his successor.

[2] [Ichalkaranjī (Eettul Kurinjee) is now a feudatory *jāgīr* of the Kolhāpur State, with a revenue of a little over three lakhs of rupees (£20,000). (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 513, 520.)]

[3] [*Shamsher Bāhādur* signifies 'the brave or the illustrious swordsman,' and is still one of the titles of the Gaekwār of Baroda. Lieutenant-

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family at Baroda. Neither Dummajee nor Khundee Rao Dhabaray survived their return above a few months; the son of Khundee Rao, Trimbuck Rao Dhabaray, was honoured with the dress of Senaputtee in May; the same month in which Bajee Rao received his clothes of investiture as Peishwa. Peelajee Gaekwar, an active partisan, the son of Junkojee Gaekwar, succeeded to the situation of his uncle Dummajee; and Chimnajee, the second son of the late Peishwa, was appointed to a similar command under his brother. Chimnajee likewise received the district of Sopa in Jagheer. Abbajee Punt Poorundhuree, their father's Mootaliq, according to the rule of appointment by the Raja, was re-invested by Shao with scrupulous ceremony. During the interval between the death of Ballajee Wishwanath and the appointment of Bajee Rao, Abbajee Punt Poorundhuree transacted ordinary affairs with the seal of the late Peishwa; but a great part of the business fell into the hands of Khundoo Bullal Chitnees and Sreeput Rao Pritee Needhee. The former gave his attention principally to Angria, the Seedee, and affairs in the Concan; whilst the Pritee Needhee, aided by Anund Rao, Somunt Purdhan, conducted the important negotiations which were pending with Nizam Ool Moolk.

A.D. 1721.

The son of Anund Rao, named Mahtajee, was employed as Shao's wukeel, and the temporizing policy and character of Nizam Ool Moolk are strongly marked in his conduct during the year which followed the victory at Balapoor. At first, whilst he apprehended an attack from Hoossein Ally Khan, he cemented his friendship with Sumbhajee of Kolapoor, and conciliated Shao by promising to give up all that the royal grants conceded. No sooner was he

Colonel T. B. Jervis, whose account is reproduced at pp. 678, 679 of Forrest's *Selections* (*Maratha Series*), i. (1885), states that the ancestors of the Gaekwār's family were Pātels of the village of Dhāvri Nimbgāon, near Poona, and that Pīlājī Gaekwār was originally an officer with fifteen retainers in the service of the Kadam Bandi brothers, 'whose flag the family still uses.' The Kadam family, which held the hereditary pātelship of Vadgāon on the Bhīma, served as officials of the Bijāpur Sultāns, but they attached themselves to Sivājī when the latter rose to power. They are said to derive their surname of Bandi from a square flag which they used, and which both the Gaekwār and Holkar subsequently adopted. When the Kadam family subsequently fell into disgrace, their place was taken by Pīlājī Gaekwār. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, xxii. 63.) For an interesting note on the origin of the word 'Bahādur,' see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke, 1903, s.v. 'Bahaudur.']

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apprised of the ascendancy acquired by his party at Delhi, and of the loss the Mahrattas had sustained in the death of Ballajee Wishwanath, than he began to start objections to the establishment of Shao's collectors, founded on some pretensions set up by Sumbhajee and Chunder Seyn Jadow. But the wise precautions of Ballajee Wishwanath, and the communion of interest which the distribution of the ceded revenues had produced, placed the Raja of the Mahrattas in a far more commanding situation than that in which he had stood during the first period of the government of Nizam Ool Moolk in the Deccan. The wukeel remained at Aurungabad, where his arguments would probably have been of little avail, but a vast army of Mahrattas was assembling in Gungthuree, under the Sur Lushkur, and their appearance, no doubt, had considerable effect in expediting the delivery of orders to permit the Raja Shao to establish his collectors. A fresh *firman*, obtained by the Mahratta wukeel at Delhi from Mohummud Shah, opportunely arrived to remove from Nizam Ool Moolk the appearance of having yielded to menace, and afforded an opportunity of evincing the promptitude with which he obeyed the imperial commands.

Nizam Ool Moolk, in raising objections, had not contemplated the train which had been laid under the administration of Ballajee Wishwanath; he wished to procrastinate and to involve the Mahrattas in war with each other, but he was, for various reasons, desirous not to precipitate hostilities between the Mahrattas and himself. He dreaded the increase of their power, only as far as it affected his own views; the prospect of aggrandizement at the imperial court, which opened to him upon the death of the vizier, Mohummud Amin Khan, seemed incompatible with his plan of independent sovereignty, but he was unwilling to relinquish the one or the other.

His prompt obedience to the royal commands may have been favourably viewed by a young monarch just emancipated, although it confirmed the alienation of half the revenues of the Deccan; but Nizam Ool Moolk, in whatever light his conduct might have been regarded at court, on this occasion had the address to gain the good opinion of Shao, to flatter and conciliate the Pritee Needhee, and to gain the Somunt by bribery.

On a general view, his plans were calculated to preserve his rank at court and his power in the Deccan; to keep alive the old

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and to create new dissensions among the Mahrattas ; to preserve a connection with that nation, in case it should ultimately be useful to direct their attacks from his own to the imperial territories ; and, however inconsistent some of those designs may seem, in this system of political artifice, through the remainder of a long life, Nizam Ool Moolk not only persevered, but generally prospered.

His first object was to ascertain by personal observation the character of the new Moghul government, and what he might expect or apprehend from the Emperor's present friendship or future enmity. He was on his way to court when he was recalled for a short time in consequence of disturbances in the Beejapoor Carnatic ; to which, after concluding some arrangements, he appointed a new Soobehdar, and resumed his march for the capital, where, as already related, he arrived in January 1722.

A.D. 1722.—Nizam Ool Moolk, on assuming the post of Vizier, endeavoured to effect some reform at court, but the Emperor was not only fond of that mirth and festivity natural to his years, but weak in mind, and, as is generally the case with persons of that disposition, dissolute in his behaviour. The manners of Nizam Ool Moolk were austere and disagreeable both to the Emperor and his courtiers. Prompt at every base intrigue, they soon devised a scheme of freeing themselves from the society of Nizam Ool Moolk. Hyder Koolee Khan had departed for his government at Ahmedabad before the return of Nizam Ool Moolk from the Deccan, and having committed some irregularities, the courtiers by threatening him with punishment from the Vizier, Nizam Ool Moolk, and working on the passions of both parties, soon inflamed them to the utmost, and drove Hyder Koolee Khan to further acts of disrespect and disobedience. Nizam Ool Moolk had censured the manner in which the rebellion of Ajeet Sing had been passed over, and being now offered the post of Soobehdar of Guzerat, with the commission of reducing Hyder Koolee Khan, he readily accepted it. On this service it was hoped the Nizam might be long employed, or fall a victim to the chances of war.

Hyder Koolee Khan had a well-appointed army, and his qualities as a soldier were unquestionable. Nizam Ool Moolk, however, having sent emissaries amongst his troops, the greater part of those on whom Hyder Koolee Khan had reliance deserted, which made such an impression upon him that he feigned insanity,

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and fled in dismay to court, leaving his adversary in the undisturbed occupation of the province. Nizam Ool Moolk, on obtaining this intelligence, halted at Oojein, whither most of the principal officers in Guzerat repaired to pay their respects to him. All his appointments and arrangements were made without proceeding to Ahmedabad; and as he took every opportunity of increasing his own resources, and of informing himself of what was passing in the country, he set aside five of the most productive districts in different parts of the province as his personal Jagheer; these were Dholka, Baroach, Jumbooseer, Mukboolabad, and Bulsar. The usual establishment of civil and military officers were confirmed or appointed to the imperial districts. The Jagheerdars in that province were on a different footing from those appointed by Aurungzebe in his late conquest of the Deccan, and agents, generally of their own nomination, superintended the revenue and police within their respective boundaries.

A.D. 1723.—Nizam Ool Moolk sent his uncle, Hamed Khan, as his deputy to Ahmedabad, and leaving his cousin, Azim Oollah Khan, deputy governor of Malwa, he returned to Delhi. But his presence was so disagreeable to the Emperor, and mutual disgust was with so much difficulty suppressed, that Nizam Ool Moolk gladly entered into a compromise, accepted the honour of Wukeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme deputy in the empire, and resigned his post of vizier. Soon after, in the month of October 1723, he took an opportunity, on pretence of going on a hunting excursion, to depart for his viceroyalty in the Deccan; and from that time, although he always professed obedience to the Emperor, even when waging war against him, Nizam Ool Moolk became wholly independent, and the countries south of the Nerbuddah, the conquest of which had engaged the Moghul princes in much more than a century of war, were torn for ever from the throne of Delhi.[1]

[1] Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum, Seyr Mutuakereen, and Mirat Ahmudee. The Mirat Ahmudee is a voluminous Persian history of Guzerat, written in Ahmedabad: it was commenced A.D. 1747, by Alee Mohummud, the son of the Moghul Dewan of the province, assisted by Meetya Lal, a Hindoo, who died before the work was completed. It was finished A.D. 1756, by Alee Mohummud. Though not always to be depended upon, it is the best native account of that province, and, conjoined with contemporary English Records, is very valuable. I am indebted to Mr. Romer, the chief of Surat, for the Mirat Ahmudee, and for extracting the whole of the old records of the Surat factory, which he found connected with the history of the

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Whilst these events were passing in Hindoostan, Bajee Rao, soon after his appointment as Peishwa, set out with an army for Candeish, where he levied his Mokassa, although not without opposition. From the period of his accession he gave a considerable portion of his attention to extending Mahratta conquests to the northward, and his views were early directed to Malwa. Circumstances generally obliged him to return annually to Satara and Poona; and during three expeditions, before the rains of 1724, although he had sent detachments into Malwa, it is not ascertained that he crossed the Nerbuddah in person until the end of that year; nor did he remain in Malwa for any length of time, until upwards of eleven years after his accession as Peishwa; various affairs in the Deccan required his presence, which, with the intrigues of Nizam Ool Moolk, and domestic opposition, restrained both his ambition and his enterprise.

A.D. 1724.

Before the year 1724, Bajee Rao had at different times defeated the Soobehdar of Burhanpoor; and an officer named Daood Khan sent against him by Azim Oollah Khan from Malwa. In one of these battles, two of Bajee Rao's officers, who afterwards attained high rank, were first brought into notice: the one, Mulharjee Holkar, was a Sillidar who commanded a party of horse of his own; he was a Mahratta Dhungur, a class of Shooders already mentioned, and a native of the village of Hohl on the Neera, of which his father was Chougula [1]; he had served under Kantajee Kuddum Bhanday, one of the Raja's officers, and had collected a small body of horse. The other officer was Ranoojee Sindia, descended from a younger branch of the family of Kunneirkheir, a village fifteen miles east of Satara. The Sindias, according to the legends of the country, have been distinguished Sillidars since the time of the Bahminee dynasty; there are two Mahratta families, or rather tribes of this name: the one is distinguished by their hereditary Patell village of Kunneirkheir; and the other by the appellation of Ruwee [2] Rao. Both families claim a Rajpoot descent; those of Kunneirkheir had a munsub under Aurungzebe;

Mahrattas. I take this opportunity of expressing my sense of his liberality and kindness.

[1] The Patell's assistant. There are none of the Chougula's descendants now in Hohl.

[2] Ruwee means the sun; but I could not ascertain the origin of the title.

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and Sindia's daughter, who was given by that Emperor in marriage to Shao, died in captivity at Delhi. Sindia remained faithful to the Moghuls; and as his fate was never known, it is conjectured that he was killed in some distant country,[1] possibly with Azim Shah in the battle of Agra, in 1707. The family, however, had fallen into decay, and Ranoojee, who revived its fame with additional celebrity, was reduced to a state of abject poverty, serving as a Bargeer, first in the Pagah of Ballajee Wishwanath, and afterwards in that of his son. To contrast his original with his subsequent condition, he is said to have carried the Peishwa's slippers, and to have been marked by Bajee Rao as fitted for a place of trust, by the care he took of the humble charge committed to him.[2]

Another officer, who attained additional distinction about this period, was Oodajee Powar Wiswas Rao. His father was first raised by Ramchundur Punt Amat, when he governed the country during the siege of Ginjee, and the young man, having joined Shao, obtained the command of a considerable body of the Pagah horse. He was employed on various services,[3] and appears to have been an active partisan: like most contemporary Mahratta leaders of experience, such as Kantajee Kuddum, Peelajee Gaekwar, and Kanhojee Bhonslay, he calculated on the surest advantage in the more distant ventures, where his appearance was least expected. He made incursions into Guzerat and Malwa; plundered the former as far as Lunawarra, and found the latter province so much drained of troops that he was enabled to remain some time in the country, intimating to the Raja that if supported, he might collect the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee in every direction. How long he maintained his station in the country, on his first inroads, is uncertain; but it is probable that he was obliged to retire from Dhar,[4] where he first established himself upon the appointment of Geerdhur Buhadur, whose exertion in the defence of Malwa was one principal cause of preventing the Mahrattas from getting a firm footing in that province for more than ten years after the accession of Bajee Rao.

[1] Mahratta MSS., and tradition.

[2] Mahratta MSS., and Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa. The same tradition is current in different parts of the country.

[3] Original memorandum of instructions, at different times issued by Shao, where Oodajee Powar is mentioned.

[4] Dhar is a fortress in the west of Malwa, of great antiquity.

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The progress of Oodajee Powar, the news of successes by Kantajee Kuddum Bhanday and Peelajee Gaekwar in Guzerat, and the dissensions between Nizam Ool Moolk and the imperial court, opportunely occurred to favour the Peishwa in his views of extending the Mahratta conquests in Hindoostan, which were at first disapproved by Shao, and from prudential motives, as well as party feelings, strongly opposed by Sreeput Rao the Pritee Needhee; but here some explanatory digression is required.

The reader has already obtained considerable insight into the character of Nizam Ool Moolk. That of his great rival, though occasional ally, Bajee Rao, might have been allowed to develop itself; but the history of the period is intricate, owing to the varying plans, or the domestic affairs of the different powers, the vast space to which attention must be directed, and the numerous actors that will start up every year to consequence or to sovereignty; but the leading personages are the Nizam[1] and the Peishwa.

Bajee Rao was early trained to habits of business by his father; he had accompanied him to Delhi, and was present at one or more interviews which took place between Ballajee and the Raja Jey Sing of Jeypoor, a circumstance which promoted a future connexion with that celebrated chief. (Bred a soldier as well as a statesman, Bajee Rao united the enterprise, vigour, and hardihood of a Mahratta chief, with the polished manners, the sagacity, and address which frequently distinguish the Bramins of the Concan.) Fully acquainted with the financial schemes of his father, he selected that part of the plan calculated to direct the predatory hordes of Maharashtra in a common effort. In this respect the genius of Bajee Rao enlarged the schemes which his father devised; and (unlike most Bramins, of him it may be truly said, he had both the head to plan and the hand to execute. To the assiduous industry and minute observation that seem inherent in his caste, he superadded a power of discrimination that taught him to direct his mind to those leading points of political importance, which tended so materially to extend Mahratta sway during the period of his administration.

[1] Universal custom amongst the English scarcely authorizes this misnomer; but I have sometimes used *the Nizam*, instead of Nizam Ool Moolk, Nizam Ally, &c., or the Soobehdar of the Deccan.

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Besides his foreign enemies, Bajee Rao had a domestic rival of some abilities in the Pritee Needhee. Jealousy in public situations is a passion which the most subtle Bramins can rarely command or conceal; it prevails in a remarkable degree amongst all of them, but it is most conspicuous between Bramins of different tribes,[1] The rivalry of Sreeput Rao tended to preserve the Raja's ascendancy as head of the state for a longer period than it might otherwise have existed; but whilst it usefully controlled the conduct of Bajee Rao and Chimnajee Appa, both of whom are said to have been naturally domineering, it also for some years cramped the efforts of the Peishwa, obliged him to return to Satara more frequently than was conducive to the success of distant expeditions, and aided Nizam Ool Moolk in his endeavours to excite internal dissensions amongst the Mahrattas.

The Peishwa's first proposal for exacting what he called the established tribute from Malwa, and extending Mahratta conquests into Hindoostan, was violently and, as already noticed, for a time successfully opposed by the Pritee Needhee. The latter represented it as 'rash and imprudent;— that the head of the state might not be called upon to account for casual inroads, but that to grant such an authority to the Mookh Purdhan must draw upon them the whole power of the empire, and precipitate hostilities with Nizam Ool Moolk, whose victorious army was still at their gates. That so far from being prepared for resistance, there was a total want of regularity even in the arrangements laid down, that they could scarcely quell a common insurrection, and that entering on a war, when they had not yet secured what had been ceded, was the extreme of folly and of rashness.' The Pritee Needhee added, that 'he was a soldier as well as the Peishwa, and as ready as Bajee Rao could be to head any expedition, when it might become expedient; that after they had established their collectors, and arranged other parts of the country, it would be advisable, before pursuing their conquests in the north, to reduce the Carnatic and recover the territories conquered by Sivajee;—that although Futih Sing Bhonslay held Sunnuds for collecting the Mokassa of the Carnatic, his troops, from the power of Sumbhajee at Kolapoor and his abettors, Chowan, Ghorepuray and the Nabob of Savanoor, could scarcely venture to cross the

[1] Bajee Rao was a Concanist. Sreeput Rao a Deshist, of the class Yajurwedee.

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Kistna, and that the first effort should, therefore, be made in that quarter.'

Such were probably the real opinions of Sreeput Rao, but the wisdom of Bajee Rao was of a much higher order. He comprehended the nature of predatory power; he perceived its growth in the turbulence and anarchy, for which the system of distributing the revenue was the first remedy; he foresaw that confusion abroad would tend to order at home; and that as commander of distant expeditions, he should acquire the direction of a larger force than any other chief of the empire: that the resources of the Deccan would not only improve by withdrawing the hordes of horse which unprofitably consumed them, but must fall under the control of that person who could most readily procure employment and subsistence for the troops; and who at the same time could conciliate, as well as overawe, the insubordinate and predatory bands of all casts and descriptions composing the Deccan soldiery.

Whilst he suppressed his latent designs, and partly admitted the justice of Sreeput Rao's observations, he endeavoured, by his commanding eloquence, to arouse enthusiasm or ambition in the Raja, by recapitulating the conquests of his illustrious grandfather and reminding him of the powerful kings, the mighty emperor, with whom he had successfully contended: he painted the present condition of India,—the weakness, indolence, and imbecility of the Moghuls,—the activity, energy and enterprise of the Mahrattas: he observed, that 'if the great Sivajee had been of the same opinion as the Pritee Needhee, he would have thought it necessary, before venturing into the Carnatic, to reduce Beejapoor and Golcondah. As to their domestic quarrels beyond the Kistna, it would be time to think of them hereafter; and that by the influence of the Raja's good fortune, every desire would be accomplished.' After a speech on one occasion of considerable length, which seemed to have a great effect on Shao and all present: 'Now is our time,' said this gallant Peishwa, 'to drive strangers from the land of Hindoos and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindoostan, the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Kistna to the Attock.'—'You shall plant it on the Himmalya,' exclaimed the Raja,[1] 'you are indeed a noble son of a worthy father.'

[1] '*In the Kunur Khund*' (beyond the Himmalya mountains) is the literal translation of Shao's exclamation.

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Bajee Rao improved the opportunity by urging Shao not to think of minor objects, and alluding to the Moghul empire, 'let us strike,' said he, 'at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves.'[1]

At what time this consent was obtained, or in what year the original commission was issued, is not ascertained. The form of obtaining the Raja's authority on all such occasions was rigidly observed by the Peishwas, at a stage when their supremacy was very far advanced; because, by virtue of that authority and their station as Mookh (or chief) Purdhan, even when their usurpation became complete, it suited the Bramin character, of acting as nominal servants and real masters, to rule the Mahratta chiefs as the delegate of their Prince.

But as both the remote and immediate causes of the Mahratta power are only to be explained by fixing our attention, as much on the general state of the country as on their domestic policy, the affairs of the Moghuls are now more than ever interwoven with this history.

The departure of Nizam Ool Moolk for his government in the Deccan, in a manner which bespoke distrust aggravated by contempt, excited anger and revenge in the mind of the Emperor. Secret orders were sent to Mubariz Khan, Soobehdar of Hyderabad, to raise an army and oppose Nizam Ool Moolk. The viceroyalty of the Deccan, for which he received a *firman*, was to be the reward of his success.

Nizam Ool Moolk endeavoured, by his usual artifice of creating sedition, to break the power of his rival, and remained some months negotiating before he advanced against him. He at last arrived at Aurungabad in July 1724, and after protracted discussion, when his plans had partly succeeded, he took the field, and a decisive battle was fought at Shukurkhera about the 1st October, in which Mubariz Khan, after great efforts of personal valour, was surrounded and slain. He was gallantly supported by four of his sons, two of whom fell with him, and two were desperately wounded. Nizam Ool Moolk sent the Khan's head to court, with a congratulatory letter on the victory attained by the Emperor's arms.

When Mubariz Khan began to make head in the Deccan, he threw a strong garrison into Golcondah under Khwajeh Ahud,

[1] Mahratta MSS.

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another of his sons, supported by Sundool Khan, who had long been governor of that place: many other forts were commanded by officers in his interest, and as his cause was popular, Nizam Ool Moolk saw the necessity of gaining or reducing Khwajeh Ahud, and of obtaining possession of the forts as soon as possible. He, therefore, marched towards Hyderabad, where after some time he effected his design by conciliation. The Emperor, in order to reduce the power of Nizam Ool Moolk as much as possible, had issued a *firman*, depriving him of his governments in Guzerat and Malwa; Sur Boolund Khan was appointed to the former, and Raja Geerdhur[1] Buhadur to the latter; as the troops in the interest of the Nizam had been withdrawn from Malwa to support his pretensions in the Deccan, the Raja Geerdhur occupied the province without opposition.[2]

Shujaet Khan was appointed deputy governor of Guzerat by Sur Boolund Khan; but although Hamed Khan, who had been left in charge of the province on the part of his nephew Nizam Ool Moolk, could not prevent his occupying the capital, he determined not to relinquish his government without a struggle. Having repaired to Dohud, he invited Kantajee Kuddum Bhanday, one of Shao's officers, to join him; an invitation which Kantajee, on promise of getting the Chouth, readily embraced. They first came to Kuppurwunj, where Hamed Khan, having established a correspondence with his friends at Ahmedabad, procured correct intelligence of Shujaet Khan's movements, watched his opportunity, and attacked, defeated, and slew him, within a few miles of Ahmedabad, where Hamed Khan's authority was again acknowledged. On this event, Roostum Ally Khan, the brother of Shujaet Khan, Foujdar of Surat, who had just gained some advantages over Peelajee Gaekwar in the neighbourhood of that city, made a truce

[1] He was a Nagur Bramin, a tribe common in Guzerat, who, since the times of the Mahomedan kings of that country, had been distinguished in the Mahomedan service, both as men of business and as soldiers. [Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that the Guhilots and Sisodiyas of Mewār, the proudest of the Rājpūt septs, were originally Nāgar Brahmans, who were the priests of the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras, whose name survives in that of the Gūjars of the present day, were a powerful tribe which invaded India in the train of the Hūnas, or Huns, in the fifth and early sixth centuries. (Crooke in *J. R. Anth. I.*, xl. (1910); Smith, *E.H.I.*, 3rd ed., p. 420, and *Akbar*, 85 n.)]

[2] Seyr Mutuakhereen, Khuzaneh Amirah, Mahratta MSS., &c.

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with Peelajee, and invited him to join in an attack on Hamed Khan. Peelajee had been previously engaged by the emissaries of Nizam Ool Moolk to assist his uncle Hamed Khan, but accepted the overtures of Roostum Ally, until he could ascertain precisely which side was the most advantageous. He accompanied Roostum Ally towards Ahmedabad, crossed the Myhie at Fazilpoor, and had a skirmish with Hamed Khan at Arass, where Roostum Ally drove back his opponents by the fire of his artillery. By this time Peelajee had made his bargain with Hamed Khan, and recommended Roostum Ally to charge the fugitives, leaving his guns to the care of a party in the rear; a fatal advice, which Roostum Ally had no sooner followed than Peelajee overturned the gun carriages and joined in attacking his late ally. Roostum Ally defended himself with bravery, until his reduced numbers showed him the impossibility of escape, when he stabbed himself to the heart, in order to avoid the ignominious treatment he expected in case of being made prisoner.

A.D. 1725.—Peelajee's treachery was rewarded by an equal share of the Chouth with Kantajee, and both in conjunction proceeded to levy their assignments. But the division of the money led to perpetual disputes; Peelajee, as the agent of Dhabaray Senaputtee, considered himself the superior authority in Guzerat, and Kantajee, as an officer of the Rajas, despised his pretensions. For some time these differences only produced heavier impositions on the towns and villages; until, on their approach to Cambay, where they began as usual to burn the suburbs for the purpose of intimidation, the inhabitants, aware of their dissensions, affecting to consider Kantajee the superior, sent a messenger to Peelajee hinting this circumstance and offering him 20,000 rupees to leave the place. Peelajee, exasperated by the insult, confined the messenger, Kantajee insisted on his being released, and both flew to arms to assert their prerogative. After a severe conflict within sight of the walls, Peelajee was discomfited and retired to Mahtur, a village near Kaira. The contribution from Cambay was levied by the victor, and five thousand rupees demanded from the English factory, where the agents pleaded exemption, in consequence of privilege of trade from the 'Shao Raja,' but at which 'the armed villains,' as Mr. Innes, the chief of the factory, in bitterness of heart terms them, 'only laughed.'

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Hamed Khan, foreseeing the desertion of one or other of his allies, made them sign an agreement, by which the Chouth east of the Myhie was assigned to Peelajee, and that to the west to Kantajee. The Mahrattas still preserved their original custom of retiring to quarters during the monsoon; and soon after the battle at Cambay, Peelajee retired to Sonegurh near Surat, and Kantajee to a Jagheer district he held in Candeish.

Sur Boolund Khan, who had been unjustly removed from Cabul, was at this season of difficulty courted by the Emperor, and earnestly solicited to repair to his government in Guzerat, for the purpose of suppressing the formidable insurrection of Hamed Khan. The Emperor was the more urgent, as he had been disappointed in a scheme he had meditated of controlling the Tooranee Moghuls by the release of Abdoollah Khan, the elder of the Syuds who dethroned Ferokhsere; but the unprincipled courtiers sacrificed him to their envy and fear and removed him by poison. Sur Boolund Khan consented to assume the government, and every facility being afforded, as he was an excellent and popular officer, a large army was soon assembled under his command, and though delayed for a time by the Emperor's professing his intention of accompanying him, at last proceeded on his route to Ahmedabad. Nizam Ool Moolk, aware of the abilities of his uncle's opponent, wrote to him to resign the province with a good grace, but Hamed Khan, not choosing to follow his suggestion, prepared to defend himself. He had almost despaired of being joined by the Mahrattas, and was obliged to leave Ahmedabad defended by a weak garrison, and retire before the advanced division of Sur Boolund Khan's army. He had only reached Mahmoodabad when he heard that the Mahrattas had crossed the Myhie, and as soon as they joined him, he returned to Ahmedabad. But a party in the city, in order to pay court to the new governor, had overpowered his troops and forced them out. Hamed Khan encamped at the Shah-i-Bagh,[1] a royal garden still in existence, on the day that Sur Boolund Khan's advanced troops arrived at Udaledje; but as some of the gun carriages belonging to the main body had broken down, this advanced force discovered that they were farther from support than they

[1] [The Shāh-i-Bāgh lies about three and a half miles from Ahmadābād, and contains to-day the official residence of the Commissioner, Northern Division, Bombay Presidency.]

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had contemplated, and hearing of the proximity of Hamed Khan, immediately took the alarm and began to entrench themselves. This precaution encouraged the Mahrattas; and Hamed Khan, watching their humour, led them on to attack the entrenched camp, where he gained a complete victory. But the advantage was purchased with great loss, and the Mahrattas would not risk another battle. Hamed Khan therefore became like them a mere plunderer, and commenced a warfare on the Mahratta plan. Foujdars were appointed, and the usual arrangements made with more than ordinary vigour by the new governor; but Kantajee and Peelajee continued to plunder during the remainder of the season, until the approach of the rains, when they took their annual flight.[1] A deceitful calm succeeded;—the fall of the rain brought back the cheering green, and the beautiful province of Guzerat, which for hundreds of miles may vie with the finest parks of the nobles of England, was clothed in all its natural beauties by rapid verdure and luxuriant vegetation. Tranquillity seemed to reign where a short time before nothing was to be seen but perpetual skirmishing; murder and robbery in open day; caravans pillaged even when strongly escorted, and villages burning or deserted.[2]

Bajee Rao, in the meantime, took advantage of the confusion caused by Moghul dissensions to carry his arms into Malwa, where, although opposed by Raja Geerdhur, he was successful for two seasons in obtaining plunder and contribution. It is probable that Nizam Ool Moolk may at least have connived at his incursions, but there is no proof of any direct communication with the Peishwa. Bajee Rao, by virtue of the authority vested in him by Shao, granted deeds to Powar, Holkar, and Sindia, to levy Chouth and Surdeshmookhee, and to retain half the Mokassa in payment of their troops.

[1] These flights the Mahrattas term '*going to the white crow*,' which they say alludes to a bird of passage like a crow that comes in some parts of the country once a year; hence also they have a phrase for a defeated enemy, '*they are off to the white crow*.'

[2] I have extracted this account from the Mirat Ahmudee, Surat Records, and Khuzaneh Amirah. The last authority mentions a battle near Cambay, in which the Mahrattas sustained a total defeat by Nujeem-ud-deen, and this account is followed by the Seyr Mutuakhereen; but although the skirmishes appear to have been constant, I have not found satisfactory confirmation of any such decisive event, nor of the death of Shaikh Allah Yar, said to have been killed in that action.

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A.D. 1726.—In 1726 the Peishwa was with a very large army under Futih Sing Bhonslay, which proceeded into the Carnatic, plundered the districts, and levied a contribution from Seringapatam.[1] No particulars of this campaign have been discovered; but it appears by a letter written twelve or thirteen years afterwards, by Bajee Rao to his brother, that they lost a number of men without gaining advantages which had been anticipated. From his former sentiments, and these symptoms of disapprobation expressed in the letter alluded to, it may be inferred that Bajee Rao had objected to the expedition; but upon his return to Satara, he found more serious reasons of dissatisfaction in the measures pursued by the Pritee Needhee. The cause of his displeasure originated in the artful schemes of Nizam Ool Moolk, which, but for the penetration and vigour of Bajee Rao, would probably have unlinked the connecting chain by which Ballajee Wishwanath had joined the interests, as well as the inclinations, of most of the Hindoo chieftains of the Deccan.

[1] Mahratta MSS. Colonel Wilks merely notices this incursion. Besides the MSS. already enumerated, I have perused upwards of twenty MS. histories of the Peishwas. Of the best, two were procured by Ballajee Punt Nathoo at Poona, one was given by Mahdoo Rao Rastia, one sent by Mahdoo Rao Putwurdhun of Merich, and another by Gopaul Rao of Tasgaom. The best Mahratta Buker of the Bhonslays of Nagpoor is one written for Mr. Jenkins, and sent to me by Captain A. Gordon.

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CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A.D. 1727 TO A.D. 1734.

A.D. 1727.—THE declining empire of the Moghuls having been thrown into a state of great anarchy by Nizam Ool Moolk and his countrymen, the Tooranee Moghuls, the Nizam, relieved from immediate apprehensions from Mohummud Shah, became alarmed at the spreading power of the Mahrattas, and beheld, in their systematic and persevering encroachments on the divided revenue of the Deccan and Carnatic, the extinction of his own resources as well as those of the empire. To avert these evils, by endeavouring to consolidate his own power, and to create divisions among the Mahrattas, the measures which he adopted seem to have been planned with considerable skill; but in forming designs founded on the character of the people, he overlooked the abilities of his opponent, nor contemplated that he should, in pursuit of his own schemes, only strengthen the power of the Peishwa.

Since the battle of Shukurkhera, Nizam Ool Moolk had fixed his eye on Hyderabad, the ancient capital of the Kootub Shahee kings, as fittest for the seat of government of the independent sovereignty which he himself had founded; and it was very desirable to remove the Mahratta collectors from that quarter, on any terms. Although Nizam Ool Moolk had confirmed the imperial grants in Shao's favour, a great deal of what was yielded was not actually given up; numerous points remained unadjusted; Shao's part of the agreement to prevent plundering was not fulfilled, and constant discussions were the consequence. A new authority for a part of the old Mahratta territory was granted by Nizam Ool Moolk, which particularly specified the fixed personal Jagheers that Shao agreed to exempt from sequestration. Jagheer assignments in the old territory about Poona, which the Nizam had given to Rumbhajee Nimbalkur, one of the

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disaffected officers who had joined him, were exchanged for new grants to the eastward about Kurmulla; a measure on the part of Nizam Ool Moolk particularly conciliatory to Shao. After this a settlement was concluded [1] through the Pritee Needhee, by which Shao agreed to relinquish the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad; an equivalent in money was to be paid for the former, and for the latter Shao received some Jagheer territory near Indapoor, of which district he was an hereditary Deshmookh [2]; a Jagheer in Berar was conferred on the Pritee Needhee. Nizam Ool Moolk had thus effected his first object by negotiation, but the exchange met with the decided disapprobation of Bajee Rao, who was ever an enemy to consolidation of the nature in question; and disputes ran so high between him and the Pritee Needhee, that Nizam Ool Moolk, encouraged by appearances and the support and alliance of Chunder Seyn Jadow, Rao Rumbha, Nimbalkur [3] Jagheerdar of Barsee, and Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor, resolved to complete the design he had formed. With this view, he proposed to espouse the cause of Sumbhajee, and to endeavour to create a complete division in Shao's government, by reviving the former feuds between Shao and Sumbhajee. His connection with Dhabaray and Peelajee Gaekwar; his hopes of finding, through the Raja Geerdhur, employment for the Peishwa's officers in Malwa; and

[1] The whole of the particulars of this agreement are not known. Some very long details of the early part of the settlement, which led to the final exchange, are preserved; but the most essential parts, regarding the exchange of the Jagheer and the fixed payment for the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee, are lost. I do not think they have been purposely destroyed by the Mahrattas, as many years afterwards I find original letters from Mahdoo Rao, the Peishwa, and Nana Furnuwees, written on an occasion, when there were pending negotiations with the Nizam, requesting that search might be made for this document. The Hudeequ-i-Alum merely mentions that Nizam Ool Moolk settled that the Soobeh of Hyderabad should be exempted from the Surdeshmookhee, and that a ready-money payment should be given in lieu of the Chouth and the customs.

[2] Half of this Deshmookhee was purchased by Shahjee, after he entered the service of Mohummud Adil Shah.

[3] The Nimbalkurs of Barsee are distinct from the Nimbalkurs of Kurmulla; the head of the latter has the title of Rao Rumbha. The former is one of the family of Hybut Rao Surlushkur. [Karmāla (Kurmulla) is now part of the Sholāpur District, Bombay, and the fort built by the Nimbalkar family is now used as the Karmāla *tāluka* offices. Bārsi is likewise a town and *tāluka* in the same district. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 580–2.)]

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the boasted superiority of his own troops, were strong inducements for making the attempt.

Nizam Ool Moolk commenced, by a formal hearing of the claims of Sumbhajee, in a demand made for an equal division of the revenue; and, according to a prevalent custom in the Deccan, he sequestrated the property in dispute, by removing the collectors of the Surdeshmookhee and displacing the Mokassadars of Shao, until their respective rights should be equitably adjusted. Assuming this privilege as viceroy, he pretended to become the friend and arbiter of both parties; but Bajee Rao was not to be duped by the old artifice of engaging the Mahratta cousins in an hereditary dispute, and quickly turned the Nizam's weapons to his own advantage; for Shao, true to the inherent feeling of a Mahratta, of whom, even amongst the peasantry, the mildest men often became the most violent of human beings when the possession of wutun is concerned, and who, for some time, had been reconciled to Nizam Ool Moolk, was at once, on hearing of this interference, aroused to implacable resentment against him, and for the time against all who had formerly vindicated or now dared to justify his conduct. He looked to Bajee Rao for counsel and for vengeance; for these he would have bartered life, and for these he now virtually sold the supremacy of his empire. He at first was determined to march in person, but it was represented that such a procedure would place him on an equality with Sumbhajee of Kolapoor; whereas none but the Emperor was worthy of contending with the king of the Hindoos. Full powers were therefore delegated to Bajee Rao; and the great influence which the Peishwa had acquired may be observed in the promptitude with which many of the most unruly and factious of the Sillidar families willingly gathered round the standard of the nation.

Nizam Ool Moolk perceived his mistake, and sought to amend it by writing to Shao and the Pritee Needhee, that he was solely actuated by a wish to benefit the Raja, in order to prevent the usurpation of the Concanee[1] Bramins, by whose creatures every

[1] [Konkani, i.e. Chitpāvan Brahmans, who to this day fill most of the Government offices in the Deccan. The name Chitpāvan is probably a corruption of Chitapolan, the old name of Chiplūn, Ratnāgiri District, which was the original Indian home of the caste. (*I.G.* (1907), x. 287.) The origin of this remarkable sect is undetermined. The traditional story of their arrival as shipwrecked sailors, their fair

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situation was filled; that the Mokassadars and collectors of the Surdeshmookhee had been replaced by others belonging to the Raja's relation, Sumbhajee, whom he had appointed the Raja's deputy, as Surdeshmookh of the six Soobehs of the Deccan; and that the Raja, when freed from the control the Bramins alluded to, might afterwards appoint agents entirely of his own selection. But the animosity of Shao, worked up to the highest pitch by the Peishwa's representations, was not to be appeased by offers, which, under the colouring given to them by Bajee Rao, only added insult to injury. Both parties, therefore, prepared to attack each other, as soon as the rains should subside and enable their horse to cross the rivers.

Nizam Ool Moolk awaited the junction of his allies. Bajee Rao was first in the field, and laid waste the district of Jaulna before the Moghul army was prepared to oppose him. Early in the month of November the Mahrattas were attacked by Ewuz Khan at the head of the Nizam's advanced force; Bajee Rao partially engaged him, but retired first towards Mahoor, then returned rapidly towards Aurungabad; without stopping to plunder, he gave out that Burhanpoor should be reduced to ashes, and marched on to Candeish, laying waste the country in his route. Ewuz Khan, followed by Nizam Ool Moolk, pursued him, in order to save Burhanpoor. Bajee Rao, as soon as the pursuing army with all their equipments had passed the Ajunta Ghaut, sent a party towards Burhanpoor, wheeled off with the main

complexion, and their use of the Konkani dialect in their homes, point to their having entered the Konkan by sea. The theory of their foreign origin is supported to some extent by the prevalence among them of light-coloured and gray eyes, and by the low position which they formerly held among Brahmans. Wilks, for example, states that, when he wrote, the Brahmans of India denied that the Chitpāvans were Brahmans; and until the rise of Bālājī Visvanāth, the Pēshwā, they were employed merely as spies and *harkāras* (couriers). Bājī Rāo II, when he visited Nāsik, was not permitted to use the same flight of steps as the Brahman priests. The sect itself has a tradition that its ancestors reached the Konkan from Ambā Jogāi in the modern Hyderābād State, and that they were originally Deshasth Brahmans. For several reasons the suggestion that they reached the western littoral by sea is more probable, and some authorities (Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik and General Haig) have endeavoured to trace them back to an original home on the Mekran coast, or the Persian Gulf, and even to Egypt. (Edwardes, *Byways of Bombay*, xiv.; *B.G.*, xviii. 1; Wilson, *Indian Caste*, 1877, ii. 19–21.)]

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body to his left, and proceeded with great speed to Guzerat, where he not only plundered, but taking advantage of Nizam Ool Moolk's notorious duplicity and the enmity subsisting between him and Sur Boolund Khan, he caused it to be believed by the latter that the Nizam was the supporter of his invasion; a rumour which gained strength by accounts of the approach of the latter towards Surat. Nizam Ool Moolk, after being misled, losing some time at Burhanpoor, and fruitlessly following the Peishwa, at last perceived his error, retraced his steps to the Deccan, and determined to destroy Poona. But he had not reached Ahmednugur, when Bajee Rao, having passed the Karsarbharee Ghaut, totally destroyed the districts of Gandapoor and Byzapoor, which, from former tenure, or the late exchanges, were wholly Jagheer. Nizam Ool Moolk recrossed the Godavery, when the Peishwa, after some days skirmishing, drew him into a situation favourable to his purpose, set fire to the grass, destroyed the forage, and effectually straitened his supplies. The Mahrattas suffered severely by the fire of the artillery, but they cut off such detached parties as they could overpower, and drove off the draught cattle. At last in some broken ground, around which for several miles there was no water, the Mahrattas completely surrounded the Nizam's army, and so effectually impeded his march, that night closed before he could extricate himself from his embarrassing situation. Nizam Ool Moolk had foreseen that this species of warfare would be practised, and in entering upon the campaign expected that the part of light troops should be performed by his associates. He had reproached them with their want of vigour, and recommended their adopting the same system against their countrymen as Bajee Rao was practising. But Chunder Seyn Jadow represented that most of his troops were Moghuls; and Sumbhajee acknowledged, not only that his numbers were inadequate, but that he suspected his Carcoons were in league with the enemy. There is something explanatory of the nature of the alliance and characteristic of the Mahratta; in Sumbhajee's requesting, at the conclusion of an interview, to say a word in private to Nizam Ool Moolk, and then begging of him, 'not to give the money, on account of the subsidy, to his Carcoons, as they would defraud the troops'; whilst the Bramins, by another representation equally private, represent, 'that Sumbhajee would spend the whole on dancing girls;' dissipate it in

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drinking and debauchery; and leave them to starvation, and the troops to revolt.'

Nizam Ool Moolk had never been so dependent on Mahratta allies; the attacks he had experienced, and the privation his army endured, obliged him to accede to a negotiation with the Peishwa, which was begun by Bajee Rao through Ewuz Khan. The Nizam, however, first forced his way to a situation where water was procurable; Bajee Rao demanded that Sumbhajee should be sent to his camp; that security should be afforded for the future collection of the Mahratta shares of revenue, by giving up several fortified places; and that all arrears, not yet realized, should be made good. Nizam Ool Moolk agreed to all the articles, except that of delivering up his ally. Bajee Rao represented that he was a near relation of the Raja's, and that he should be treated with equal respect; but it was at last settled that Nizam Ool Moolk should guarantee his safe arrival in Panalla, when Shao should be at liberty to take what steps he might think proper for the settlement of their family dispute.

After an interchange of presents,[1] when Bajee Rao and Nizam Ool Moolk met for the first time, the armies retired upon the conclusion of the treaty.[2] Its final ratification was of consequence to both parties, but especially to Bajee Rao, who was then negotiating with Sur Boolund Khan, in hopes of obtaining the cession of the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee of Guzerat. Sur Boolund Khan, who had at first exerted himself to check Mahratta incursions, was induced to listen to the terms proposed by Bajee Rao, in order to save the country from total ruin. He had repeatedly applied to court for a supply of money, as it was at first impossible to raise any revenue of consequence from the districts in their exhausted state, but his demands were entirely neglected. He had endeavoured to conciliate Peelajee and Kantajee by grants of Chouth, but they collected all the revenue and afforded no protection to the country. Chimnajee Appa arrived with a large army, exacted a heavy contribution from Pitlaud, and plundered Dholka; but he promised, on the 'part of his brother, that if the

[1] This interchange of presents is termed Zeafut, a feast, or entertainment; a Mahomedan has no objections to eat food prepared by a Hindoo on such occasions; but on the part of the Hindoo, the Zeafut is confined to receiving the presents.

[2] Mahratta MSS. Hudeequ-i-Alum.

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Chouth and Surdeshmookhee were yielded, the districts should be effectually secured from the depredations of all other freebooters. Sur Boolund Khan at length agreed to the Peishwa's proposals, and granted deeds in the year 1729 to Sham Rao, the wukeel of Bajee Rao, the minister of the Raja Shao, ceding the *Surdeshmookhee*, or ten per cent. of the whole revenue both on the land and customs, with the exception of the port of Surat and the district around it; together with the *Chouth*, or one fourth of the whole collections on the land and customs, excepting Surat, and five per cent. on the revenues of the city of Ahmedabad.[1]

A.D. 1729.

Sur Boolund Khan mentions in the deeds that these cessions in Guzerat are granted in consequence of the progress of improvement, the increasing population, and the general tranquillity in the Deccan. The conditions affixed to the deed for the Surdeshmookhee are nearly similar to those mentioned in the same grant for the Deccan provinces: but the deed for the Chouth is more specific; two thousand five hundred horse are constantly to be kept up; the fourth part of the actual collections only to be paid; no more than two or three persons to be placed in each district as collectors on the part of the Mahrattas; no extra demands whatever to be made on the ryots; and every assistance to be afforded in maintaining the imperial authority. One condition attached to the deed is, that Bajee Rao, on the part of Shao, agrees to prevent Mahratta subjects from taking part with or in any way supporting disaffected Zumeendars and other disturbers of the public peace; a clause which is fully explained by the opposing interests of Bajee Rao, Kantajee Kuddum, and Trimbuck Rao Dhabaray. Peelajee Gaekwar, the agent of Dhabaray, was, it appears, leagued with the Bheels and Koolees of the country, and on that account especially was considered particularly formidable by the Mahomedans. After these deeds were obtained the Mokassa and the collection of a part of the Surdeshmookhee were assigned to Dhabaray; but jealousy of Bajee Rao's interference in the affairs of the province occasioned an implacable enmity on the part of that chief.

Whilst Bajee Rao's presence was necessary to the northward, in order to support Chimnajee in Guzerat, Sumbhajee, Raja of

[1] Original deeds from the records of the government of the Peishwas, made over to me by the Honourable M. Elphinstone.

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Kolapoor, instigated by Oodajee Chowan, refused to listen to overtures made by Shao, and encamped in bravado on the north side of the Warna, with all his baggage, women and equipments, and began to plunder the country. An opportunity thus presented itself for the Pritee Needhee to recover his lost influence with Shao, which he partly effected by surprising the camp of Sumbhajee and Oodajee Chowan, and driving them to Panalla with the loss of the whole of their baggage. Many prisoners were taken by the Pritee Needhee; amongst others, Tara Bye and her daughter-in-law, Rajis Bye, the widow of Sivajee of Kolapoor; both these persons were placed in confinement in the fort of Satara.

A.D. 1730. This defeat brought on an immediate accommodation. The Mahratta districts and claims, with the exception of some forts, in the tract of which the rivers Warna and Kistna to the north and the Toongbuddra to the south were the boundaries, were wholly ceded. Kopaul near the Toongbuddra was relinquished by Shao in exchange for Rutnaguiry; and the territory of the Concan, extending from Salsee to Ankolah, was comprehended in the sovereignty of Kolapoor.

The Gurhee of Wurgaom occupied by Oodajee Chowan, on the south bank of the Warna, which in the border warfare had cost many lives, was destroyed by mutual consent, but the claims of Chowan were left undetermined. Merich, Tasgaom, Hutnee, several villages along the northern bank of the Kistna, and some fortified places in the Beejapoor district, were given up to Shao. This treaty was offensive and defensive, and provided for the division of further conquests to the south of the Toongbuddra, which on co-operation were to be equally shared. Grants of Enam land or hereditary rights conferred by either party within their respective boundaries were confirmed.

A.D. 1731.—Although enemies were not wanting to detract from the reputation of the Peishwa and to extol that of his rivals, the success of the Pritee Needhee did not materially affect the ascendancy which Bajee Rao had attained; but Nizam Oo Moolk was still bent on opposing him, and found a fit instrument for his purpose in Trimbuck Rao Dhabaray. Ever since the Peishwa had obtained the deeds from Sur Boolund Khan, Dhabaray had been negotiating with the other Mahratta chiefs and assembling troops in Guzerat. At length, finding himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men, he had resolved to march for the

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Deccan in the ensuing season. Bajee Rao was well aware of the Senaputtee's enmity, but was not alarmed by his preparations until he discovered that Nizam Ool Moolk was to support him in the Deccan. Immediately on being apprised of their intention he determined to anticipate them; although, when joined by all his adherents, his whole army did not amount to above half that of Dhabaray. The latter gave out that he was proceeding to protect the Raja's authority, and was supported by Peelajee Gaekwar, Kantajee and Rughoojee Kuddum Bhanday, Oodajee and Anund Rao Powar,[1] Chimmajee Pundit,[2] Koor Buhadur, with many others. Bajee Rao proved that Dhabaray Senaputtee was in alliance with Nizam Ool Moolk; and declared that he was leagued for the purpose of dividing the Mahratta sovereignty with the Raja of Kolapoor, a measure inconsistent with sound policy and contrary to the divine ordinances of the Shasters.

The preparations of Nizam Ool Moolk hastened the march of Bajee Rao; and as his army, though so inferior in numerical strength, was composed of the old Pagah horse and some of the best of the Mahratta Mankurees, he moved rapidly towards Guzerat, but he commenced negotiating from the day of his quitting Poona and continued it until the hour of attack. His advanced troops, however, under Awjee Kowray, having fallen in with a party of the enemy under Dummajee, one of the sons of Peelajee Gaekwar, soon after crossing the Nerbuddah, they were attacked and completely defeated. Bajee Rao, not discouraged by this unfortunate commencement, determined, when about to engage his countrymen, contrary to his usual plan, to close with them immediately. The new levies did not await the shock, but fled on the first charge; Kantajee Kuddum went off with the fugitives, leaving the old troops of Khundee Rao Dhabaray to

[1] Previous to the formation of this league, the Powars, whose rendezvous continued about Dhar in Malwa, had been always at war with Peelajee Gaekwar.

[2] This was probably Chimmajee Damoodhur. He was a very active marauder; but Chimna Raja, so often mentioned in the Surat records, means Chimnajee, Bajee Rao's brother: even when the army was commanded by the Peishwa in person, the force is often mentioned as that of Chimna Raja. The members of the factories were frequently deceived by false reports, and they make some ridiculous mistakes in the names, which it is sometimes difficult to detect. The *Sow Roger*, for Shao Raja, though not a very elegant alteration, is easily discovered.

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defend his son. Trimbuck Rao was mounted on an elephant, and seeing the flight of his troops, chained the animal's legs. Bajee Rao was on horseback, and exerted himself with all the energy so great an occasion demanded ; but the field was still disputed with obstinacy, and the issue doubtful when Trimbuck Rao, in the act of drawing his bow, was shot by a random ball from a matchlock ; his death left complete victory to Bajee Rao with all but nominal control of the Mahratta sovereignty.

April 1.—In this battle, which took place between Baroda and Dubhoy in Guzerat, about the first of April, Jowjee Dhabaray, Mullojee Powar, and one of the sons of Peelajee Gaekwar were slain with their commander. Oodajee Powar and Chimmajee Pundit were taken prisoners. Anund Rao Powar, Peelajee Gaekwar, and Koor Buhadur were wounded, but escaped.[1] Both Dubhoy [2] and Baroda were at this time in the hands of Peelajee ; the latter was afterwards taken from him by the Moghuls, but Bajee Rao, at the suggestion of Sur Boolund Khan, then intended to reduce it for himself. A treaty was, however, concluded in the month of August, and the Peishwa, at the close of the monsoon, returned to Satara. He would have punished the treachery of Nizam Ool Moolk, but that crafty politician, whose schemes had recoiled on himself, warded a blow which he could with difficulty have withstood, by directing its aim against the head of the empire.

Bajee Rao readily acceded to the Nizam's views ; it suited his favourite policy, and it gave employment to persons likely to disturb the domestic arrangements he aimed at establishing. Troops were immediately dispatched towards Malwa under his brother Chimnajee, whilst he himself remained for a time engaged in the interior arrangements of government at Poona and Satara. Such appear to have been the rise and progress of the events and intrigues, which ended in a secret compact between Bajee Rao and Nizam Ool Moolk, securing to the former supremacy as Peishwa and to the latter a kingdom in the Deccan.

The victory over Dhabaray, like the issue of every civil war,

[1] Mahratta MSS. Original letters, in the handwriting of Bajee Rao. Surat Records. Letter from Mr. Daniel Innes, factor at Cambay, dated 7th April, 1731.

[2] Dubhoy first fell into the hands of Oodajee Powar, from whom it was taken by Peelajee.

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left impressions on the minds of many, not easily effaced; but the Peishwa adopted every means of conciliation in his power. It had been a custom to feed some thousand Bramins for several days every year at Tullygaom,[1] near Poona, the Enam village of Dhabaray; this charitable practice Bajee Rao continued at Poona, and gave sums of money at the same time to the assembled Shastreés and Waeedeeks. This festival, continued by his successors, was known by the name of Dukshina.[2]

Yeswunt Rao, the son of the deceased, was raised to the rank of Senaputtee, but being too young to take the management upon himself, his mother, Ooma Bye, became his guardian; and Peelajee Gaekwar, their former Mootaliq, was confirmed in that situation, with the title of Sena Khas Kheyl, in addition to his hereditary one of Shumsher Buhadur.[3]

In order to prevent disputes, an agreement was drawn up under the authority of Shao, and subscribed by the Peishwa and Senaputtee, stipulating that neither party should enter the boundary of the other in Guzerat and Malwa. Within the limits of the former province, the Senaputtee was to have entire management; but he bound himself to pay one half of the revenue to government through the Peishwa. All contributions, levied from countries not specified in the deeds given under the authority of Sur Boolund Khan, were to be made over to the Raja after deducting expenses.

The cession of Chouth and Surdeshmookhee from the pro-

[1] There are two Tullygaoms near Poona, one north-east, or Tullygaom Dumdairay, and the other north-west, Tullygaom Dhabaray, on the Bombay road, the one above alluded to. [The descendants of Khande Rao Dābhāde (Dhabaray) still live at Talegāon (Tullygaom), a town on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, twenty miles from Poona. They are hereditary Pātels of the place, and the head of the family ranks as a first-class Sardār of the Deccan. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 533.)]

[2] Dukshina means a charitable donation in money.

[3] I have in my possession three accounts of the origin of the Gaekwar titles from respectable sources, all differing from each other, and from the text: after all, I may be wrong, but even in such an insignificant matter, I have spared no pains to be correct. I have seldom given translations of the Mahratta titles, as even the Mahrattas themselves differ in the significations attached to them, and as I know nothing of Sanscrit, I was dependent on the Bramins about me for the few interpretations I have given. Sena Khas Kheyl has been translated, '*commander of the special band*,'—perhaps, '*leader of the sovereign's tribe*,' would be more correct.

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vince of Guzerat was highly disapproved at the imperial court, although no attempt had been made to assist Sur Boolund Khan, or to avert the calamity and disgrace which that officer foretold must be the consequence of neglecting his applications for assistance. Sur Boolund Khan was superseded by Abhee Sing, Raja of Joudpoor, who proceeded with the army to take possession of his new government. Sur Boolund Khan opposed him for a considerable time, but at last an accommodation took place, and the latter went off towards Delhi, where he was afterwards extremely ill-used and unworthily disgraced. Although an enemy of Nizam Ool Moolk, the disrespect and indignity with which Sur Boolund Khan was treated is given as the reason for the intimate connection which was now cemented between the former and Bajee Rao. The Mahomedan historian [1] is partly right; but selfish not generous motives furnish the real interpretation of Nizam Ool Moolk's consideration for Sur Boolund Khan. Perceiving Bajee Rao's complete ascendancy, the appointment of the Hindoo prince Abhee Sing to supersede Sur Boolund Khan, the imbecility of the Emperor, and the treachery as well as depraved venality of his courtiers; knowing also that he had rendered himself in the highest degree obnoxious, Nizam Ool Moolk had good grounds for apprehending that the Peishwa might be able to obtain the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The plan, however, which he adopted under these circumstances, belongs to the higher order of politics, and seems to have been framed for the purpose of diverting the Mahrattas from the destruction of the resources of his own country, and of making his own power a balance between that of the Emperor and the Peishwa.

Previously to invading Malwa in person, Bajee Rao had an interview with Nizam Ool Moolk, and endeavoured to induce him to advance a subsidy for the assistance he was affording; but the Nizam considered the inducement sufficiently strong without paying his auxiliaries. The districts in Candeish, by the present agreement, were to be protected by the Peishwa in his passage to and from Malwa, and nothing more than the usual tribute was to be levied in the six Soobehs of the Deccan, a proposal to which Bajee Rao readily acceded.[2]

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen.
[2] Mahratta MSS., and original letters.

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A.D. 1732.—Various parts of the province of Malwa had been already laid under contribution by Powar, Holkar, and Sindia. The Raja Gheerdhur on every occasion had exerted himself with great fortitude and energy, but was at length killed in an action with Oodajee Powar and Chimnajee Pundit[1] in 1729; but his relation, Dia Buhadur, having been appointed Soobehdar in his room, continued to repel the Mahratta inroads with bravery, and frequently with success; till at last, attacked by Chimnajee Appa, the Peishwa's brother, Peelajee Jadow, and Mulhar Rao Holkar at Talah[2] near Dhar, he was also slain, and his troops were defeated. Bajee Rao, on crossing the Nerbuddah, assumed command of the army in Malwa, and sent his brother and Peelajee Jadow back to Satara, to maintain his influence at court and to concert measures for settling the Concan, which was in a very disturbed state; the Peishwa having been obliged to withdraw a force, at first intended for the entire settlement of that country, including the reduction of Jinjeera.

In the meantime, after the Peishwa left Guzerat, the Foujdar of Abhee Sing recovered the fort of Baroda;- but the cause of Peelajee Gaekwar was popular, he had gained several victories, and occupied many of the principal *Thannas*, when Abhee Sing on pretence of entering upon a final agreement with him, sent some emissaries, apparently for the purpose of settling the preliminaries. These emissaries had frequent interviews with Peelajee, till at last one evening, after having sat until it was dusk, they took leave and went outside the tent, when one of their number, on pretence of having forgot something of consequence returned to the tent, and whilst affecting to whisper in Peelajee's ear drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. The assassin was instantly killed, but the rest of the emissaries escaped. This murder was perpetrated at Dhakoor, a well-known village in the district of Tausrah.[3]

The murder of Peelajee Gaekwar was not attended by the advantages expected from it by Abhee Sing; Dilla, Dessaye of

[1] This Chimnajee Pundit was not the brother of Bajee Rao, but the person taken by the Peishwa in the battle with the Senaputtee, already mentioned.

[2] Original letter, in the handwriting of Chimnajee Appa. I take the name of the place where the battle was fought from Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa.

[3] Mirat Ahmudee.

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Padra, near Baroda, who had lived in friendship with Peelajee, instigated the Koolees and Bheels to rise all over the country, and watching an opportunity, afforded by the march of troops to quell the insurgents, sent intelligence to Mahadajee Gaekwar, the brother of Peelajee, who then occupied Jumboseer, and advised him to attack Baroda. He accordingly followed this recommendation and obtained possession of it about the same time that Dia Buhadur was killed in Malwa, in 1732, since which time it has always belonged to the family of Gaekwar. But besides this success on the part of the Mahrattas, Dummajee, the eldest surviving son of Peelajee, advanced from Sonegurh with a great force, occupied many of the principal districts in the east of Guzerat, and made incursions as far as Joudpoor, till Abhee Sing, resigning Ahmedabad to a deputy, was forced to return to protect his paternal dominions.

A.D. 1733.—Mohummud Khan Bungush, governor of Allahabad, was the new Soobehdar appointed to Malwa. Shortly after the period of his obtaining the government, he entered Bundelcund and established himself in the territory of the Raja Chitoor Sal. On this proceeding the Rajpoot prince solicited aid from Bajee Rao, which was readily afforded. The Peishwa moved expeditiously into Bundelcund, surrounded Bungush, and forced him to seek refuge in a fort, where he was reduced to the greatest distress, till rescued by a band of Afghans of his own tribe, headed by his son. The province, however, was completely evacuated by his troops, and Chitoor Sal so entirely satisfied with the aid afforded by his new ally, that he conferred on him a fort and district in the neighbourhood of Jhansee, worth two and a quarter lacks of rupees of annual revenue, adopted him as his son, and at his death, which happened very soon after, bestowed on him one third of his possessions, or an equal share with his sons Juggut Raj-jee Deo and Hurdesa, the former styled Raja of Kalpee and the latter of Bundelcund; but it would appear that although they may have managed separately, they shared in common.[1]

[1] Original Papers Poona Records. [Rāja Chhatarsāl Bundēla was Rājā of Panna. (See *I.G.* (1908), vol. xix, p. 400.) He died in 1731. 'The correct date of his death is Pus Badi 3, Samvat, 1788, (Hamīrpur Settlement Report (1880), note at end of Chapter II). The date is often given inaccurately.' (Sleeman's *Rambles*, ed. V. A. Smith (1915), p. 95 n.)]

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A.D. 1734.—After the defeat of Mohummud Khan Bungush, Raja Jey Sing was appointed by the Emperor to the government of the provinces of Agra and Malwa. Nothing could be more favourable to the views of Bajee Rao, but as Jey Sing was now situated, the honour of the Rajpoot was at variance with the subsisting understanding between him and the Mahrattas. This circumstance may account for his hesitating to comply with their demands, but he at last came to an agreement with Bajee Rao, yielded him the government of Malwa in the following year, and for the time the Emperor, by Jey Sing's persuasions, tacitly acquiesced in the arrangement.[1]

Seyr Mutuakhereen. Mahratta MSS. Hudeequ-i-Alum.

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CHAPTER XV.

FROM A.D. 1734 TO A.D. 1739.

A.D. 1734.—I HAVE thus endeavoured to show the steps by which the Mahrattas spread themselves in Guzerat and established a footing in Malwa; their domestic policy, their affairs in regard to Berar and the Concan, now claim our attention: before we return to their operations in Malwa, or enter on the more important proceedings, which the present chapter will record.

During the Peishwa's absence, Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, had been accused of disobedience and confined at Satara; and Rughoojee, the son of Kanhojee's cousin Bembajee, had been appointed to the situation of Sena Sahib Soobeh in his stead. Rughoojee had served with a small party of horse, both under his relation Kanhojee and with one of the petty Mahomedan [1] princes in Gondwaneh; his station was too humble to bring him into general notice, but he had, in a confined sphere, distinguished himself by superior intelligence, activity, and spirit. The particulars of the intrigue by which Kanhojee Bhonslay was deprived of his title and Jagheer are not known, but from the selection of Rughoojee as his successor, agreeably to the choice of the Raja, it is probable that Bajee Rao had no share in it. Rughoojee had accompanied Shao in his excursions, and from being a very bold and expert hunter had ingratiated himself with the Raja and obtained a great ascendancy over him. Shao married him to the sister of one of his own wives, of the Sirkay family, which, except their having the same surname, and that they may possibly [2] have been originally relations and rivals

[1] They were originally Hindoo Polygars, and converted by Aurungzebe.

[2] There is a tradition of their having been rivals in an hereditary dispute, which may have been invented to prejudice the Rajas of

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for the hereditary right of Patell of their village, is the only connection which can be traced between the families of Satara and Nagpoor.[1]

On receiving the Sunnuds for Berar, Rughoojee gave a bond to maintain a body of five thousand horse for the service of the state; to pay an annual sum of nine lacks of rupees; and, exclusive of Ghas-dana, a tribute which the Sena Sahib Soobeh since the time of Raja Ram had been allowed to reserve, the half only of all other tribute, prize property, and contributions, was to be accounted for to the head of the government. He also bound himself to raise ten thousand horse when required, and to accompany the Peishwa, or to proceed to any quarter where he might be ordered.

This arrangement was effected during the absence of Sreeput Rao Pritee Needhee, who had been sent into the Concan by the Raja. The Pritee Needhee, being the friend of Kanhojee Bhonslay, endeavoured to obtain some mitigation of his sentence and proposed that Akola and Balapoor in Berar Payeen Ghaut should be restored on condition of his maintaining two hundred horse; but it does not appear that this arrangement was carried into effect. Kanhojee was an officer of great enterprise; he had made some partial conquests in Gondwaneh, and headed one incursion into Kuttack. He died at Satara, after having lived there many years a prisoner at large.

Whether Nizam Ool Moolk had made any preparations in consequence of these dissensions is uncertain; but Chimnajee Appa conceived, or affected to believe, that he meditated an attack. He, therefore, pitched his camp about forty miles east of Satara, leaving Peelajee Jadow with an inconsiderable body of

Satara against the Bhonslays of Nagpoor, and prevent their desire to adopt any member of that powerful family. It is a point of honour to maintain the hereditary difference.

[1] [The family of the Bhoslēs, to which Sivājī belonged, took its name, in all probability, from the village or *parganā* of Bhose. The Bhoslēs of Nāgpur were originally Pātels of the village of Deor, in Sātāra District, but derived their name from Bhose. Beyond the fact that both families belonged originally to the Kunbī agricultural tribe and were settled in the same tract, there seems to have been no close connexion between them. Russell (*Nāgpur Gazetteer*, 33, 96) speaks of the name Bhoslē being 'derived from the village Bhosāvat, near Bhosa fort in Bombay.' The village or *parganā* of Bhose seems to offer the most probable origin of the name. See note, pp. 71, 72, *ante*.]

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horse ; being the only troops at Satara, in the immediate interest of the Peishwa.

When Bajee Rao advanced into Malwa, it was his design to engage the Raja's mind with petty affairs in the Concan. Divisions of authority, contending factions, and the turbulent disposition of some of its inhabitants, afforded ample field, within the small tract from Goa to Bombay, for engaging and fatiguing attention ; but as these authorities had also a large share in the transactions of the Bombay government during the last century, they demand, as a record of our own history, particular enumeration. Sawunt, the principal Deshmookh of Waree, occupied his hereditary territory in that quarter, but having suffered from Kanhojee Angria's attacks, prior to the late peace between the Rajas of Satara and Kolapoor, he bore an enmity to Angria's family ever after.

Kanhojee Angria's death happened about the end of the year 1728.[1] During his life, all attempts at reducing his power proved fruitless. The Bombay government, incensed at his piracies and contumelious conduct, joined with the Portuguese in an expedition against Kolabah. The land forces furnished by that nation, and three English ships of the line under Commodore Matthews[2] co-operated, but the attempt failed, owing to the cowardice of the Portuguese. This expedition took place in 1722, and two years afterwards the Dutch, with seven ships, two bomb vessels and a body of troops, made an attempt on Viziadroog, at that time better known by its Moghul name of Gheriah ; but this attack also failed. Angria seized many English vessels, and about a year before his death took the *Darby*, a ship richly laden belonging to the East India Company. The crews of his vessels, like all Mahrattas when successful,

[1] Mahratta MSS. I am not certain of this date, as I have not observed it in the English Records.

[2] [Matthews left Spithead in February 1721, and arrived in Bombay in September of the same year. The expedition was dispatched by the King's order at the request of the East India Company which was alarmed by constant reports of piracies committed by Angria and European buccaneers. Downing (*Comp. History of the Indian Wars*, 1737), who accompanied the expedition as a midshipman, gives an amusing account of the behaviour of the Viceroy of Goa and the Portuguese General of the North on the occasion of the attack on Alībāg (Kolāba), and of the Commodore's anger at their pusillanimity. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 87–9.)]

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became very daring, and his forts on the coast were considered impregnable.[1]

Kanhojee Angria left two legitimate and three illegitimate sons. The two former succeeded to his possessions; the elder, named Sukkajee,[2] remained at Kolabah, and the younger, Sumbhajee, resided at Severndroog. The elder died a short time after his father, and Sumbhajee, keeping with him the eldest of his half-brothers, appointed the other two to the charge of Kolabah. The eldest of these, Yessajee, had charge of the interior management, whilst Mannajee commanded the naval and military establishment. The latter, some time after, having quarrelled with his family, sought protection and assistance from the Portuguese; and having obtained the aid of some troops, he escaladed Kolabah and carried it sword in hand. He cruelly put out the eyes of his brother Yessajee, and confined him, for which Sumbhajee, as soon as the Portuguese retired, attacked him. Mannajee, however, having obtained aid from Bajee Rao, compelled Sumbhajee to raise the siege, and in consequence of the assistance afforded, ceded the forts of Kootla and Rajmachee to the Peishwa.[3]

The Seedee, who at this time was chief of Jinjeera, had held that situation for several years, with the old Moghul title of Yakoot Khan. The districts which had been placed under the Seedee's charge by Aurungzebe, including Mhar, Raigurh, Dabul, and Anjenweel, had been defended against every effort of the Mahrattas, and frequently, in consequence of their inroads, the Seedee levied contributions from Shao's districts. As force was not likely to prevail, the Pritee Needhee, Jewajee Khunde Rao Chitnees, and others of the Raja's ministers, formed schemes for ruining the Seedee by intrigue. A person named Yacoob Khan, well known in those times as one of the most daring pirates on the coast, and distinguished by his familiar appellation of Shaikjee, possessed the entire confidence of the Seedee. This man was a descendant of the Koolee Rajas of the Concan, and

[1] Orme. Bruce's Annals, partly confirmed by Mahratta MSS.

[2] [Sakojī Angria made friendly advances to the Bombay Council, and on June 21, 1733, sent envoys to Bombay with proposals for a definite peace. His early death put an end to the negotiations. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 98.)]

[3] Mahratta MSS.

hereditary Patell of Goagurh. In one of the incursions of the Seedees he was, when a child, taken prisoner and bred a Mussulman. At a very early period he distinguished himself, and on getting command of a ship became as celebrated for his strategy as his bravery. The Pritee Needhee gained this Shaik Yacoob and entered into a secret treaty with him, by which he was to receive the command of the fleet, the whole of the Seedee's possessions, with the exception of some forts, several villages in Enam, and the Surgounda [1] or two per cent. of the whole revenue of the lower Concan, from the river Penn to the boundary of the Kolapoor territory. His brother was to be appointed second in command at Raigurh, and one lack of rupees was to be distributed as a largess amongst the troops and crews of the vessels, in case of success in effecting a revolution.[2]

To aid this scheme, a force was sent into the Concan in 1733, under the Pritee Needhee, his Mootaliq Yemmajee Sewdeo, and Oodajee Chowan; the intrigues, for reasons which are not explained, were unsuccessful, but a war ensued, the effects of which fell principally upon the helpless peasantry. Little impression could be made on the Seedee's garrisons; the Pritee Needhee after many months was finally worsted, and when encamped at Chiploon, the fort of Goelkot, although strongly garrisoned, was disgracefully surprised and taken. Chimnajee Appa incurred the Raja's displeasure for not sending assistance to Sreeput Rao after repeated orders,[3] and Shao at last told him, 'if you do not I must go myself.'[4] Peelajee Jadow was at length dispatched, but none of the other officers at Satara would undertake to support the Pritee Needhee, except on condition of

[1] The same as Nargounda, only here confined to two, instead of three per cent.

[2] Original papers in possession of the Chitnees at Satara.

[3] Original letters from Shao to Chimnajee, and from the Peishwa's Mootaliq, procured from the Dawursee Swamee. Many interesting letters from the Bajee Rao and Chimnajee were lent to me by the descendants of the disciples of the Dawursee Swamee. The Swamee was a much venerated person in the country, and was the Mahapooroosh of Bajee Rao and his brother, and seems to have possessed their entire confidence. The Peishwa's letters to the Swamee, and to his brother, detail the actions of his life, in a familiar manner, without disguise, and are quite invaluable. I was permitted to translate, but not to copy them. The originals continue in possession of the Swamee's disciples at Dawursee, a village within a few miles of Satara.

[4] This part of the letter is a postscript in his own handwriting.

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receiving the conquered districts in Jagheer; he was, therefore, compelled to return to Satara with great loss of reputation. About this time the chief at Jinjeera died, leaving several sons, the eldest of whom, Seedee Abdoollah, was murdered by his brothers, supported by other conspirators, with the view of usurping the government in prejudice to Seedee Rehman, one of the brothers not in Jinjeera at the time of the murder, and who bore no part in the conspiracy.

A.D. 1735.—Yacoob Khan immediately embraced the cause of Seedee Rehman and called on Shao for support, but nothing could be done until the return of Bajee Rao, who after leaving Holkar and Sindia with a large body of cavalry in Malwa, returned to the Deccan, and on crossing the Godavery, intimated to the Raja that he should march straight to Dhunda Rajepoor. All the disposable infantry were directed to join the Peishwa, and Peelajee Jadow was sent off reinforced with a body of the Pagah horse, to support Mulhar Rao Holkar in Malwa.

Seedee Rehman and Yacoob Khan joined Bajee Rao, who commenced operations by attacking some of the forts. Futih Sing Bhonslay and the Pritee Needhee proceeded to co-operate; but the only assistance which they rendered was the recovery of Sivajee's capital, Raigurh, the Killidar of which had been previously corrupted by Shaik Yacoob. The Peishwa reduced the forts of Tala and Gossala; but his further progress was interrupted by the advance of Seedee Rehman, one of the brothers, at the head of a body of troops from Jinjeera. They attacked the Peishwa vigorously, but could not prevail over the numerous forces of the Mahrattas. Seedee Rehman was killed, and his troops were pursued to Dhunda Rajepoor. Batteries were erected against Jinjeera, whilst Mannajee Angria assailed it from the sea.

The operation of cannonading Jinjeera had been repeated from the time of Sumbhajee, every year the Mahrattas were in possession of Dhunda Rajepoor. Bajee Rao perceived the impracticability of reducing it, at least for many months; and as he foresaw many bad consequences from remaining in the Concan, he listened to overtures made by the besieged, entered into a treaty, by which they recognized the pretensions of Seedee Rehman, gave up half the revenues of eleven Mahals[1] to him,

[1] Smaller divisions of a district.

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and ceded the forts of Raigurh, Tala, Gossala, Oochitgurh and Beerwaree to the Mahrattas.

Upon this successful termination of hostilities, Bajee Rao with additional power and influence returned to Satara, and was appointed Soobehdar of the late acquisitions.[1]

After Bajee Rao's return to the Deccan, the troops of Mulhar Rao Holkar made incursions beyond Agra. Khan Dowran, the vizier of Mohummud Shah, attempted to check the progress of the Mahrattas rather by the pen than the sword; forgetting that all negotiations with a predatory state, without previously punishing its aggressions, only tend to excite further depredation. He laid plans for obtaining the aid of Nizam Ool Moolk without appearing to solicit it; a conduct little less inconsistent than that of the fickle Emperor, who now earnestly courted him; but the Nizam was nursing his resources, and the period had not yet arrived when he could perceive that his presence at Delhi would be hailed as that of the saviour of the empire.

Khan Dowran's attempts were feeble, but his preparations were always splendid; all Delhi was in bustle when his expeditions set out; but they commenced in bombast and ended in ridicule. His brother, Muzuffir Khan, moved forth to drive the plunderers and robbers across the Nerbuddah. Holkar sent a few of his light troops to molest his march during the day and to throw rockets into his camp during the night; but he never allowed himself to be interrupted in the collection of contributions, in which he was employed for the purpose of endeavouring to satisfy the importunate demands of his master the Peishwa, whose pecuniary distress had become very great. Muzuffir Khan advanced as far as Seronje, whence he returned, and was received at Delhi as if he had performed signal services, acquiring fame among his friends by the contempt of his enemies. The province of Malwa and the country south of the Chumbul, although some of the forts remained in possession of the imperial officers, were completely overrun, and the Rohillas, as well as the Mahrattas, took possession of several places.[2] Kantajee Kuddum Bhanday, who the year before had been constrained

[1] Mahratta MSS., and original letters. In parts where I have only Mahratta authority, I am seldom quite certain of my dates, as many of the original letters have only the date of the week and of the moon.

[2] Seyr Mutuakhereen, and Mahratta letters.

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by the power of Dummajee Gaekwar to quit Guzerat, persuaded Holkar to make an incursion into that province, where they appeared unexpectedly; levied contributions as far as the Bunass; plundered several towns to the north of Ahmedabad, amongst which were Eder and Pulhanpoor,[1] and departed as suddenly as they had come.

Abhee Sing was shortly after removed from the government of Guzerat, and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, Momin Khan, was appointed to officiate, but the deputy of Abhee Sing would not evacuate the city of Ahmedabad, and Momin Khan was at last obliged to court an alliance with Dummajee, in order to expel him.

A.D. 1736.—Bajee Rao, owing to the vast army he had kept up, both to secure his conquests and to overcome his rivals, had become greatly involved in debts. His troops were in arrears, the Soucars (or Bankers), to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lacks of rupees, refused to make any further advances, and he complained bitterly of the constant mutinies and clamours in his camp, which occasioned him much vexation and distress.[2] He levied the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee in Malwa, and applied through Raja Jey Sing for their formal cession in that province; and likewise for a confirmation of the deeds granted by Sur Boolund Khan for Guzerat. The Tooranee Moghuls, who formed a considerable party in the ministry, were decidedly against a compromise so disgraceful; Khan Dowran and the Emperor, by whom it had been already tacitly yielded, were disposed by the advice of Jey Sing to acknowledge the title in due form; but, in the course of the negotiation which ensued between the imperial minister and the Peishwa, both parties went beyond their original intentions, and hastened the advancing reconciliation between Mohummud Shah and Nizam Ool Moolk.

[1] Meerat Ahmudee. [Pālanpur (Pulhanpoor) is a very ancient town, now the capital of the Pālanpur Agency.]

[2] Among Hindoos, an attitude of worship or adoration is to place the forehead at the threshold of a temple or at the feet of the idol, and is used in humble supplication to a superior. The following extract of a letter, from Bajee Rao to his Mahapooroosh, must of course be understood figuratively: but it shows the embarrassments under which he laboured:—'I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors, and to pacify Soucars and Sillidars, I am falling at their feet, till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead.' Part of this distress originated in the high rates of pay which he was obliged to give, in order to outbid Nizam Ool Moolk and secure the best of the Deccan soldiery.

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The Emperor, in the first instance, agreed to relinquish, in the form of an assignment, thirteen lacks of rupees of the revenue of the districts south of the Chumbul for the ensuing season, payable by three instalments at stated periods; and to grant an authority to the Peishwa to levy a tribute from the Rajpoot states, from Boondee and Kotah on the west to Budawur on the east, fixing the annual amount at ten lacks and sixty thousand rupees. The latter concession Khan Dowran probably expected, was more likely to create enmity than to establish friendship between the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots. This minister imagined himself superior to a Mahratta Bramin in political artifice, and continued to negotiate, when he should have had no thought but to chastise. The Raja Jey Sing was the medium through whom Khan Dowran sent an envoy of his own, named Yadgar Khan, to treat with Bajee Rao. The Sunnuds for the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee were secretly prepared, and given to the agent with instructions to reserve them; but Dhondoo Punt Poorundhuree, the Peishwa's wukeel, residing with Khan Dowran, discovered this preliminary admission and apprised Bajee Rao of the circumstance. Mahrattas in every negotiation invariably begin by requiring much more than they expect. If they find their proposal acceded to they rise in their pretensions, and very often, from a tone of the most obsequious complaisance, assume an overbearing insolence of manner and a style of pointed threat and menace, which, to those who have only seen them submissive, is scarcely conceivable.

Bajee Rao's demands now exceeded all bounds; at different stages during the discussions he required the whole provinces of Malwa in Jagheer; the Rohillas, who had established themselves, to be dispossessed; the forts of Mandoo, Dhar, and Raiseen; the Jagheer and Foujdaree of the whole tract south of the Chumbul; fifty lacks of rupees from the royal treasury, or an equivalent assignment on Bengal; Allahabad, Benares, Gya, and Muttra in Jagheer, and an hereditary right as Surdeshpandya of the six Soobehs of the Deccan.[1]

All these concessions were evaded by the Emperor, excepting the last; to that he acceded, on Bajee Rao's agreeing to pay a fee of six lacks of rupees. This grant was precisely similar to that of the Surdeshmookhee, but coinciding with the proportion

[1] Original papers, and Poona records.

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of the emoluments of Deshmookh and Deshpandya: those of the Surdeshmookhee being ten, the Surdeshpandeegheeree was five per cent. This grant, however, fell upon the Deccan; it was a stroke levelled at Nizam Ool Moolk by Khan Dowran, and had the immediate effect of rousing the Nizam's jealousy, whilst encouragement from the Moghul faction and pressing invitations from Mohummud Shah to repair to Delhi and save the empire at length induced Nizam Ool Moolk to think of turning the scale against his predatory allies. In the meantime negotiations produced no cessation of activity on the part of Bajee Rao, and his demands were so exorbitant that it was determined, after protracted consultations, to assemble a vast army, by the mere display of which it seemed as if they expected to annihilate the Mahrattas. The plains in the neighbourhood of the capital were accordingly covered with tents, and the preparations were as splendid as the operations proved feeble. The Peishwa, on hearing that Khan Dowran and Kummur-ud-deen Khan, each at the head of a great army, had advanced towards Muttra, deposited his heavy baggage with his ally Juggut Raj in Bundelcund, and advanced to a position on the banks of the Jumna, forty miles south of Agra. He had attacked the Raja of Budawur for refusing to settle his claims, and levied contributions in every direction. Mulhar Rao Holkar, Peelajee Jadow, and Wittoojee Bolay committed great depredations in the Dooab, until driven across the Jumna by Sadut Khan, who marched from Oude and unexpectedly assailed the Mahrattas. He wrote an exaggerated account of his success to court, stating that he had wounded Mulhar Rao Holkar, killed Wittoojee Bolay, and driven the whole Mahratta army across the Chumbul; that two thousand were killed, and two thousand were drowned in the Jumna. On Sadut Khan's arrival at Agra, Bajee Rao quitted his ground on the banks of the Jumna and moved to a more open country in a north-east direction, his former position being confined by the Chumbul on his left flank, and his camp intersected by deep ravines; very unfavourable to his mode of fighting.[1]

Sadut Khan's account of his success, as written by himself

[1] The Seyr Mutuakhereen gives the Moghul account of this campaign, the only one to which the author of that work had access. I have not omitted due consideration of both sides of the narrative.

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to the Emperor, was communicated to Bajee Rao by his wukeel, who remained with Khan Dowran until the latter, accompanied by Mohummud Khan Bungush, joined Sadut Khan at Agra, when, by the advice of the latter, the wukeel was dismissed. Nothing was talked of in Delhi but the hero Sadut Khan, who had driven the Mahrattas back to the Deccan. 'I was resolved,' says Bajee Rao, 'to tell the Emperor truth, to prove that I was still in Hindoostan, and to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital.'

Six days before Khan Dowran joined Sadut Khan, Bajee Rao, foreseeing that they would unite, was on his march to Delhi. Quitting the great road and skirting the hills of Mehwat, where they formed the boundary of the territory of Chooramun Jath, and keeping fourteen miles to the left of Oorlass,[1] where Kummur-ud-deen Khan was encamped, he advanced at the rate of forty miles daily, and pitched his camp close to the suburbs. Some elephants and camels coming out of the city were seized, and a party of Hindoos when going to a temple for the performance of a religious ceremony were stripped,[2] but the Peishwa prudently abandoned his first intention of plundering and burning; as he conceived the booty might retard his retreat, and that burning the suburbs would but show a disrespect and contempt which would impede his negotiations with the Emperor and Khan Dowran, both of whom he well knew were disposed to grant a large share of his demands. He therefore next day wrote two letters, one to the Emperor, and the other to Raja Bukht Mull. Their purport is not mentioned, but the Emperor requested that a wukeel might be sent, which Bajee Rao refused, unless a guard came out for his protection. He, however, returned a polite message, stating 'that as he apprehended mischief to the city, from the contiguity of his troops, he was about to retire to the Jheel Tank.' This moderation encouraged a party of eight thousand men from the city, under Muzuffir Khan, Meer Hoossein Khan Kokah, Raja Sew Sing, and other nobles of the court, to venture forth and attack the Mahrattas. Bajee Rao dispatched Suttojee Jadow with a few skirmishers to reconnoitre them;

[1] This is probably the Hindoo name for the place, as I cannot find it in any of our maps.

[2] This fact Bajee Rao mentions to his brother, without reserve or comment.

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and upon Suttojee's sending notice that they were coming out to attack him, Mulharjee Holkar, followed by Ranoojee Sindia, immediately wheeled about, fell upon them, killed and wounded upwards of six hundred, drove them back into the city, and took two thousand of their horses and one elephant. Raja Sew Sing was amongst the slain, and Meer Hoossein Khan Kokah was mortally wounded.

The Mahrattas lost very few men, and had only one officer[1] wounded. This action was soon over, and Bajee Rao was about to refresh his men when the army of Kummur-ud-deen Khan came in sight. Bajee Rao had a skirmish with him, but as night was approaching, and as he perceived that the enemy was supported by troops from the city as well as by Khan Dowran and Sadut Khan, who were close at hand, he determined to retreat, and before morning moved eight miles to the westward of the late field of battle. In the skirmish with Kummur-ud-deen Khan the Peishwa lost thirty men. Khan Dowran and Sadut Khan effected a junction with Kummur-ud-deen Khan on the following morning; and Bajee Rao retreated towards Gwalior, by the route of Rewaree and Mundawar, both of which he plundered, and was neither interrupted nor pursued. It was Bajee Rao's intention to cross the Jumna and plunder the Dooab before the rains; but being apprehensive that Nizam Ool Moolk might interrupt him before he could collect the revenue in Malwa, he ordered his brother to watch the Nizam's preparations[2]: and, 'if he attempt,' says the Peishwa's letter, 'to cross the Rewa (Nerbuddah), fall instantly on his rear and put heel ropes upon him.'[3]

No opportunity presented itself of crossing the Jumna, and as his presence became requisite in the Deccan, Bajee Rao, upon a promise of obtaining the government of Malwa and thirteen lacks of rupees, again sent his wukeel to Khan Dowran, and set out on

[1] Indrajee Kuddum, belonging to Ranoojee Sindia's party. I mention his name merely to show the minuteness of the Peishwa's report.

[2] A private letter, or rather journal, in the handwriting of Bajee Rao, to his brother Chimnajee Appa. Without various corroborative testimonies, as to the facts, it bears that internal evidence of truth which commands confidence.

[3] Such of my readers as may have seen a horse break from his pickets, and attempt to gallop off with his heel ropes, will understand the Peishwa's injunctions in their full force.

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his return to Satara, where he paid his respects to the Raja, and immediately proceeded into the Concan.

A.D. 1737.—The Portuguese, who had assisted in taking Kolabah, not having received some districts promised to them in the neighbourhood of Rewadunda, now appeared, as the allies of Sumbhajee Angria against Mannajee, in another attack upon Kolabah. The Peishwa was sent to repel this attempt, in which he succeeded, took Mannajee under his protection, on condition of his paying the yearly sum of seven thousand rupees, and presenting annually to the Raja foreign articles from Europe or China,[1] to the value of three thousand rupees more. The war with the Portuguese led to the invasion of Salsette. Visajee Punt Leiley, a Carcoon in the service of the Peishwa, corrupted some natives in the Portuguese service.[2] The Mahrattas first possessed themselves of a small fort[3] on the opposite side of the river from Bassein, on the night of the 6th April, put the commandant with his garrison to the sword, and occupied the river so as to prevent all succour from Bassein to the other forts on the island; numbers of their troops crossed on the seventh, and the fortifications of Tannah being then unfinished, and a whole curtain wanting, the Portuguese governor of Salsette, Don Lewis Botelho, who was there, without attempting to defend it himself, called a council of war and decided on retiring to Caranja, leaving Captain John de Souza Pereira to defend the fort, and Captain John de Souza Ferraz to command the garrison of Bandora opposite to Mahim. Pereira behaved with spirit, and gallantly repulsed two assaults, in the last of which he was severely wounded; but the officer who succeeded him, having been seized with a panic when there was no enemy in sight, shamefully took to flight. The English at Bombay, interested in the defence of Bandora, sent both men and ammunition to that post; but on other occasions declared their neutrality.[4] The Peishwa, to secure these conquests and to

[1] Mahratta MSS. One manuscript states that some of his forts were also to be placed under Havildars and Carcoons, to be appointed by the Raja.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] Probably Gorabundur.

[4] Letter from Don Conde de Sandomel, viceroy of Goa, to the king of Portugal, 25th of January, 1738. [The English sent fifty men with some ammunition to aid in the defence of Bāndra, but withdrew them when the Marāthā general declared his intention of attacking the town. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 107–8.) In April 1737, immediately after

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maintain the war against the Portuguese, entertained some Arabs and a very large body of infantry, principally Mawulees and Hetkurees. But news from Delhi obliged him to withdraw a part of his forces from the Concan.

The Emperor, having at last prevailed on Nizam Ool Moolk to repair to court, the government of Malwa and Guzerat were restored to him, but in the name of his eldest son Ghazee-ud-deen; the conditions were that he should drive the Mahrattas from those provinces, and every inducement that could flatter his ambition or stimulate his avarice was held out to prevail upon him to undertake this service in person.

The fullest powers were granted by the Emperor for assembling all the tributary Rajas under his standard, whose forces, added to his own troops, enabled him to take the field with thirty-four thousand men, under his personal command, and a train of artillery accounted the best in India. Abool Munsoor Khan Sufdur Jung,[1] nephew of Sadut Khan, and the Raja of Kotah covered his rear. The Nizam began operations with abundant caution, crossed over into the Dooab, and kept the Jumna on his right flank, recrossed the river at Kalpee, obliged the Rajas of Bundelcund to join him, and advanced into Malwa.

Bajee Rao assembled all the troops he could collect, and by the time he reached the Nerbuddah, found himself at the head of an army, estimated at eighty thousand men.[2] Neither Yeswunt Rao Dhabaray, nor any of the Senaputtee's officers, joined him; and Rughoojee Bhonslay evaded the order, under pretence that he apprehended an invasion of Berar.

Thāna fell into the hands of the Marāthās, the Bombay Council, which was doubtful what policy to adopt, decided to send 'Rāmjī Parbhu, a person of capacity and experience,' to discover Chimnājī Appa's intentions. In 1738, in reply to an appeal for help from the Portuguese, the Governor of Bombay wrote: 'I dare not hazard to increase our charges by a rash and abrupt declaration of war against these people (Marāthās), not only without the orders of my superiors, but without a force to support and carry it through with dignity and reputation.' The Council, however, lent some money to the Portuguese 'at the hazard of our own private fortunes, in case of the same being disavowed by our employers.']

[1] Afterwards Nabob of Oude, and the father of the well-known Shujah-ud-Dowlah.

[2] Letter from Chimnajee Appa, who says he crossed the Nerbuddah, 'by the route of Kurgouna, near Poonashah, at the head of eighty thousand men.'

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A.D. 1738.—When Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbuddah, Nizam Ool Moolk was at Seronje. The two armies met near Bhopaul in the month of January ; when the Nizam, instead of advancing at once on his adversary, took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bhopaul, with a tank in his rear and a rivulet in his front.[1] This extreme caution may be said to have decided the fate of the war ; the Mahrattas, who had approached under some alarm, no sooner fancied themselves superior than they in fact became so. They insulted the Nizam in his lines ; and when a part of his army chose their own position for battle, the Mahrattas attacked them with vigour. The action was principally maintained, on the part of Nizam Ool Moolk, by the Rajpoots under the son of Raja Jey Sing, supported by the troops from Bundelcund and the neighbouring Rajas ; all of whom, except the Raja of Boondee, had united with Nizam Ool Moolk. The Rajpoots lost about five hundred men and seven hundred horses ; the Mahrattas' loss was principally from the fire of the artillery, and estimated, by the Peishwa himself, at one hundred killed and three hundred wounded. Ranoojee Sindia, Peelajee Jadow, and Syajee Goozur were the officers who led the Mahratta troops into action. The Peishwa, during the engagement, was within two rockets' flight of the Nizam, anxiously watching an opportunity, in hopes that he would quit the strong ground on which he stood, when it was Bajee Rao's intention to have made an effort to cut him off ; but in this he was disappointed. No decisive advantage was gained by the Mahrattas during the attack ; but the Nizam recalled his troops and allowed himself to be hemmed in on all sides ; provisions and forage soon became exceedingly scarce ; a detachment from the army under Sufdur Jung and the Raja of Kotah, was intercepted and defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, by Mulhar Rao Holkar and Yeswunt Rao Powar. Sufdur Jung retreated, and the Mahrattas exulting straitened the army at Bhopaul, cut off their supplies, and kept them on the alert day and night. Dispirited by privation, and harassed by tiresome watching, many of the troops, especially the Rajpoots, would have deserted, but Bajee Rao would admit of no overtures ; he now had an opportunity of showing his superiority to all India, and well knew, that as long as the blockade could be

[1] Original letter, in the handwriting of Bajee Rao.

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secured, the greater the numbers the greater their straits. It seemed unaccountable to Bajee Rao how Nizam Ool Moolk should have thus put himself into his power. 'The Nabob,' says the Peishwa in a letter to his brother, 'is both an old man and a man of experience, how he has got himself into this difficulty I cannot comprehend; it will ruin him in the opinion of all at Delhi.'

Preparations were made both in Hindoostan and in the Deccan to effect his relief. Khan Dowran perhaps saw the distress of his rival with secret pleasure; and the Emperor's command, not to advance until he should march in person, was an intimation to Bajee Rao that he had nothing to apprehend from the northward. The Nizam's principal hopes of succour were from the Deccan; troops were assembled both at Hyderabad and Aurungabad by his second son, Nasir Jung, whom he had left as his deputy; and messengers were secretly dispatched from the camp at Bhopaul to hasten their march.

Bajee Rao, on the other hand, exerted himself with the utmost earnestness to prevent their approach; he wrote, beseeched, and threatened Rughoojee Bhonslay, without effect; he entreated the Raja to compel the Senaputtee, then at Sonegurh near Surat, to join him; and Shao, to that end, wrote a peremptory mandate with his own hand. Chimnajee Appa took post on the Taptee, and the intended relief for the Nizam assembled at Phoolmurry,[1] north of Aurungabad. The Peishwa urged his brother in the strongest manner to collect every man he could: 'bring up Futih Sing Bhonslay, Sumbhoo Sing Jadow, and the Sur Lushkur, from the southward; if Dhabaray, Gaekwar, and Bhanday are not on their march to join me, let them take post with you on the Taptee; let every Mahratta join, and one grand and united effort may make us masters of the Deccan.'

The Nizam made an attempt to move, but owing to the encumbrance of heavy baggage and stores, he was compelled to return; his troops, in retiring to their former ground, were driven under the walls, or crowded within the fortifications of Bhopaul. Bajee Rao, from the want of artillery, could not effect a breach, but he poured in such a shower of rockets, and so galled the Moghuls with matchlocks, that Nizam Ool Moolk

[1] This is the common Mahratta appellation; Phooloomree is its proper name.

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determined on making a last effort to extricate himself. He deposited his baggage in Bhopaul and Islamgurh, and began his retreat under cover of a powerful artillery and a number of swivels mounted on camels. The Mahrattas charged the guns, but failed in taking them. The retreat, however, was only at the rate of three miles a day. The Mahrattas acted vigorously, but began to be discouraged by the execution from the guns[1]; at last, the Nizam, on the twenty-fourth day from the commencement of the attack, about the 11th February, was com-

Feb. 11. pelled to sign a convention at Dooraee Suraee, near Seronje, promising in his own handwriting to grant to Bajee Rao the whole of Malwa and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddah and the Chumbul; to obtain a confirmation of it from the Emperor, and to use every endeavour to procure the payment of a subsidy of fifty lacks of rupees to defray the Peishwa's expenses.[2] 'I tried hard,' says Bajee Rao, 'to get something from the Nabob himself, but this I scarcely expected, I recollected his unwillingness to part with money when I entered on an agreement to assist him'; alluding to their compact six years before.

The Peishwa remained for a time levying contributions south of the Chumbul; and carrying on negotiations at court, where the threatening invasion of Nadir Shah, at that time besieging Candahar, although mentioned by Mahomedan writers as an apology for the Nizam's failure against the Mahrattas, had as yet excited little alarm at court, and the inhabitants of Delhi, like all enervated and selfish people, were as careless of danger at a distance as terrified and helpless on its approach.

In the meantime the war in the Concan was maintained against the Portuguese; to keep them in check, a body of horse had been sent down towards Goa, under Wenkut Rao Narrain

[1] Chimnajee had been with the Peishwa in the first campaign against Nizam Ool Moolk, and had suffered from the Nizam's guns. Bajee Rao, as some apology for allowing him to move at all, significantly observes, 'Appa, you know what kind of an artillery he has.'

[2] The Nizam was surrounded from the 3d to the 26th Ramzan. On the latter day the agreement was concluded. A copy of this paper was sent to Sir John Malcolm, when he was writing his report on Malwa, and I mention the date particularly, because I observe, that owing to a mistake in attaching the name of Ballajee, instead of that of his father, to the paper, he has been led into an error in regard to it.

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Ghorepuray; and Khundoojee Mankur, in the northern Concan, laid siege to the fort of Asseeree near Tarrapoor; but Don Antonio Cardim Frois, an officer of reputation, had superseded the late governor of Bassein and Salsette, and exerted himself with some success in the recovery of their possessions. Colonel Pedro de Mello, with about five hundred Europeans and four thousand Portuguese, natives of India, attacked Khundoojee Mankur, stormed and destroyed the batteries at Asseeree, and was preparing to make a great effort for the recovery of Tannah. The Governor of Bombay apprised the Mahrattas of the intended expedition, and advised them to make peace with the Portuguese; at the same time the English sold them both powder and shot[1]; but Khundoojee Mankur was reinforced and Mulhar Rao Holkar was sent with all speed to Tannah, where he arrived in time to repulse an attack on the fort, led by Don Antonio Frois in person, who bravely fell in the attempt.

Although Bombay was then insignificant, it afterwards became a great English settlement, and the subtle part which its chief[2] acted on that occasion, leaves room to regret that political animosity and the spirit of commercial rivalry should

[1] Mahratta MSS. The commandant of Bassein had good proof of this, for the Mahratta shot, which the year before were all hammered, were now thrown of cast-iron and bore the English stamp.

[2] I do not know whether it was Mr. John Horne, or Mr. Stephen Law. Mr. Law succeeded Mr. Horne some time during the first part of the year 1739. Mr. Law, in a letter to the Court of Directors, 4th September, 1739, is anxious to exculpate the government, and declares the complaints of the Portuguese gross misrepresentations, which so far exonerates the home authorities from suspicion of conniving at such acts of their servants; but what reason could the Mahrattas have for misrepresentation? [Stephen Law succeeded John Horne as President of the Bombay Council on April 7, 1739. The charge against the Bombay Government of assisting the Marāthās is contained in a letter from John Pereira Pinto, Commandant of Bassein, to the Bombay Council, before whom it was laid for information by the President, John Horne, on January 1, 1739. Apparently, therefore, it was Horne, and not Law, who was in office at the time the alleged assistance was given. The Bombay Council recorded that the letter from the Portuguese Commandant was 'couched in very opprobrious and disrespectful language, which is ordered to be entered after this consultation for the notice of our honourable masters.' (Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), i. 24, 26.) The Portuguese attempt to recover Thāna took place towards the close of 1738, i.e. during the governorship of Horne which lasted from September 22, 1734 to April 7, 1739. (*B.G.*, xiv.; *B.C.G.*, ii.)]

have tended to a conduct which certainly in some degree detracts from our national reputation. Like everything of the kind it was exaggerated by the exasperated feelings of the other party, and although it must be admitted that the Portuguese had great reason to complain, their assertion that the English assisted the Mahrattas in the defence of Tannah, and that an English gunner pointed the cannon which killed their commander,[1] appears from all contemporary authority to be totally unfounded. We are also bound in justice to add, in regard to such part of the conduct of the English as deserves censure, that it was principally to be ascribed to the treatment they had experienced from the Portuguese. Bombay, with its dependencies, was ceded by the crown of Portugal to Charles II, in 1661, as the dowry of his queen. In the year following, when the English appeared and demanded possession, the Portuguese refused to give up Salsette, which they, contrary to what had always been understood, declared was not a dependency of Bombay. The English at first declined receiving any part of the cession, and the troops they had brought, five hundred in number, were landed on the island of Aujeedeva. But three hundred and eighty-one of them having fallen a sacrifice to the climate of that unhealthy spot, Ensign Humphray Cooke, who became the surviving commander, was glad to accept of Bombay on any terms. When the Portuguese, therefore, were dispossessed of Salsette by the Mahrattas, it was natural for the English, in a public point of view,[2] to regard their misfortunes without regret, especially as it afforded a better chance of one day obtaining or conquering from the Mahrattas what they could not recover as their just rights from the Portuguese.[3]

A.D. 1739.

Feb. 1665.

[1] Records of the Portuguese government at Goa.

[2] Individuals of the Portuguese nation who fled to Bombay experienced the utmost kindness and commiseration from the inhabitants. The governor gave them money for subsistence, and refitted some of their ships at the public expense.

[3] [In a letter to Sir G. Oxinden of September 26, 1662, Gerald Aungier writes: 'The place (Bombay) does not answer our King's expectations by four-fifths of what was represented to him. For by the draught which was delivered to His Majesty, Bombay, Salsette and Thāna were included all in one island, and all under the same and royalty of Bombay; but Captain Browne and myself, having sailed round this island, do find it far otherwise, being in extent scarcely

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After the rains the body of horse under Wenkut Rao Narrain Ghorepuray, the Peishwa's brother-in-law, returned to the neighbourhood of Goa, whilst Chimnajee Appa was sent down with Sindia and Holkar into the Concan, attended by a very large army, a number of guns, and a vast body of infantry. Ranoojee Sindia, detached from the main army, took Kuttulwaree and Dannoo early in January, and before the month of February Seergaom was surrendered, and Kelwa and Tarrapoor were carried by storm. At the last-mentioned place the defence and assault were desperate: there were four mines constructed by the Mahrattas, two of which succeeded and effected large breaches in a bastion and curtain; the different leaders vied with each other in the attack, Bajee Bew Rao, Ramchundur Hurry, Yeswunt Rao Powar, and Tookajee Powar (the last an officer of Angria's), rushed forward with their respective colours; but the Portuguese gallantly opposed them, and for a time success was doubtful. At length Ranoojee Bhonslay having crossed the ditch at a place where there was no breach, applied scaling ladders to the wall and entered sword in hand; 'but the garrison,' says Chimnajee Appa in his account of the attack, 'still fought with the bravery of Europeans, and defended themselves till completely overpowered. The few that remained alive, amongst whom was their commander, Don Francis de Alarcao, demanded and received quarter.[1]

Whilst the war was thus vigorously prosecuted against the Portuguese, and Ranoojee Bhonslay of Oomrautee, the uncle of Rughoojee, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, had, as related, distinguished himself at Tarrapoor, his nephew had seized the opportunity of extending his possessions to the eastward; he had plundered Kuttack, and during the period when the Nizam was surrounded at Bhopaul, Rughoojee made an incursion to the northward, as far as Allahabad, defeated and slew the Soobehdar, Shujah Khan, and returned loaded with booty. These expeditions,

one-fifth part of the other two islands; and this is all the Portugals intend to surrender to us.' Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of Goa, did his best to delay the cession of Bombay. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 48–51.) For details of Humphrey Cooke's governorship and ultimate fate see *B.C.G.*, ii. 51–6.]

[1] Letter from Chimnajee Appa to the Dawursee Swamee. Official report from Don Martin Silveira De Menezes, from Bassein, 18th February 1739.

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undertaken without regular sanction, were highly resented by Bajee Rao. He marched from Poona for the purpose of punishing his misconduct, and sent forward Awjee Kowray to plunder in Berar. But that unfortunate officer [1] was attacked and defeated by Rughoojee in the end of February. Bajee Rao was preparing to avenge his loss, when news reached him of the arrival of Nadir Shah, the defeat of the Moghuls, the death of Khan Dowran, the capture of Sadut Khan; and finally, that the victorious Persian was dictating the terms of ransom at the gates of Delhi. These accounts exceedingly alarmed Bajee Rao, but the subsequent intelligence which he received at Nusseerabad informed him of the imprisonment of the Emperor, the plunder of Delhi, the dreadful massacre of many of its inhabitants,[2] and seemed for a time to overwhelm him. 'Our domestic quarrel with Rughoojee Bhonslay is now insignificant,' says the Peishwa, 'the war with the Portuguese is as nought; there is now but one enemy in Hindoostan.' He appears to have conceived that Nadir Shah would establish himself as Emperor, but he was not dismayed when he heard reports that a hundred thousand Persians were advancing to the southward. 'Hindoos and Mussulmans,' says Bajee Rao, 'the whole power of the Deccan must assemble, and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Nerbuddah to the Chumbul.' He called on Nasir Jung to arm against the common foe, and Chimnajee Appa was ordered to desist from the Concan warfare, and join him with all speed. Before Chimnajee received this command a detachment from his army under Khundoojee Mankur had reduced the forts of Versovah and Darawee; he was in possession of the whole of Salsette,[3] and had begun the siege of Bassein. It was invested by an advanced force under Shunkrajee Narrain, on the 17th of February. The commandant represented with humility that he was willing to pay the Mahratta tribute, and that the Portuguese asked no more than the terms granted to the Seedee of

[1] He was defeated by Dummajee Gaekwar, before the battle of Dubhoy, in 1731.

[2] Eight thousand by the lowest computation.

[3] Called Sashtee by the Mahrattas. [Sāshti or Shāshti (Sashtee) is a shortened form of Shashāsti (Sanskrit *Shatshashti*), i.e. '66' (villages). The name appears in the form Shatsāshti in a stone inscription of A.D. 1182, while a copper-plate inscription of A.D. 1027 records the grant of a village, 'one of the 66 of *Srī Sthānaka* (Thāna).' (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, xii. 334, and *J.R.A.S.*, ii. 283.)]

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Jinjeera. But he was mistaken in supposing that such a tone would avert the attack of a victorious Bramin. Chimnajee was unwilling to relinquish the capture of an important fortress which would secure his conquests, and without which the Portuguese had a key which opened a passage to the recovery, not only of what they had lost, but to the whole Concan from the Ghauts to the sea, and from Damaun to Bombay; therefore, although the mandate from his brother was urgent, he determined to secure Bassein. Aware of the risk to which he exposed himself by the chance of discomfiture, during the whole of March and April he pressed the siege by every possible exertion. Numbers were daily killed in his batteries and trenches, where shells and huge stones thrown from mortars did terrible execution. The numerous guns of the besieged were at last silenced, and a breach had been effected in one of the curtains, but it was not yet practicable. The mines of the besiegers were repeatedly counteracted; at length five were prepared, but so unskilfully, that the first only partially exploded, and of three mines close together, intended to be fired at once, two only went off. These, however, made a very large breach, which the Mahratta troops resolutely and promptly mounted, when the remaining mine having caught fire blew hundreds of the assailants in the air. The Portuguese flung a quantity of hand grenades amongst the crowds in the rear, whilst they plied those who had ascended with musketry, and drove them back with much slaughter. The defences were repaired with alacrity, the besiegers returned to the attack; but before attempting an assault at the former breach, the remaining mine under the tower of St. Sebastian, which had been constructed under the superintendence of Mulhar Rao Holkar, was fired: half the bastion was brought to the ground, and the assailants, after losing two of their colours, at last effected a lodgement. The besieged, however, although forty of their number were killed, and upwards of one hundred and thirty wounded at the breach of St. Sebastian, disputed every inch of ground, threw up a retrenchment of gabions, and mounted fresh guns, from which they kept up an incessant fire. At last, worn out by fatigue and distressed for want of provisions, the sea face being blockaded by Mannajee Angria, they sent offers of capitulation, which were accepted on the 16th of May, and eight days were allowed to embark their private property and

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families [1] The Portuguese lost in killed and wounded, according to the Mahratta account, eight hundred men, whilst Chimnajee Appa acknowledges his own loss at upwards of five thousand, from the commencement to the end of this remarkable siege; the most vigorous ever prosecuted by Mahrattas. The Portuguese only enumerate their loss at the last breach. The capitulation was made by Captain de Souza Pereira, the same officer who before defended Tannah; Silveira de Menezes, the commanding officer, having been killed during one of the assaults.[2]

Holkar and Sindia, as soon as Bassein fell, were sent to join Bajee Rao with all speed, but by that time news had arrived of the retreat of the Persians.[3] Nadir Shah restored the throne to its degraded owner, and wrote letters to all the princes in India, announcing the event; amongst others, he addressed a letter to Shao, and one to Bajee Rao. He informs the latter that he has re-instated Mohummud Shah, and now considered him as a brother; that although Bajee Rao was an ancient servant possessing a large army, he had not afforded the Emperor assistance, but that all must now attend to Mohummud Shah's commands, for if they did not, he would return with his army and inflict punishment upon the disobedient.[4]

For the valuable information which I obtained, in May 1822, from the records of the Portuguese government, I here beg to offer my acknowledgments to his Excellency the Viceroy of Goa, who most liberally supplied me with copies of the whole correspondence relative to the conquest of Salsette.

[1] [The Bombay Council provided boats to carry the Portuguese fugitives from Bassein.]

[2] Original Mahratta, and copies of the original Portuguese reports, which coincide in almost every particular. The Mahrattas, during the whole campaign, lost twelve or fourteen thousand men in killed and wounded.

[3] By the Bombay records, at the East India House, it appears that Nadir Shah quitted Delhi, 5th May 1739.

[4] Original letter from Nadir Shah to Bajee Rao.

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CHAPTER XVI.

FROM A.D. 1739 TO A.D. 1740.

A.D. 1739.—SHORTLY after the departure of Nadir Shah, Bajee Rao sent a letter to the Emperor expressive of his submission and obedience, and a nuzur of one hundred and one gold mohurs, which was acknowledged in suitable terms, and a splendid khillut [1] sent in return. He is assured by the Emperor that the rank, Jagheers, districts, and inheritance, already conferred on him, shall be confirmed, and that he may depend on finding his interests best promoted by continuing steadfast in his duty to the imperial government.[2]

Although no new Soobehdar, nor any deputy of Nizam Ool Moolk, was appointed to Malwa, yet no Sunnud was sent conferring the government on Bajee Rao. This omission the Peishwa considered a breach of faith on the part of Nizam Ool Moolk; but the Nizam's army being still in Hindoostan, and some of Bajee Rao's best officers and troops advancing from the Concan, he deferred enforcing his claims until a fitter opportunity. In the meantime he was busied in arranging the affairs of the province of Malwa, and strengthening his connection with the Rajpoot princes in the western quarter, along the banks of the Chumbul from Kotah to Allahabad, but especially with Juggut Deo and his brother Hurdesa, Rajas of Bundelcund. With these two princes he entered into a very particular and secret alliance, for the purpose of mutual protection and support

[1] A sirpa is an honorary dress, consisting of cloths for the turban, trowsers, girdle, and gown, complete; hence its name sir-pa, or head to foot. A khillut comprehends not only the dress, but all the additions of jewels, horse, elephant and arms, according to circumstances and the rank of the parties. On the occasion alluded to, Bajee Rao received two ornaments of jewels for the turban, and a pearl necklace, together with a horse and an elephant.

[2] Original letter from Mohummud Shah.

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against the Mahomedans. The contracting parties became bound by the most solemn oaths. The Rajas of Bundelcund agreed to accompany Bajee Rao in all his incursions across the Jumna and Chumbul, and with the exception of the territory of Budawur,[1] to share in all prize and conquest in a proportion corresponding to the numerical strength of their respective forces; they promised, 'in case of Bajee Rao's being engaged in a war in the Deccan, to defend Bundelcund for at least two months, and if at the end of that time the Mahrattas should not be advancing to their assistance, they will make the best terms they can as a means of temporary safety; but break them the moment they are joined by their Hindoo allies.' Bajee Rao's share of the territories of the former Raja Chittoor Sal, exclusive of Jhansee, was now fixed at five lacks of rupees.[2]

These arrangements to secure the northern frontier were preparatory to a war with Nizam Ool Moolk, or an expedition into the Carnatic. The late success against Nizam Ool Moolk, his departure from the terms of agreement, his great age, the probability of contentions among his sons, encouraged or stimulated the Peishwa to attempt the subjugation of the Deccan; but the deficiency of his resources for so great a design was the chief obstacle which deterred him from this undertaking. On the other hand, the prospect of contributions and plunder, by which he might liquidate his debts, and perhaps some secret encouragement from Arcot,[3] were strong allurements for venturing into the Carnatic. But Bajee Rao was critically situated, and circumstances impelled him to choose the Deccan as the theatre of his operations. The party of Dhabaray, or rather of Dummajee Gaekwar, the agent of Ooma Bye (as her son Yeswunt Rao, even when he grew up, was incompetent to his situation), possessed very considerable resources, and, from causes already detailed, was always inimical to the Peishwa.

Rughoojee Bhonslay was jealous of the Bramin ascendancy, he meditated a revolution by getting the Raja into his own power;

[1] I do not know whether this exception was meant in favour of the Rajas of Bundelcund or the Peishwa.

[2] Poona records.

[3] Colonel Wilks states that the Mahrattas were invited by Meer Assud, the Dewan of Sufdur Ali. Some confirmation of this appears in Tippoo's circular letter, translated by Mr. Edmonstone; but I have met with no trace of it in any Mahratta record.

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and as Shao had no prospect of an heir, Rughoojee may have contemplated the possession of the Mahratta supremacy by being adopted as his son. Futih Sing Bhonslay, the only Mahratta likely to supersede him in the Raja's choice, possessed neither ability nor enterprise, and had failed to create power by acquiring popularity among the soldiery. Rughoojee had many difficulties to overcome in prosecuting a scheme of the kind. Although a party existed inimical to the Peishwa, Bajee Rao's friends and dependants surrounded the Raja, and possessed his ear, if not his entire confidence; nor could Rughoojee Bhonslay nor Dummajee Gaekwar concert a plan or transact the slightest business without Bramin agency; should Bajee Rao, however, quit the position which he occupied between the territories of those two, there would be no obstacle to their uniting against him.

The subsisting difference between Rughoojee and Bajee Rao, arose from Rughoojee's having plundered the province of Allahabad, and not having joined when he was ordered, according to the terms on which he held his lands and title. The Peishwa affirmed that he had no authority for levying contributions north of the Nerbuddah, and declared his determination, at the time of his marching from Poona in the end of 1738, to enforce restitution; not to the owners, but to the Mahratta state, and to punish the aggression. A temporary compromise took place on the arrival of the Persians at Delhi; but the dispute was unsettled, and nothing but a sense of injury to their mutual interests prevented an open war.[1]

This state of affairs laid the foundation of schemes which had a great effect in extending the spreading but unstable power of the Mahrattas. Unfortunately there are few direct proofs to illustrate this part of their history. It is, however, certain that Bajee Rao and Rughoojee had a meeting, and that they were reconciled.

From all that has been stated, as well as from subsequent events, there is reason to suppose that Bajee Rao unfolded as much of his schemes to Rughoojee as were necessary to engage his co-operation; and the plunder of the Carnatic, an eventual addition to his own territories in the Deccan, and a future partition of Bengal and Hindoostan, may have been urged by the

[1] Mahratta MSS., and original letters.

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Peishwa to excite his ambition and cupidity. In this conference may also be seen the real spring from which a host of Mahrattas were poured into the Carnatic.[1]

[1] The only authentic record I have recovered of the arrangement which preceded this expedition, and that bears no date, is a copy of the original authority by the Raja, which is not more loose and vague than many Mahratta documents equally important. By this paper, I conjecture that the Peishwa furnished the infantry, and from subsequent events it is probable that he by this means weakened his own army. The cavalry under Rughoojee was furnished by different leaders. I do not know who Koossajee Yessajee Bhonslay, the person mentioned in the paper, was, but he is supposed to have been the commander of the infantry.

Literal translation of an authority issued by Shao Maharaj to the Sena Sahib Soobeh.

To Rajman Rajasree Rughoojee Bhonslay Sena Sahib Soobeh,—

The following orders are issued to you, regarding the arrangements to be made in the province of the Carnatic, south of the Toongbuddra.

Districts, the collections from which wholly belong to the Raja Shao.

1. Trichinopoly.
2. Tanjore.
3. Arcot, including Ginjee.
4. Seringapatam, after deducting what is fixed by the treaty with government.

Other Districts.

1. Sera.
2. Adonee.
3. Kurnoul.
4. Kurpa.
5. Phoot Mahal (or portions of various districts).

According to the amount which may be received from the above-mentioned places, Surdeshmookhee, Babtee, Sahotra, &c. having been deducted, the remainder being Mokassa, one half of it to be the share of Koossajee Yessajee Bhonslay, and the other is to belong to the Raja (Shao).

In this manner the whole of the four first mentioned places, and the Surdeshmookhee, and Babtee, and one half of the Mokassa of the remaining places, being formed into one sum, one half of it is to be taken by you for the expenses of your troops, and the other half, being the amount belonging to government, is to be paid into the state treasury, by means of ————.* You and he, with mutual consultation, having made proper arrangements, are to gain possession of hill forts, forts, and territory. Whatever cavalry are required

* Blank in the Mahratta paper, but supposed to be 'the Mookh Purdhan' (Bajee Rao).

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In prosecution of his plans of conquest in the Deccan, Bajee Rao, seizing the opportunity afforded by the absence of Nizam Ool Moolk at Delhi, commenced his operations about the end of the year, by surrounding Nasir Jung, the second son of the Nizam, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad with ten thousand men, but a very large body of horse and foot with a numerous artillery advanced to his relief, and having effected a junction, Nasir Jung, thus reinforced, attacked Bajee Rao, crossed the Godavery in defiance of the Mahratta army, and moved in the direction of Ahmednugur, plundering the villages in his route.[1] The Peishwa, being joined by Chimnajee Appa with a body of fresh troops, principally Concan infantry, repeatedly attacked the Moghuls, and Nasir Jung was at length compelled to retire towards the Godavery; but after several months, the Mahrattas, tired of the unprofitable war, gladly entered on terms of accommodation, and a treaty was concluded at Moongy Pyetun, by which both parties pledged themselves to maintain peace and mutually to refrain from plundering in the Deccan.[2] Hindia and Kirkoun, districts on the banks of the Nerbuddah, were conferred on Bajee Rao in

A.D. 1740.

to be stationed for garrisoning forts and fortified places, are to be placed in them by you; and he will place whatever infantry are requisite. In this manner the forts are to be garrisoned. The sum, however, payable for the present year, is fixed at seven lacks, which is to be paid to the government as above; according to what is written, having brought affairs to a conclusion, by performing the service of the Swamee (the Raja), your conduct will be approved, and let the end be accomplished according to what is written. What occasion is there for writing much? dependence is wholly placed in you by Swamee. You are wise.

[1] The respectable author of the Khuzaneh Amirah was not aware of the junction of these troops. Shah Núwaz Khan, author of the Muasir Ool Oomrah, was probably present during the service; but he does not, in his memoirs of Nasir Jung, mention the strength of the army with which he crossed the Godavery. Nasir Jung appears to have been accompanied by the whole of his father's park of artillery, which may have been sent back from Malwa; and Chimnajee Appa, in an original letter, states his army at thirty thousand cavalry, twenty thousand infantry, one hundred and fifty guns, three hundred swivels and jingals (or wall pieces), mounted on camels, and three hundred rocket camels. Allowing him to have greatly over estimated them, as enemies, there was still too large a force to authorize, as a general, such a venture on the part of Bajee Rao.

[2] Original letter from Chimnajee Appa. Mahratta MSS. Nasir Jung's army did not pass Ahmednugur. Sir J. Malcolm is under a mistake in supposing that Nasir Jung burnt Poona.

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Jagheer,[1] and the Peishwa, without visiting Poona or Satara, in great vexation amounting almost to despair,[2] set off with his army towards Hindoostan. Chimnajee Appa was called to support Ballajee Bajee Rao, the Peishwa's son, engaged in hostilities in the Concan.

Sumbhajee Angria, still intent on recovering Kolabah from his half-brother Mannajee, taking advantage of the absence of so large a body of troops, had again attacked Mannajee's districts, and having rapidly taken Choule, Alybagh, Thull, and Sagurgurh, laid siege to Kolabah, and cut off the garrison from fresh water. Mannajee applied to Ballajee Bajee Rao, who was with the Raja in the neighbourhood of Satara. Five hundred men were accordingly sent to support the garrison, and an express dispatched to Chimnajee Appa for instructions. Chimnajee had ordered his nephew to repair to Kolabah in person, and applied to the Governor in Council at Bombay (with whom he had concluded a treaty, and maintained a friendly intercourse since his late campaign in the Concan), to support the garrison at Kolabah and assist them with water, which was immediately done. Ballajee, or as he was then invariably designated, Nana Sahib, arrived at Kolabah on the fifth day's march, and distinguished himself on his first service by an attack on a party stationed under the protection of Heera-kot, which he drove into Sumbhajee's camp, killed twenty-five or thirty men, and took Toolajee, the half-brother of Sumbhajee, prisoner.[3] The English had arrived before Nana Sahib; they forced the fleet of Sumbhajee to run down to Severndroog, and compelled him to move his camp from the sea-side, where it was pitched on their arrival, and to throw up an entrenchment to protect his people from a heavy cannonade which they opened from their

[1] Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum. Mahratta MSS. Chimnajee Appa mentions that some Jagheer districts towards the Nerbuddah, formerly promised by Nizam Ool Moolk, were ceded, but their names are not specified by him.

[2] The following passage occurs in one of his letters to his Mahapooroosh. It is without date, but supposed to be written at this period of disappointment. 'I am involved in difficulties; in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison; near the Raja are my enemies, and should I at this time go to Satara they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death.'

[3] He was released, but in what manner does not appear.

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ships. Sumbhajee applied to the English for permission to retire to Severndroog,[1] but they refused to listen to his request. He however effected his escape by some means of which the Mahratta letters and manuscripts afford no particulars. Chimnajee Appa having joined Nana Sahib, they were concerting the reduction of Rewadunda, when accounts reached them of the death[2] of Bajee Rao, which happened on the banks of the Nerbuddah, on the 28th day of April 1740. On receiving this intelligence, Shunkrajee Narrain was appointed Soobehdar of the Concan, Khundoojee Mankur was left in command of a body of troops, whilst Chimnajee Appa and his nephew, after the usual ceremonies of mourning, which occupy ten or twelve days, returned to Poona, and shortly afterwards repaired to Satara.

The death of Bajee Rao is an event in Mahratta annals, which, on his account alone, deserves a pause. In the history of this nation, whose very existence was the confusion of other states, an occasional survey, however brief, of those powers with whom they have transactions, is absolutely necessary. The reader may now indeed be less at a loss to comprehend who the Mahrattas were than European contemporaries of Bajee Rao, who heard of a people unknown a century before,[3] that had overturned ancient monarchies, who were plundering and burning on the east and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass and from Madras to Delhi; yet, from the diffusive nature of their conquests, one may be apt, without some survey of the kind, combined with

[1] Chimnajee Appa's letter.

[2] On the death of a near relation, Hindoos are supposed unclean for ten days, during which they are to be rigidly abstemious in every respect; this observance is called *sootuck*. Where the relationship is not near, or the death happens at a great distance, one, two, or three days are sufficient. The funeral rites ought to be performed by the nearest relation, and always last ten days, during which, or until the 12th or 13th day, the mourner is considered unclean. After a corpse is burnt or buried, the soul is supposed to hover round the spot for ten days before it wings its flight, to receive judgment from Yem Dhurm. In whatever place a Hindoo hears of the death of a parent, he shaves his mustachios, and performs all the rites as if present where the death happened. Bramins observe the anniversary of the death of their relations, and on the new moon of every month perform certain ceremonies to their *Manes*.

[3] Even up to the period of the death of Raja Ram, they were less known among Europeans by the name of Mahrattas than by that of *the Sivajees*.

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a retrospective view of their past history, to lose sight of the rise and progress of their power, and of their relative importance in India. The Mahomedan wars from the commencement of the seventeenth century, the plans and conquests of Sivajee, the state of the Deccan after his death, the increase of habitual rapine by the absence of controlling authority, the immense predatory power which was thus prepared, and the means of directing it, placed by the Moghuls in the hands of Shao, had all their share in accumulating the mighty mass of Mahratta force; and when we consider the skill with which Ballajee Wishwanath and his successor combined and guided the whole weight of such a tremendous engine of destruction, we cease to feel surprised at the havoc which it spread. Other causes, besides Mahratta progress, had concurred to complete the humiliation of the Timoorian dynasty, and at the period of Bajee Rao's death the vast fabric of the Moghul empire was disjointed or in ruins.

Mohummud Shah had received his liberty and his crown, after both had been subjected to the will of a despot: Delhi had been plundered of upwards of thirty millions of pounds sterling; thousands of its inhabitants had been cruelly massacred; and Cabul, Tatta, and Mooltan were added by Nadir Shah to his kingdom of Persia.

Khan Dowran, who was killed in a precipitate attack on the Persian army, had been succeeded as Vizier by Kummur-ud-deen Khan, the friend of Nizam Ool Moolk, so that the faction of the Tooranee Moghuls remained in power, though contrary to the secret wishes of the Emperor. Nizam Ool Moolk, dignified with the title of Umeer Ool Oomrah, remained for some time at Delhi, but having heard that his son Nasir Jung meditated rebellion, he obtained the Emperor's sanction for transferring his title of Umeer Ool Oomrah to his eldest son Ghazee-ud-deen, and commenced his march for the Deccan.

Sadut Khan, the Nabob of Oude, died before Nadir Shah left Delhi, and his nephew and son-in-law, Abdool Munsoor Khan Sufdur Jung, was appointed his successor.

The principal Rajpoots, still tributary to the Emperor, were those of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudepoor. Both the last-mentioned states had been subjected to partial devastation from the Mahrattas; but the intimate connection subsisting between

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Jey Sing and Bajee Rao [1] prevented such aggressions in the districts of Jeypoor.

The Jhats,[2] originally a tribe of Shooders from the banks of the Indus, had a short time before the death of Aurungzebe established themselves in the territory between Agra and Jeypoor. Their chief, Chooramun, attained power during the confusion of the times, and the plunder of the baggage of Aurungzebe's army is said to have furnished the means of beginning the fortifications of Bhurtpoor. Though situated at such a distance from each other, the Mahratta progress was the cause of the rise of the Jhats, and being afterwards, from the time the Mahrattas crossed the Chumbul, drawn together by mutual interest, a friendly intercourse has for the most part subsisted between them.

About this period, the usurper Aliverdy Khan [3] established his authority over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. From a humble situation in the service of Shujah-ud-deen Khan, Nabob of Bengal, Aliverdy had been appointed the Nabob's deputy in Bahar. Surfuraz Khan, the heir-apparent to the nabobship, was stationed at Dacca, and Moorshed Koolee Khan, the son-in-law of Shujah-ud-deen, was the deputy governor of Orissa, having for his Dewan a native of Arabia,[4] named Meer Hubeeb. On the death of Shujah-ud-deen, Surfuraz Khan was appointed Nabob. Aliverdy Khan rebelled, and slew him in battle. He also attacked and drove Moorshed Koolee from Orissa. Meer Hubeeb the Dewan, a person afterwards so

[1] Bajee Rao had a secret agent residing with Jey Sing, the name of the envoy (Venkajee Ram) is mentioned in one of Bajee Rao's original letters.

[2] [The Jāts (Jhats) are probably a tribe of Hun descent. A tradition exists in the Panjāb that the Jāts belong to the same stock as the Rājpūts, and it seems certain that the Rājpūts, Jāts and Gūjars are ethnically akin. But their respective status has changed in the course of centuries, the Rājpūts having become the aristocratic body, while the Jāts and Gūjars have remained agriculturists and cattle-raisers. (Crooke in *J. R. Anth. I.*, xl. 1910.)]

[3] [The proper name of Allahvardī Khān (1740–56) was Mīrzā Muhammad Alī. Though nominally a tributary of the Delhi emperor, Muhammad Shāh, he never paid any tribute after being acknowledged as Nawāb, and ruled as an independent sovereign till his death. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 456, 487.)]

[4] Mahratta MSS. Gholam Hussein Khan, author of the Seyr Ool Mutuakhereen, calls him a native of Persia, a pedlar from Iran. Meer Hubeeb was intimately known to the Mahrattas, who always designate him as an Arab.

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instrumental in Mahratta progress, also fled, but subsequently submitted and entered the service of the successful insurgent. Aliverdy Khan was acknowledged by the Emperor as Nabob of Bengal, in consequence of sending a part of the property and jewels of Surfuraz Khan to court.

New states sprung up even in the environs of Delhi; the founder of the principality, afterwards known by the name of Rohillah, had been for some time rising into notice. The person who first established himself was the son of a Hindoostanee Aheer,[1] a class of shepherds nearly similar to the Dhungurs of Maharashtra. An Afghan adopted him, when a boy, as his son, and gave him the name of Ali Mohummud Rohillah, which procured for him and all his followers the appellation of Rohillahs.[2] He began his career under the deputy governors of Mooradabad, as commander of a small party of Afghan cavalry. He afterwards got the possession of lands on pretence of paying a higher rent for them; and at last, on an attempt to suppress his encroachments, he raised an insurrection and defeated the deputy of the Vizier Kummur-ud-deen Khan; in whose Jagheer, situated in the Dooab, little more than a hundred miles to the southward of the capital, all these circumstances happened.

In the Deccan and Carnatic, Nizam Ool Moolk divided the revenue with the Mahrattas; except in the Swuraje, and where territory had been wholly ceded in Jagheer; the Nizam, in other situations, claiming sovereignty, as the Mahrattas did tribute, over all those states and principalities to the southward of the Toongbuddra, which had submitted to Aurungzebe.

Dost Ally, the nephew of that Sadut Oolla Khan, who in the year 1706 was left by Daood Khan as his deputy in the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut, had in 1732 succeeded his uncle as Nabob, but without obtaining the sanction of Nizam Ool Moolk or the authority of the Emperor.

The country was breaking into many small states; the Nabobs

[1] Mr. Forster says he was a Jath. [The Ahīrs are a huge tribe, numbering several millions in upper India and forming 10 per cent. of the present population of the United Provinces, which has gradually been absorbed into Hinduism, and transformed into a caste.]

[2] [The Afghan tribesmen called Rohillas were mostly Yūsufzai from the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. They conquered the country lying to the north-west of Oudh between the Ganges and the hills, comprising the ancient Hindu provinces of Katchar and Sambhal, which was therefore known as Rohilkhand. (*O.H.I.*, p. 517.)]

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of Kurnoul, Kurpa,[1] and Savanoor, the descendants of governors under the dynasties of Beejapoor and Golcondah, were closely connected with some of the Mahrattas, and had been for some time nearly independent. The son-in-law of the Nabob of Arcot, the well known Chunda Sahib, had obtained possession of Trichinopoly on pretence of affording protection to the widow of its late Raja.

The nominal Raja of Tanjore was the grandson of Sivajee's brother Venkajee. Tookajee, the youngest of Venkajee's three sons, was the only one who had issue; and at this period, two sons of Tookajee remained alive; the one, Syajee, was legitimate, the other, Pertaub Sing, was the son of a concubine. The government was administered under the name of the former, but the power was held by a Mahomedan officer, who since the time of Tookajee, had been vested with the command of the fort of Tanjore. Syajee, who some years afterwards placed himself under the protection of the English at Madras, was dispossessed by this officer, who raised Pertaub Sing to the head of the government in 1741; but the new Raja would not submit to the control of his minister, and freed himself from a state of tutelage by assassination.

The English and French, who were so soon to take a part in the contentions and usurpations of the times, still remained on the defensive, unconscious of their own strength or unwilling to exert it; and although the former, when driven to arms, had manfully asserted their rights on all occasions, yet the merchants of these two great nations, in common with those of other European factories, sought only to increase their trade and privileges by humble submission, and frequent bribes or presents to the petty courts surrounding them.

The Portuguese had been severely humbled by the Mahrattas. The English at Bombay courted the Peishwa, through his brother Chimnajee Appa, for the purpose of obtaining an extension of commercial privileges, and a treaty had been settled with Chimnajee Appa at Bassein, in July 1739.[2]

The Raja of Soonda and the Dessaye of Carwar had assisted

[1] [i.e. modern Cuddapah.]

[2] [Captain Inchbird was the English envoy who concluded this treaty. In 1740 the English acted as mediators between the Portuguese and Marāthās in the matter of the transfer of Chaul.]

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the Portuguese in their war against the Mahrattas; but the Rana of Bednoor, whose territory adjoined that of Sumbhajee Raja of Kolapoor, appears to have remained neutral.

The Mysore state, though a declared tributary of the Moghuls and of the Raja Shao, had for twelve or fifteen years, by the commotions of its neighbours and the vigour of some of its officers, been exempted from the scene of plunder and exaction which devastated the greater part of India.

Such was the disjointed state of the Moghul empire at this important period. The detail of events has unfolded the parties, the feuds, and the domestic policy of the Mahrattas; but something remains to be said of the administration and character of Bajee Rao.

Having already dwelt upon the artificial divisions of revenue, adopted as a means of cementing union among the Mahrattas, it is fit to inquire how far it tended to that end, and how long the detail of the system was preserved. That it did create union, and give an immediate direction to the predatory power of the Deccan, is unquestionable; and it is probable the Mahrattas would never have spread their conquests so far, had not this means been devised for conciliating and controlling the chiefs. It was founded on a principle of self-interest, which, fitly directed to the views of a community, is unerring in its results; but it must always be remembered that this principle, when misapplied or misunderstood, may tend as much to stir up sedition and to create hostility, as to preserve union and ensure combination. Bajee Rao had not leisure to attend to detail or arrangement; the minute divisions which were made of the revenues, ceded by the Moghuls, served to provide hundreds of Bramin Carcoons with bread; and every one interpreted the amount of his own, or his master's claims to Surdeshmookhee, Babtee, Mokassa, &c., rather according to his power to enforce his demands than his ability to prove their justice.

The more solid institutions of Sivajee are yet found amongst his native mountains, but the origin of the distribution of revenue in the year 1720, was, in less than fifty years, understood by few people in the Mahratta country,[1] and is now useful chiefly as an historical record.

[1] There is an original memorandum from Nana Furnuwees, without date, amongst the old papers at Satara, desiring to know the

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With regard to Bajee Rao, when we look to the perplexities both foreign and domestic, in which he was involved, the confusion which continued to prevail in every branch of the administration is far from surprising. He manifested little disposition towards regular government; many of his countrymen accuse him of avarice; of some disregard to the observances of his faith; and of being so entirely a soldier as to neglect every branch of finance and jurisprudence. Their opinions are entitled to full consideration, but will not greatly detract from the superior character of Bajee Rao. If he inherited some of the defects of his cast, he was free from their bigotry, and but slightly tainted with the meaner vices, which render the general character of Bramins when in power despicable. The strictures of his countrymen are best answered by his embarrassments and his career. It is true he was inordinately ambitious, and in his last scheme of subjugating the Deccan he completely miscalculated his means; yet he made the best amends for his want of foresight by receding from the attempt in a creditable manner. Bajee Rao's plans, like those of most men when formed amidst a choice of difficulties, surrounded by faction, intrigues, and danger, did not extend to remote futurity. As a politician, however, in suppressing much domestic opposition, in quickly discerning and promptly counteracting the designs of Nizam Ool Moolk, he evinced penetration, talent, and vigour. His enlarged views, in fitly directing the only power at his disposal, might lead us to suppose him capable

period and origin of the distribution. On this paper is marked, seemingly as a memorandum of the answer sent, *Soor Sun* 1117 (about Anno Domini 1717). I have frequently found Bramin revenue officers in other respects very intelligent men, who said there was no difference in the origin of Jagheer and Mokassa, both being bestowed, as they observed, 'for the maintenance of troops, and consequently they must always have been the same.' The want of research and historical observation amongst the Mahrattas, in common with all Hindoos, is a greater obstacle to the attainment of information than can be conceived in a European country. Everything must be wormed out of them by attentive perseverance; in that way there is a wide field for the inquirer; but unfortunately it takes years of experience before a European is qualified to question a native of India.

Since writing the above note, I have discovered a letter written in the year 1765, where similar queries are put, to know the meaning of the *Swuraje territory*. 'The Swuraje,' says the writer of the answer (Govind Rao Chitnees), 'is the territory west of the Beema, and all which you call Swuraje beyond that is *Zuburdustee*' (violent usurpation).

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of the greatest undertaking, but a summary of character must reject speculation. As a predatory leader his qualities were great; he was brave and eloquent, enterprising and skilful. The period at which he lived, and the circumstances under which he acted, are so very different from those of Sivajee, that a comparison cannot be succinctly drawn. Yet the distinctions are sufficiently obvious, and Bajee Rao, though a better man, must remain a much less distinguished character in history.

Bajee Rao was handsome in his person, and his manner was more that of a frank soldier than of a smooth courtier; when in the field with his troops he kept up no state, and shared in all the privations of the meanest horseman. An anecdote illustrative of his character is preserved from the following circumstance. Before Nizam Ool Moolk had seen Bajee Rao, during the first campaign in which they were opposed to each other, the former desired a famous painter in his service to repair to the army of Bajee Rao and bring his likeness, taken in whatever attitude he might first see him. The painter executed his task, and on his return exhibited the Peishwa mounted, with the head and heel ropes of his horse in his feeding bag, like that of a common Mahratta, his spear resting on his shoulder, whilst he was rubbing with both his hands some ears of ripened Joowaree,[1] which he was eating as he rode.

Bajee Rao left three sons. Ballajee Bajee Rao, the eldest, succeeded him as Peishwa; his second son was Rugonath Rao, afterwards so well known to the English; and his third was Jenardin Bawa, who died in early youth. He also left one illegitimate son by a Mahomedan mother, whom he bred a Mussulman and named Shumsher Buhadur.

[1] A sort of grain (Holcus Saccharatus) common throughout the Deccan. The meal the Peishwa was making is a very common one in a Mahratta army, and if they have nothing else they do not consider it great privation. A Mahratta cultivator frequently subsists for weeks on the ripening grain, with no other sustenance. [*Jowār* (*Sorghum vulgare*), also styled *Jowāri* (Joowaree), is grown in almost all parts of Bombay except the Konkan. The average yield per acre of *jowār* is 1,500 b. in irrigated and 540 lb. in unirrigated land. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 55.)]

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CHAPTER XVII.

FROM A.D. 1740 TO A.D. 1749.

A.D. 1740.—THE army which entered the Carnatic,[1] under the command of Rughoojee Bhonslay, was composed of troops belonging to the Raja, the Peishwa, the Pritee Needhee, Futih Sing Bhonslay, and various chiefs of less note. The Ghorepurays of Sondoor and Gooty were invited to join, by letters from Shao and the Peishwa; and Moorar Rao,[2] the grand nephew of the famous Suntajee Ghorepuray, and adopted son and heir of Moorar Rao of Gooty, appeared under the national standard for the first time since the death of his distinguished and ill-requited relation. He demanded his rank as Senaputtee, or commander in chief, of the Mahratta army, but consented to waive it on obtaining a promise of three districts near the Toongbuddra.[3] According to Mahratta manuscripts, the whole force which entered the Carnatic amounted to fifty thousand men.[4] They descended by an unfrequented road; appeared in the rear of Dost Ally, in the neighbourhood of the Damulcherry pass, attacked and slew him, defeated his troops, and took his dewan, Meer Assud, prisoner. They commenced levying contributions all over the province, until bought off by Sufdur Ali, the son and heir of the late Nabob, with whom, before retiring, they entered into a secret compact to return and crush Chunda

[1] [This expedition to southern India was the outcome of the policy of some of the leading Marāthās who preferred the consolidation of Marāthā power in southern India to the policy, favoured by the Pēshwās, of undermining Mughal power in northern India. (Ranade, p. 249.)]

[2] This is the *Moorari Row*, so often mentioned by Mr. Orme, in his admirable war of Coromandel.

[3] Mahratta MSS.

[4] They are stated at 100,000 by Orme; but any large army is reported to be *a lack*.

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Sahib, then in possession of Trichinopoly, whose popularity and power had for some time excited the jealousy and apprehension of Sufdur Ali and Meer Assud. No bait could be more alluring to the Mahrattas than Trichinopoly, and the troops only retired two hundred and fifty miles towards Maharashtra, to prepare for the promised conquest and lull suspicion of an attack.[1]

Whilst the main body of his army remained encamped on the Sew Gunga, Rughoojee Bhonslay returned to Satara, and endeavoured to prevent Ballajee Bajee Rao's succession as Peishwa, by proposing Bappoojee Naik[2] of Barramuttee, a connection, but an enemy, of the late Peishwa, for the vacant office. Bappoojee Naik was possessed of great wealth, and his enmity to Bajee Rao arose from a very common cause, that of having lent money which his debtor could not repay. Rughoojee's party used the irritated creditor as their tool, and very large sums were offered to Shao, on condition of Bappoojee's being raised to the vacant Peishwaship.

The Pritee Needhee, although adverse to the supremacy of the Peishwa, was yet more inimical to the pretensions of Rughoojee, and as he did not engage in the intrigue, Ballajee Bajee Rao, assisted by his uncle Chimnajee, was at last invested in August, 1740. A more serious cause of uneasiness to Ballajee Bajee Rao arose from his being answerable for his father's debts, and Bappoojee Naik enforced his demand with all the importunity and harassing pertinacity which is often exercised by the Mahratta creditor.[3] From this persecution Ballajee was relieved

[1] Orme. Wilks.

[2] Bramin soucars and money changers assume the appellation of Naik.

[3] The mode of recovering a debt is by a species of dunning called tuqazu; the most common practice is to hire a few of those men who make it a trade. They sit at the debtor's door, follow him wherever he goes, and crave with humility, or demand with insolence, according to time and circumstance. By the invariable rule of the country, the debtor is obliged to subsist the duns thus placed upon him, and as they are adepts in the art of tormenting, protected also by the great power of opinion, they soon contrive to render the debtor sufficiently miserable. But if the debtor be obstinate, and the creditor think himself equal to the task, he may undertake the tuqazu by placing his debtor in dhurna; the creditor seats himself by his debtor, or at his door, during which, whilst the former abstains from food it would be accounted infamous and dishonourable for the latter to eat or drink. Bappoojee Naik practised first the tuqazu, and afterwards the dhurna. I refer my English readers to an account of dhurna

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by the influence and credit of his dewan, Mahadajee Punt Poorundhuree, a service of which the Peishwa ever after retained a grateful recollection.

Rughoojee, on finding his schemes abortive, carried Bappoojee Naik with him towards the Carnatic, and returned to reap the expected harvest at Trichinopoly, accompanied by Sreeput Rao, the Pritee Needhee, and Futih Sing Bhonslay. In regard to the subsequent operations of the Mahrattas in the Carnatic, very little illustrative of what has already been so ably recorded[1] has fallen within my observation in the Mahratta country. It appears, however, that the Tanjore state, though then agitated by factions, entered into a friendly correspondence with their countrymen, but whether to avert attack or to afford assistance is not mentioned. Trichinopoly surrendered 26th March, 1741, and Chunda Sahib[2] was brought a prisoner to Satara, where he remained in custody of an agent of Rughoojee Bhonslay for about seven years; his complete enlargement having been effected in the year 1748. Moorar Rao Ghorepuray was left in command of the fort of Trichinopoly, and a part of his garrison was com-

(dherna) given by Lord Teignmouth in the 4th volume of the Asiatic Researches, and quoted in Mr. Mill's History of India. I have known the dhurna practised, but never very rigorously; and I do not think that fear of the creditor's starving himself to death would have much effect on a Mahratta debtor; his stomach would be much sooner affected than his conscience. [The Arabic word *takāza* (tuqazu), 'dunning' or 'importunity,' was sometimes applied to the practice of *dharnā*, which appears from Elphinstone (*Diary*, in *Life*, by Colebrooke, i. 174) and Broughton (*Letters from a Mahratta Camp*) to have been universal among the Marāthās. In Sindia's camp, according to the latter, there were 'many Brahmans who hire themselves out to sit *dharnā* for those who do not like to expose themselves to so great an inconvenience.' Marco Polo and later travellers describe a curious variety of the practice, in arrest for debt, current in south India. Sir Henry Maine has shown that the custom once existed in Ireland. Under the Indian Penal Code of 1859 the practice of *dharnā* is an offence punishable with imprisonment or fine, or both. (For full account with quotations see Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, ed. Crooke, p. 315.)]

[1] Orme and Wilks.

[2] Better known in the Deccan by his less familiar name of Hussein Dost Khan. He does not appear to have been confined in the fort, nor to have endured a close imprisonment, but merely to have had an attendant guard wherever he went; a supposition which is confirmed by the facility with which Dupleix appears to have intrigued with him when a prisoner.

posed of infantry belonging to the Peishwa. Their expenses were defrayed by Shao; besides which, it was settled that 20,000 rupees of the share of tribute from the province of Arcot should be annually paid to Ballajee Bajee Rao.[1]

On the death of Bajee Rao the government of Malwa, being considered disposable, was conferred on Azim Oolah Khan; but this appointment proved merely nominal. One of the first acts of the new Peishwa was to forward petitions to Delhi respecting various promises made to his predecessor. These applications were transmitted through Jey Sing and Nizam Ool Moolk. A supply of ready money was what Ballajee most earnestly craved, and fifteen lacks of rupees, as a free gift, were granted by the Emperor. Proposals for an agreement[2] were then drawn up, in the joint names of the Peishwa and Chimnajee Appa, wherein they request that they may receive the government of Malwa; after which they promise to pay their respects personally to the Emperor; to prevent every other Mahratta officer from crossing the Nerbuddah; to send a body of five hundred horse under an officer of rank to remain in attendance on the Emperor's person; and to ask no more than the gift of money already bestowed. They agree to send four thousand horse for service, who will punish refractory Zumeendars, as far as their numbers may enable them; and they faithfully promise not to sequestrate the rent-free lands or jagheers assigned for charitable or religious purposes. It does not appear that any notice was taken of the application, but Ballajee, whose disposition was naturally conciliatory, was anxious to have the government of Malwa conferred as a right, according to treaty with his father; and with this view, when Nizam Ool Moolk was marching to the Deccan in order to suppress Nasir Jung's disobedience (a subject to which we shall presently advert), Ballajee paid him a respectful visit near the Nerbuddah, and sent a body of his troops to join him.[3] At this period he sustained a great loss in the death of his uncle, Chimnajee Appa, which happened in the end of January, 1741. Eleven days previously to the event

A.D. 1741.

[1] Mahratta MSS. and original paper.

[2] There were several copies of papers similar to the purport of that which is quoted, found in the Poona records; I have selected the one most explicit, which appears to have been the ultimatum.

[3] Khuzaneh Amirah, &c.; and original letter from Ballajee Bajee Rao.

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Kundojee Mankur, under Chimnajee's direction, had reduced Rewadunda,[1] the last place remaining to the Portuguese between Goa and Damaun. Chimnajee Appa, from his successes against a European nation, has a greater reputation among the Mahrattas, as an officer, than he perhaps deserved. Impressed, from obvious circumstances, with an idea, which however true in most instances, it was dangerous for his countrymen to entertain, he believed that the strength of an army lay in its infantry and guns. To this opinion of the father may probably be traced a prepossession on the part of the son, Sewdasheo Chimnajee Bhow,[2] then a boy of ten years old, which, strengthened by other circumstances, may have led to the injudicious conduct of that campaign, which twenty years afterwards terminated so fatally on the plains of Panniput.

On the demise of his uncle, the Peishwa returned from the northern districts, and spent nearly a year in civil arrangements at Poona and Satara. Continuing to manifest the greatest apparent respect for the Raja, he obtained from Shao a grant, by which the whole of the territory conquered from the Portuguese was conferred on him, and also, with the exception of Guzerat, the exclusive right of collecting the revenues and of levying contributions north of the Nerbuddah.

A.D. 1742.—At the present conjuncture the authority thus obtained was of considerable importance. We have briefly noticed in the preceding chapter the rise and progress of Aliverdy Khan in Bengal; the defeat of Moorshed Koolee Khan, and the conduct of his dewan, Meer Hubeeb. It appears that immediately after his master's defeat, Meer Hubeeb had invited Bhaskur Punt, the dewan of Rughoojee Bhonslay, who was left in charge of the government of Berar during his master's absence in the Carnatic, to advance into the province of Kuttack; but Bhaskur

[1] Mahratta MSS. [Revadanda (Rewadunda) is otherwise known as Lower or Portuguese Chaul; Chaul proper, or Upper Chaul, having been captured in 1740. The two are separated by a creek or salt swamp. Revadanda is rich in Portuguese architectural remains, which include the factory or citadel, a cathedral and a hospital. The fortifications, commenced in 1520, were continually added to between that date and 1721. (*B.G.*, vol. vi; *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 128–9.)]

[2] *Bhow*, brother, is applied also by Mahrattas to a cousin-german. Hence, as the Peishwa's cousin, he was commonly styled Bhow Sahib and the Bhow, as well as Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. [The name is properly Sadāshivrāo Chimnājī Bhāu.]

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Punt, having found it necessary to apply for his master's permission, before an answer could be received and the troops prepared, Aliverdy Khan had conquered the province, and Meer Hubeeb had submitted to his authority.[1] Another opportunity, however, soon presented itself to Bhaskur Punt of carrying his arms to the eastward; and no sooner had he set out on his expedition than the Peishwa, eager to establish his power over those territories, for which the authority obtained from the Raja was, as usual, assumed as a right, marched, though late in the season, towards Hindoostan, and made himself master of Gurrah and Mundelah before the monsoon. He was obliged to encamp on the banks of the Nerbuddah during the rainy season, and probably meditated an expedition into Allahabad, when he was called upon to defend his rights in Malwa, invaded by Dummajee Gaekwar and Babboo Rao Sewdasheo.

This inroad seems to have been instigated by Rughoojee merely to obstruct the Peishwa's progress to the eastward: and on Ballajee's arrival in Malwa the army of Guzerat retired. On this occasion Anund Rao Powar, to whom Bajee Rao never became reconciled after his uniting with Trimbuck Rao Dhabaray, was permitted to pay his respects to Ballajee, and was by him confirmed in possession of Dhar[2] and the surrounding districts[3]; a politic measure which not only secured Powar in his interests, but opposed a barrier on the western side of Malwa to incursions from Guzerat. Since the Peishwa's arrival at Mundelah, a negotiation had been going on between him and the Emperor through the mediation of Raja Jey Sing, supported by Nizam Ool Moolk. The chouth of the imperial territory was promised, and a khillut, more splendid than had ever been conferred on his father,[4] was transmitted to Ballajee. It does not,

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] [The chiefs of Dhār State are Ponwār (Powār) Marāthās, claiming descent from the Paramāra Rājpūt clan; the founder of the family being Udājī Ponwār, an officer in the *paigah*, or bodyguard, of Shāhu, who established himself in Dhār in 1723. During the closing years of the eighteenth and opening of the nineteenth century, Dhār was gradually shorn of all its territories by Pindārī raids and the general lawlessness prevalent in Central India, until only the capital and the district surrounding it remained to the chief. In 1819 a treaty was made with the British Government, which restored two of its lost districts. (*I.G. Central India.*)]

[3] Mahratta MSS.

[4] Articles enumerated in an original letter from the Emperor.

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as may be here remarked, appear that any deed for collecting this general chouth was ever granted by Mohummud Shah; sums of money and convenient assignments were the mode of payment. The object in the pending treaty was, on the part of the Peishwa, to obtain Sunnuds for the promised government of Malwa; on that of the court of Delhi, to procrastinate and to widen the breach between the Peishwa and Rughoojee Bhonslay.

In the meantime, Bhaskur Punt had invaded Bahar: he was induced to make that province the theatre of his first operations, in the expectation of finding the country drained of troops, owing to an insurrection in Kuttack, which had burst forth in consequence of the tyranny and misconduct of the grand nephew [1] of Aliverdy Khan, whom he had left as governor of the province. Aliverdy Khan, as Bhaskur Punt had anticipated, returned to Kuttack for the purpose of quelling the disturbance, which, however, he speedily effected; and in the month of April was already on his march returning to Moorshedabad, when news was suddenly brought to him that the Mahrattas had entered Bahar, emerged from the hills and woods near Ramgurh, turned to the right, and had fallen upon the district of Pachaet in their usual manner of plundering and extorting.

The Mahratta army consisted of ten or twelve thousand [2] horse, and report had swelled their numbers to nearly four times

[1] The notorious Shujah-ud-Dowlah, who afterwards confined the English in the black hole, on the capture of Calcutta, 20th June, 1756. [Sirāj-ud-daula, whom Grant Duff wrongly calls Shujah-ud-Dowlah, was born in 1140 A.H. (= August 1727 to July 1728). He was the grandson of Allahvardī Khān, being the son of the Nawāb's youngest daughter, a dissolute woman. He revolted against his grandfather in 1750; but Allahvardī Khān showed no resentment, confirmed the youth's right of succession, and allowed him to control the government. Sirāj-ud-daula, whose proper name was Mīrzā Muhammad (or Mahmūd), succeeded to his grandfather's throne in 1169 A.H. (= October 1755 to September 1756), and was killed at Murshidābād, after the battle of Plassy in 1757, by order of Mīr Jāfar's son, Mīran. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 488, 494.) See footnote on page 487 *post*. Ives (*Voyage from England to India*, 1773) states that at the time of his death Sirāj-ud-daula had not quite completed his twenty-fifth year. As a matter of fact he must have been twenty-nine or thirty years of age in 1757. (See *Add. and Corr.* to *O.H.I.*, under p. 488 n., giving reference to *Bengal Past and Present*, xii. 244.)]

[2] Mahratta MSS.

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that amount.[1] Aliverdy Khan, although only at the head of three or four thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry, resolved to oppose them; but the Mahrattas attacked him with great success, surrounded his army, carried off most of his baggage, and reduced him to great distress. Many of his men deserted or were killed, the whole of what remained amounted only to three thousand, but with these he determined rather to die than submit to the severe demands which the Mahrattas would have exacted. Although sorely harassed for several days, he fought his way and made good his retreat to Cutwa. In one of the first attacks Meer Hubeeb, who was in the army of Aliverdy Khan, having been made prisoner, joined the Mahrattas, and exerted himself so much as to gain the confidence of Bhaskur Punt. That officer proposed retiring for the rains, which Meer Hubeeb opposed, but as Bhaskur Punt could not at first be persuaded to remain, Meer Hubeeb requested command of a detachment, with which he marched to Moorshedabad, rescued his brother, who resided in the city, plundered the banking-house of Juggut Sett Alumchund of the enormous sum of two millions and a half sterling, overtook Bhaskur Punt, and at length succeeded in convincing him that it was better to remain in Bengal, and that it would be preposterous to quit so rich a harvest as he might expect to reap. Accordingly, he wheeled about, and through the aid of Meer Hubeeb obtained possession of the town of Hooghly by stratagem.[2] Most of the places from Cutwa to the neighbourhood of Midnapoor fell into his hands, and the swelling of the Hooghly alone prevented the Mahrattas from entering the district of Moorshedabad. Whilst affairs were in this state, an officer from the imperial court arrived on the frontiers of the province of Bengal, to demand the arrears of tribute due by the Nabob. Aliverdy Khan represented his situation, and the impossibility of satisfying these

[1] In the Seyr Mutuakhereen their numbers are more moderately estimated at 25,000; but still that exceeds their actual numbers two-fold.

[2] [It was when Calcutta was thus threatened that 'the imperfect fortification known as the Marāthā Ditch' was constructed (*O.H.I.*, p. 457). The line of the Ditch corresponded nearly with the outside of the existing Circular Road, except at the south-east and south, where the work was never carried to completion. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed. (1903), p. 537, gives quotations from Orme, Macaulay and others.)]

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just demands, until he could expel the Mahrattas; he at the same time earnestly solicited a reinforcement. Aliverdy Khan likewise applied to the Peishwa, and with a view of inducing him to invade Rughoojee Bhonslay's districts in Berar, dispatched a considerable sum as a subsidy for that purpose: the convoy, however, was cut off by the order or connivance of Sufdur Jung, the Governor of Oude.

But whilst thus negotiating for every succour he could devise, Aliverdy Khan wisely placed his chief dependence on his own exertions; he assembled every man he could command and made vigorous preparations for attacking Bhaskur Punt's camp at Cutwa, as soon as the season should permit. Before the rivers had fallen he prepared a bridge of boats, which in the night he threw first across the Hooghly and then over the Adjee, which enabled him to gain the opposite bank; although, in consequence of a break in the fastening which had laced the boats together, fifteen hundred men were plunged into the Adjee and totally lost before the accident was discovered. The Mahrattas, by whom this attempt was quite unexpected, did not oppose the Nabob, but fled eastward, until they had misled their pursuers in the hills and jungles of Bahar, when they again re-entered the district of Midnapoor. But Aliverdy Khan soon recovered their track, and with the most active of his troops continued to pursue them. They seldom turned except to skirmish, and having lost all confidence, in consequence of an indecisive action which took place at Ballasore, they fled from Bengal and returned through the province of Orissa to Berar. Rughoojee Bhonslay had arrived with his army from the Carnatic, some time before his fugitive Dewan appeared, and having resolved to support his pretensions in Bengal, advanced towards the province by the same route as that by which Bhaskur Punt had entered.

In the meantime, the Emperor, on being apprised of the irruption into Bengal, ordered Sufdur Jung, Nabob of Oude, to drive out Bhaskur Punt; and at the same time applied to Ballajee Bajee Rao to afford his aid. As inducements to the Peishwa, an assignment on Aliverdy Khan for the arrears of Chouth due from Azimabad [1] was sent to him by the Emperor, and an assurance of confirming him in the government of Malwa.

[1] [i.e. Patna, which lies in 25° 37′ N. and 85° 10′ E. on the right bank of the Ganges, a few miles below its junction with the Son-Patna,

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The reward was prized too highly and the service was too desirable to be refused. Having quitted Malwa, the Peishwa proceeded through the province of Allahabad and marched straight on Boglipoor. In order to prevent injury to the country, he avoided high roads in the neighbourhood of cultivation, but to the great alarm of the timid inhabitants, who were in terror of an army even of Mahratta friends, he arrived at Moorshedabad.

A.D. 1743. Rughoojee Bhonslay with a powerful army was advancing as an enemy from the eastward, and as Ballajee well knew that princes are most liberal at such seasons, he pressed the settlement of accounts with Aliverdy Khan before he would take the field. Payment being promised, Rughoojee, who had by that time arrived between Cutwa and Burdwan, decamped as soon as he heard that a settlement had taken place and retreated towards the hills. Aliverdy Khan instantly marched in pursuit; but Ballajee, who intended to act according to his agreement, seemed to have a poor opinion of the Nabob's ability to pursue Mahrattas. He therefore took another road, soon passed the Bengal troops, and in a few days overtook, attacked, and defeated Rughoojee's army.[1] Bhaskur Punt, who was at the head of a party in reserve, immediately retreated through Orissa; but Ballajee Rao, after his victory, returned to Malwa, in order to secure the long promised government.

The conduct of the Peishwa in the late campaign left no reasonable excuse on the part of Mohummud Shah for refusing to perform the engagement; but to save the credit of the imperial name, the feeble palliative of conferring the appointment on the Peishwa, as the deputy of Prince Ahmud, the Emperor's son, was adopted at the suggestion of Jey Sing and Nizam Ool Moolk, through whom the transaction was concluded.[2]

has a long history. It was the Pātaliputra of ancient India, the Palibothra of the Greeks, and the Kusumapura of the early Gupta emperors. The name Azīmābād refers to the fact that Aurangzeb made his grandson Azīm-ush-Shān, the father of Farrukhsiyar, governor of the city, and it is still used by Muhammadans in preference to the Hindu name Patna. (*I.G.* (1907), xx. 65–70.)]

[1] The best account of Ballajee Bajee Rao's campaign in Bengal, to which I have had the benefit of access, is the Seyr Mutuakhereen, which is my authority for the greater part of the Bengal transactions at this period, assisted, however, in several parts by Mahratta MSS. and letters.

[2] The following is the substance of the firman received by Bajee

The rest of the treaty differs little from the former proposition, made in the joint names of Ballajee and his uncle Chimnajee, as already detailed; but instead of four thousand, Ballajee promised to furnish twelve thousand horse, the expense of the additional eight thousand being payable by the Emperor.[1]

From the period of Ballajee Rao's accession, the most friendly intercourse subsisted between him and Jey Sing; several written agreements are preserved, containing mutual assurances of alliance and support. Jey Sing was guarantee for the observance of the treaty with Mohummud Shah, and there is another remarkable reservation for the imperial dignity affixed to the treaty in question, by bringing forward Mulhar Rao Holkar, Ranoojee Sindia, and Peelajee Jadow, as the securities; who in due form declare that should the Peishwa recede from his duties they will quit his service. An absurd pledge for the fulfilment of an agreement from those whose interests lay in dissolving it; and which does not so much prove the consequence to which those commanders had attained as the state of humiliation to which the Emperor was reduced. There might be political design mixed with this plan of security, for feeble governments are full of far-fetched artifice; but the imperial court, if it thus projected its own salvation by dissensions among its enemies, did not reflect on their relative situations, nor perceive that Mahratta combination was likely to be ensured until the Moghul empire was totally subverted.

The Peishwa returned to Satara to pay his respects and go through the form of producing his accounts of the revenue. These accounts were made out by the Peishwa, as a general in command of a body of the Raja's troops; the receipts, disbursements, and balance were set forth; and it is a remarkable fact that after the Rajas of Satara had become perfect ciphers

Rao upon his appointment. From the Emperor Mohummud Shah, 22d Jummadee Ool Uwul, in the 24th year of the reign. 'The dignity of the Shahzadu's Deputy in Malwa, together with the income attached to that situation, having been conferred on you, proper arrangements must be made in that province, so as to afford the subjects, paying revenue to government, due favour and protection, and to punish all such as are evil disposed and disaffected. You must prevent the use of intoxicating drugs and spirituous liquors; and you must administer justice equally, so that the strong shall not oppress the weak, and that no species of violence be tolerated.' (Original from the Poona Records.)

[1] Original papers.

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in the Mahratta government, the Peishwa's accounts continued to the last to be made out in the manner described.

A.D. 1744.—But other reasons of great importance required Ballajee's presence at this juncture. Rughoojee Bhonslay after his defeat had sent Wukeels to the Peishwa, assuring him of his sincere desire of reconciliation and of his being now fully convinced that the plans of Bajee Rao were those best suited to his own and the real interests of the Mahratta nation. He continued the same professions with apparent sincerity, but as he was on full march towards Satara, the Peishwa thought it necessary to be on his guard, particularly as Dummajee Gaekwar was also approaching. The Pritee Needhee had become infirm by sickness, but his Mootaliq, Yemmajee Sewdeo, was an active, able man, adverse to the Peishwa's supremacy,[1] and although not leagued with Rughoojee, was intimately connected with the faction of Dhabaray. Under these circumstances, Ballajee Bajee Rao had to make his election between a war with the Mahratta chiefs or the resignation of Bengal to Rughoojee Bhonslay. The question did not admit of hesitation, he chose the latter; but it being understood that the country north of the Maha-Nuddee, as well as the Nerbuddah, was comprehended in his agreement with the Emperor, he made a merit of conceding his right of levying tribute to Rughoojee, and a secret compact, in which the Raja was used as mediator, was finally concluded.

[1] [The Pratīnīdhīs were Deshasth Brahmans, while the Pēshwās were Konkanasth (Chitpāvan) Brahmans. The imprisonment of the Pratīnīdhī Dādobā, *alias* Jagjīvanrāo, by Bālājī Bājīrāo, at the time of Shāhu's death, marks the end of Deshasth Brahman political influence in the Deccan. The Deshasths, as their name implies, are the Brahmans of the *desh* or country above the Western Ghāts in which Marāthi is spoken, though they are now found in many other parts of Western India and in the Baroda, Indore, Gwālior and other states. Many of the Marāthi poets were Deshasth Brahmans. The majority follow secular employment as agents, writers, accountants, merchants, cultivators, and add to their names the honorary affix of Pant, Rāo, Dēsāi, Dēshpānde, Dēshmukh, Kulkarni, Pātel, according to their position and the former occupations of their families. Generally speaking, they are of darker complexion than the Konkanasths (Chitpāvans). Their ancestors may have availed themselves of the old Brahmanical law authorizing a Brahman to marry the daughter of a Sudra, as well as of the three upper classes, the issue of such marriage having been admissible to Brahmanhood in the seventh generation. (Wilson, *Indian Caste* (1877), ii. 18, 19.) See footnote on the Chitpāvans, pp. 370–1, *ante*.]

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The object of the contracting parties seems avowedly to have been, not so much an alliance as an agreement to avoid interference with each other. The Raja's authority was in this instance convenient to both. A sunnud was given to the Peishwa, conferring on him his original Mokassa; all the jagheers bestowed on himself, or acquired by his father and grandfather; the governments of the Concan and Malwa; and the shares of revenue or tribute from Allahabad, Agra, and Ajimere; three talooks in the district of Patna, twenty thousand rupees from the province of Arcot, and a few detached villages in Rughoojee's districts. On the other hand, it was settled that the revenues and contributions from Lucknow, Patna, and Lower Bengal, including Bahar, should be collected by Rughoojee Bhonslay. The latter was also vested with the sole authority of levying tribute from the whole territory from Berar to Kuttack.

It was agreed that Dummajee Gaekwar should be obliged to account to the Peishwa for the amount of the contributions he had levied in Malwa, but nothing was urged at this time respecting the large arrears due by Dhabaray to the head of the government. It does not appear that any settlement was concluded, but Dummajee seems to have remained some time in the Deccan, although his presence was much required in Guzerat. The Peishwa's southern and eastern boundaries in Hindoostan were well defined, by the Nerbuddah, the Soane, and the Ganges; but the sunnud delivered on this occasion authorized him to push his conquests to the northward as far as practicable.[1]

With these domestic arrangements of the Mahrattas, Nizam Ool Moolk had no interference. We have already mentioned that he quitted Delhi in consequence of the meditated rebellion of his son Nasir Jung. On returning to the Deccan in the beginning of 1741, Nizam Ool Moolk used every endeavour to induce his son to submit without coming to hostilities. At last Nasir Jung sent messengers to treat, which so alarmed his partisans that most of them endeavoured to make the best terms they could. Nizam Ool Moolk gradually drew them over, continued to use fair words towards his son, until, in an emotion of generosity Nasir Jung hastily sent back the whole of the park of artillery. This concession might have obtained an unreserved

[1] Original papers and Mahratta MSS.

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pardon, but as soon as Nizam Ool Moolk had him in his power he wished to humble him completely. Nasir Jung, assuming the garb of a fuqeer, retired in penitence to Rozu near Doulutabad, but his father continued to manifest the same stern behaviour; till at last the young man was so much piqued that he listened to the suggestions of Futih Yab Khan, one of his companions, by whom he was persuaded that he might still compel his father to submit to any terms.

Nizam Ool Moolk, according to his custom, had cantoned his troops for the rains; a part at Aurungabad, and the rest at different towns in the neighbourhood. Futih Yab Khan suggested to Nasir Jung that they must first seize some strong fort, and undertook to surprise Molheir, of which Mutuwussil Khan, Nasir Jung's brother-in-law, was governor. Futih Yab Khan succeeded in the enterprise, and Nasir Jung immediately joined him. Nizam Ool Moolk did not expect this attempt, but made no preparation in consequence. Apprised of his supineness, Futih Yab Khan proposed to surprise him in Aurungabad. Nasir Jung advanced from Molheir with seven thousand horse, reached Doulutabad before intelligence of his march had been received, and had he pushed on would probably have succeeded in taking his father prisoner. He seems, however, to have been seized with some compunction for the part he was acting, and passed the day in prayer at the shrine of a celebrated Saint; whilst Nizam Ool Moolk, apparently serene, but much alarmed, was calling in his detachments; his gun bullocks were all at a distance grazing, and very few men were in readiness; but he immediately pitched his tents and moved out from the city. Before next morning, which was the 23d July, he had a respectable force drawn up, with which he coolly awaited the approach of his son, who advanced at the head of his followers and was repulsed. Finding his troops giving way, Nasir Jung impetuously charged his father's standard, pushed on towards his elephant, and slew three of his bravest attendants, one after the other. The driver of his own elephant being killed, Nasir Jung sprang into his place; when his brother-in-law, Mutuwussil Khan, approaching him, drew an arrow to the head, which must have transfixed him, had not his son Heedayet Moideen Khan, who sat on the same elephant, stayed his hand and saved his uncle's life: at that moment Syud Lushkur Khan, an officer of experience, who knew Nasir

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Jung, and the pride as well as the generosity of his disposition, pushed his elephant close by the side of his, saluted him and respectfully made room on the seat of his elephant; when, overcome by this act of courtesy, Nasir Jung took the place and was thus carried prisoner to Aurungabad. Shah Nuwaz Khan, who, as well as Sur Lushkur Khan, was destined to act a conspicuous part in Deccan affairs, had embarked with his friend Nasir Jung in this desperate enterprise, stood by him to the last, and must have been cut down, but one of his friends in the army of Nizam Ool Moolk, after Nasir Jung was taken, opening a way by which he might escape, called to him to desist and save himself. He followed this advice, and to the concealment and obscurity in which he was for seven years obliged to live, Indian history is indebted for his valuable biography, the Muasir Ool Oomrah.

Nizam Ool Moolk was exceedingly gratified by his son's preservation, but he threw many of his adherents into confinement, and to mark his sense of Nasir Jung's rebellion, imprisoned him for a short time in the fort of Kandhar, near Nandere, but relieved him before proceeding on an expedition to the southward: his motives for that undertaking we shall now explain.

Whilst the affairs of Bengal occupied the Mahrattas, the attention of Nizam Ool Moolk was directed to the Carnatic, and in his protracted absence from the Deccan may be perceived the reason of his conciliatory conduct to Ballajee Rao, in aiding his pretensions to the government of Malwa. The murder of Sufdur Ali, Nabob of Arcot, by his brother-in-law, Mortiza Khan, in 1742; and the general confusion existing in the Moghul territories south of the Kistna presented a favourable opportunity for Nizam Ool Moolk's interference to establish his power and to restore tranquillity to the country. He accordingly marched from Hyderabad at the head of an immense army in January, 1743, and upwards of a year was spent in concluding the arrangements he had contemplated. To obtain possession of Trichinopoly was an object of importance, but as matters stood with the Mahrattas, as the acquisition was much prized by them, it must have been an affair of some political management. The family of Ghorepuray, however, were never firmly united with their countrymen after the murder of Suntajee; it is true they would rather have joined the Mahrattas, but superior advantages and the chance of plunder would induce them to fight on

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the side of Moghuls or Europeans. Moorar Rao was recognized as Chief of Gooty by Nizam Ool Moolk,[1] and evacuated the Carnatic with all his troops in August, 1743.[2]

The Mahratta armies which assembled at Satara, in the beginning of 1744, were probably contemplated with some anxiety by Nizam Ool Moolk, whose march was soon directed towards Hyderabad, having left Anwar-ud-deen Khan, at his own request, in charge of the government of the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut, and appointed his own grandson, Heedayet Moideen Khan, better known by his title of Muzuffir Jung, to the Carnatic Bala Ghaut (or Carnatic Proper), conferring on him the district of Adonee in Jagheer, and fixing his head station at Beejapoor, whilst that of Anwar-ud-deen continued, as in the time of Daood Khan and the Newayeteh Nabobs,[3] at the long established capital of Arcot. Nizam Ool Moolk, finding he had nothing to apprehend from the Mahrattas, directed his attention to affairs of internal government and reduced several forts, the Killidars of which were in rebellion.

The Mahrattas were too much occupied in their own schemes

[1] Orme and Wilks.

[2] Orme.

[3] The Newayeteh Nabobs is the appellation by which Sadut Oollah Khan, Dost Ally, and Sufdur Ali are known in the Deccan. The Newayetehs are a distinct race of Mahomedans, and said to have been driven from Arabia to seek refuge on the western shores of India in the eighth century. See Wilks, vol. i, p. 242. [The name by which this mixed race is known on the Bombay coast is Navāit, Nāiata, or Nāītia, and they correspond closely in origin to the Māplas of Malabar and the Labbais of the Coromandel coast. According to a tradition current among the Konkani Muhammadans, who are the modern representatives of the Navāits in Bombay, they are descended from Arabs who fled to India in A.D. 699 to escape the persecution of Hajjāj-ibn-Yūsuf, Governor of Irāk, and settling on the western coast from Cambay to Goa, inter-married with Hindu women, whom they converted to Islam. Those who went further south to the Malabar Coast claim to have proselytised one of the Zamorins of Calicut. Between the ninth and sixteenth centuries they intermingled with other Persian and Arab immigrants and absorbed fresh bands of Arab refugees who escaped from the fury of the Karmatians (A.D. 923–6) and from the tyranny of Halaku the Tartar (A.D. 1258). Garcia da Orta (A.D. 1530) speaks of them as trading at Bassein, and describes them as foreign Moors who had married Hindu women of the coast. The name is variously derived from Sanskrit *Nava*, 'new,' meaning 'new convert,' and from *Nāīt*, the name of an Arab clan. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, however, gives the meaning of the name as 'shipmen' or 'sailors.' (*B.G.*, 'Gujarat Musalmans,' 14, 15.)]

to think of taking advantage of the Nizam's absence. Rughoojee Bhonslay was intent on recovering his lost footing in Bengal, and the Peishwa, in order to excuse himself to the Emperor for not acting against Rughoojee, remained in the Deccan. Rughoojee had returned to Berar in the rains, but as soon as the season opened, Bashkur Punt, Alee Kurawul, and several officers of note,[1] supported by twenty thousand horse, were sent into Bengal by the route of Orissa. Aliverdy Khan prepared his troops, but on pretence of coming to an agreement, opened a negotiation with Bashkur Punt, invited him to a ziafut or entertainment, with twenty of his principal officers, and most treacherously murdered them. One Surdar, named Rughoojee Gaekwar, who remained in charge of the camp, was the only one out of twenty-two principal officers who escaped this perfidious massacre: he conducted the retreat of the army to Berar by the same route they had come, but many of the Mahratta stragglers were cut off by the exasperated peasantry.

An opportunity, however, soon occurred of renewing the incursions. An insurrection against Aliverdy Khan's government by the Afghans in his service obliged him to leave Orissa in some degree exposed, and in charge of a Hindoo governor. Rughoojee Bhonslay, apprised of the state of the province by certain Gosaeens whom he entertained as spies, invaded Orissa, obtained possession of several districts, and demanded thirty millions of rupees as the price at which he would spare the remainder and quit the country. Aliverdy Khan contrived to amuse him until he had suppressed the rebellion, when he sent a vaunting message to Rughoojee, which put an end to all negotiation. After the rains hostilities commenced, but ceased for a time after a partial defeat of the Mahrattas at Cutwa[2]; Rughoojee being obliged to return to his own territories in consequence of a disputed succession to the principality of Deogurh in Gondwaneh, where the sons of a Raja named Bukht Boolund, converted by Aurungzebe to Mahomedanism, had quarrelled, and one of them, named Wullee Shah, not only confined his two brothers, Akbar Shah and Boorhan Shah, but, on being assisted by Neelkunt Shah, another Hindoo renegado, Raja of Chandah, Wullee Shah refused to pay either chouth or surdeshmookhee to the Mahrattas; Akbar Shah

[1] Mahratta MSS.
[2] Seyr Ool Mutuakhereen and Stewart's History of Bengal.

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was desirous of obtaining assistance from the Nizam, but Boorhan Shah courted the Mahrattas.

The insurrection of Wullee Shah and Neelkunt Shah ended in the subjugation of their territory. Deogurh and Chandah were both annexed to the possessions of Rughoojee, but Ruttunpoor was assigned to Boorhan Shah, the brother of Wullee Shah, with an income for his support, and his posterity still reside at the Court of Nagpoor in the enjoyment of a part of it. Akbar Shah died a pensioner of the Nizam's government.[1]

A.D. 1745.—Shortly after Rughoojee had entered Bengal during the Afghan insurrection, Ballajee Bajee Rao arrived at Belsah [2] in Malwa, from which place he addressed letters to the Emperor, full of assurances of perpetual fidelity, but excusing himself from paying his respects in the royal presence. He expressed surprise at Aliverdy Khan's inactivity in not repulsing Rughoojee, which the Emperor in his reply accounts for by charging Ballajee with not having stopped the Ghauts in Rughoojee's rear as preconcerted. But the agreement which had taken place with Rughoojee precluded all interference; the Peishwa evaded the discussion, and on pretence of business in the Deccan, after making his annual collections, speedily returned to Poona.[3]

A.D. 1746.—In the following year he sent his cousin, Sewdasheo Chimnajee Bhow, accompanied by Sukaram Bappoo,[4] the Carcoon of Mahadajee Punt Poorundhuree, on an expedition

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] [i.e. Bhīlsā, the principal town of the Isāgarh subdivision in Gwālior State. Near it lie the famous Buddhist antiquities, for a description of which see Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1918; Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India* (1854), and Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, &c., with an introductory note by Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham (1892). The name Bhīlsā appears to be derived from *Bhāilla*, or 'Lord of Life,' the form under which the Sun was worshipped locally in Central India during the Middle Ages. (Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.I.*, 8.)

[3] Original Letters, and Mahratta MSS.

[4] Sukaram Bhugwunt Bhokeel, Koolkurnee of Hewra, and the descendant of Puntojee Gopinat, who betrayed Afzool Khan into the hands of Sivajee, was the principal minister at the period when the British Government first took an active part in the politics of the Poona Durbar, and is best known by his familiar name of Sukaram Bappoo. [Warren Hastings wrote to Sakhārām Bāpu in 1775, 'I have heard of your wisdom and capacity from everywhere, therefore trust in your person that you will not fail to get the business done through your interest.' The letter appears on page 246 of Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), Bombay, 1885.]

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into the Carnatic, to punish some of the Deshmookhs who had driven out the *Thannas* of the Peishwa's old creditor, Bappoojee Naik Barramutteekur. That person, by the interest of Rughoojee Bhonslay, had obtained the chouth and surdeshmookhee between the Kistna and Toongbuddra in farm from the Raja, for the annual sum of seven lacks of rupees; but the opposition he experienced, and the heavy charges for maintaining the troops, totally ruined him in a few years. The expense of the present expedition, which he was compelled to defray, added to his embarrassments, but he would not consent to relinquish the contract in favour of the Bhow, as was proposed to him. Sewdasheo Chimnajee levied contributions as far as the Toongbuddra and reduced the fort of Bhadur Benda, to which the Mahrattas had a claim of long standing.[1] On Sewdasheo Chimnajee's return from this expedition, he was invested by the Raja with the same rank as had been enjoyed by his father,[2] and being ambitious and bolder than his cousin the Peishwa, he began to assume considerable power. He chose as his Carcoons Wasdeo Joshee and Rughoonath Huree, two able men who had been brought up under Kanhoojee Angria. The Peishwa himself concluded a new and more specific agreement with the Rajas of Bundelcund, by which, after deducting the district of Ryhlee, which had been wholly ceded to the late Peishwa, one-third of the territory, estimated at sixteen and a half lacks of rupees,[3] was made over to Ballajee Bajee Rao, besides a like share from the profits of the diamond mines of Pannah.

A.D. 1747.

The Peishwa during this period of comparative tranquillity in the Deccan gave encouragement to agriculture, protected the villagers and grain merchants, and improvement was everywhere visible. But events occurred about this time in Hindoostan, the Deccan, and Carnatic, which were the forerunners of fresh troubles and great revolutions in every part of India.

The season of 1747-48 is memorable in Hindoostan by its being the period of the first invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, king of the Afghans, who are distinguished in India by the various

[1] Mahratta MSS.
[2] Second in command under the Peishwa.
[3] Rupees 16,51,636. (Original papers.)

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appellations of Dooranee, Abdallee, and Giljya.[1] Ahmed Abdallee, the person who was now their acknowledged sovereign, was son of a chief of a tribe of Afghans named Abdallee, settled in the province of Herat, when it was conquered by Nadir Shah. Ahmed from being the prisoner became a military follower of Nadir, and was gradually promoted to considerable rank. On the assassination of Nadir Shah, Ahmed left the Persian army with the whole of his tribe, who were in camp, and retiring to Herat, which he occupied, was soon acknowledged as king by the whole Afghan nation, and now possessed the eastern half of the dominions of Nadir Shah.

One of the nephews of Kummur-ud-deen Khan the Vizier, who had taken charge of the governments of Mooltan and Lahore in prejudice to his elder brother, was advised by a treacherous Moghul, named Adina Beg Khan, to unite his fortunes with the rising Ahmed Shah Abdallee, an advice which he had no sooner begun to put in practice than Adina Beg informed his uncle of the circumstance, and the nephew ashamed of his conduct returned to his allegiance; but the traitor, Adina Beg, had already gone so far in the negotiation with Ahmed Shah, that the latter was not to be interrupted in his progress; his troops advanced, and he obtained possession of Mooltan and Lahore, almost without resistance, and proceeded towards Delhi. He

A.D. 1748. was, however, at this time successfully opposed by the Moghul army sent forward by the Emperor under his son, Prince Ahmed, and the Afghan army retreated towards Cabul. On this service Kummur-ud-deen Khan the Vizier having been killed, his son, Meer Munnoo, received the governments of Mooltan and Lahore, and set out to take charge of those provinces. Prince Ahmed returned towards Delhi, but before he reached the capital the Emperor had breathed his last. On the Prince's accession to the throne, by the title of Ahmed Shah, in the end of April, he bestowed the office of Vizier on Sufdur Jung, Nabob of Oude.[2] He had offered the Viziership to Nizam Ool Moolk, but he excused himself on account of his

[1] I mention these names as necessary in common conversation with the natives of India. A native of Maharashtra, for instance, only knows them by the name of Giljya, whilst Afghans, generally, are merely distinguished as Patans.

[2] Seyr Mutuakhereen.

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great age, and only survived Mohummud Shah a very short time, having died at Burhanpoor, in his 104th year, on the 19th June, 1748.

Nizam Ool Moolk left six sons, namely, Ghazee-ud-deen, Nasir Jung, Sulabut Jung, Nizam Ally, Mohummud Shureef, and Meer Moghul. The two first were of the same mother, all the others were of different mothers. Ghazee-ud-deen being at Delhi, where he held the rank of Umeer Ool Oomrah, at the time of his father's death, Nasir Jung assumed the government.[1]

A few months after the death of Nizam Ool Moolk, the Emperor wrote a letter with his own hand, inviting Nasir Jung in a very pressing manner to come to court, and the latter had arrived at the Nerbuddah, when the invitation, for some reason not satisfactorily explained, was withdrawn. This circumstance appeared at the time fortunate to Nasir Jung, as news of an alarming nature had just reached him of a rebellion, headed by his nephew Muzuffir Jung and aided by Chunda Sahib, with a body of French troops. Very shortly afterwards intelligence was received of the defeat and death of Anwar-ud-deen, Governor of the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut, at the battle of Ambour, on which Nasir Jung applied to Rughoojee Bhonslay for a body of his troops, promising to grant some cessions of territory as the reward of their service.[2] He also summoned the whole of the Moghul dependants and tributaries in the Carnatic to be prepared to join his army as he advanced to the southward. Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, as Jagheerdar of Gooty, the Raja of Mysore, the Nabobs of Kurpa, Kurnoul, and Savanoor, and Mohummud Ally, second son of the late Anwar-ud-deen, with his supporters, the President and Council of the English settlement at Madras, were the principal authorities who joined, or sent their troops to accompany Nasir Jung.

A.D. 1749.

The Deccan, thus completely drained of troops, presented an inviting field to the Peishwa, but domestic arrangements of the utmost importance demanded his presence at Satara. The Raja Shao had for some years been in a state of mental imbecility,[3] brought on, it is said, in consequence of the death of his

[1] Khuzaneh Amirah, &c.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] He was for some time afflicted with that harmless, silly madness, which is sometimes ludicrous, even whilst it excites commiseration.

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youngest wife, Sagoona Bye Mohitey ; but as his health declined he recovered the use of his intellect,[1] and the dependants of the Peishwa about his person urged him to adopt a son. The Raja, on the loss of his only child some time before his derangement, had declared, contrary to all his former invectives against him, that he would adopt Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor, provided he had issue ; but as this was not the case, it was now proposed that he should institute an inquiry for some of the lineal descendants of Wittoojee, the brother of Mallojee, and uncle of Shahjee. Search was accordingly made, but none were discovered ; and it was then suggested to receive the son of some respectable Sillidar of that Patell family, of which there were a great number. This proposal, however, Shao said, he had a strong reason for declining, and at last told Mahadajee Punt Poorundhuree and Govind Rao Chitnees that Tara Bye, who was still alive and residing in Satara, had somewhere concealed her grandson Rama, the son of the second Sivajee, who was born in 1712, after the death of his father. It is not known by what means Shao became possessed of this secret ; and the subject, intricate in itself, has been so studiously involved in mystery as to excite a suspicion that the Peishwa was convinced of the legitimacy of Ram Raja, and found it necessary, for the purpose of rendering him insignificant, to invent, or at least to connive at the insinuation, that the whole was a trick of state. Tara Bye, on hearing of the intended adoption of Sumbhajee of Kolapoor, was heard to say, ' I will prevent that ' ; and on being now closely questioned and encouraged declared the existence of her grandson. The eldest surviving wife of Shao, Suckwar Bye Sirkay, true to the inherent violence

It first appeared, on an occasion when he had to receive a visit from two Mahratta surdars in full durbar, by his dressing out his favourite dog in gold brocade, covered with jewels, and putting his own turban on the dog. He never resumed any covering for his head after he recovered his senses. This dog had once saved his life when hunting a tiger, and amongst other freaks he issued sunnuds conferring a Jagheer upon him, and entitling him to use a palanquin, in all which the Raja was humoured, and the palanquin establishment literally kept up.

[1] Shao had some wit, and his reply to a letter received about this time from Raja Jey Sing, of Jeypoor, shows that he retained it to the last. The Raja asks what he had performed for the Hindoo faith, and what charities he had bestowed ; ' I have,' replies Shao, ' conquered from the Mussulmans the whole country from Rameshwur to Delhi, and I have given it to the Bramins.'

and ambition of her family, on becoming acquainted with this declaration on the part of Tara Bye, which deprived her of all chance of the power she expected, by seeing a minor placed on the throne under her own care, immediately opened a communication with Sumbhajee, inciting him to oppose the pretensions of the alleged grandson of Tara Bye, whom she declared an impostor. She promised to aid Sumbhajee with her utmost means; she engaged Yemmajee Sewdeo in her cause, and Jug Jeewun, the younger brother of Sreeput Rao, who had been appointed Pritee Needhee on the death of the latter in 1747, also promised her all the support in his power. Dummajee Gaekwar gave his assent to the proposal, and emissaries were dispatched into the Ghaut Mahta and Concan, a tract ever prone to insurrection, to raise men and be prepared for her purpose. Ballajee Bajee Rao repaired to Satara with an army of thirty-five thousand men; but so cautious was he of committing any act which might outrage the Mahratta feeling, already jealous of Bramin power, that he did not attempt to separate Suckwar Bye from her husband, or to impose any restraint likely to arouse the active enmity of her relations. But although he knew the extent of her plots, and was also aware that Suckwar Bye had a plan to assassinate him, he was at the same time suspicious of Tara Bye; and the known enmity of the latter to Ballajee Bajee Rao is indeed the principal evidence of the truth of her extraordinary story. The pregnancy of Bhowanee Bye, the wife of the second Sivajee, was strongly suspected by Rajis Bye, the younger wife of Raja Ram, at the time of Sivajee's death, and it required all the care and circumspection of Tara Bye to preserve the infant from destruction. She, however, found means to convey the child from the fort of Panalla, and having given him in charge to the sister of Bhowanee Bye, he was carried to Tooljapoor and thence to Barsee, where he was reared in obscurity.

The Peishwa was at a loss what to do, and during three months spent at Satara before the Raja's death, he was alternately swayed by ambition and apprehension: he sometimes thought of at once asserting his supremacy, by setting aside the Raja entirely,[1] but on the whole he considered it most expedient to support the assertion of Tara Bye; yet, although he was scrupu-

[1] The following letter, from Sewdasheo Chimnajee to the Peishwa, recommends his usurping the power at once. After compliments,—

lous in every outward form of respect towards the Prince whom he acknowledged, he was not afterwards desirous of suppressing a current report at Poona, already alluded to, of the whole being fictitious. When the power of the Peishwa was complete, and the end answered, such a pageant as the Raja was in some respects inconvenient to the usurper, and to countenance a belief of the imposture was the first step to his being wholly set aside, but the voice of the country was too strong, and an heir of the house of Sivajee would have been joined by thousands in the tract where that chieftain first established himself.

Suckwar Bye, in order to conceal her plot, always gave out that in the event of Shao's death she would burn with the corpse; this declaration proved her ruin, for the wily Bramin affected to believe it; and took care to circulate the report, until it became so general that its non-fulfilment would, in the eyes of the whole country, have become a reflection on the honour of her family.

Although Suckwar Bye seldom quitted the Raja and kept him constantly surrounded by persons in her interest, Ballajee found means to obtain a private interview, at which he induced the Raja to give him a deed, empowering the Peishwa to manage the whole government of the Mahratta empire, on condition of his perpetuating the Raja's name and keeping up the dignity of the house of Sivajee, through the grandson of Tara Bye and his descendants. This paper also directed that the Kolapoor State should always be considered an independent sovereignty; that the Jagheers, as now existing, were to be confirmed to the holders, leaving power with the Peishwa to conclude such arrangements with the Jagheerdars, as might be beneficial for extending Hindoo power[1]; for protecting the temples of the gods; the cultivators of the fields, and whatsoever was sacred or useful.

'It seems impossible to judge of what will be the result of all this. The Bye's doings are not to be depended upon; keep continually on your guard. The Bye is not a person to blunder in that which she sets about. Let nothing induce you to act contrary to what has hitherto been professed, or let anything appear respecting your intentions; but in the event of the Raja's decease, you must take the upper hand of all. Whilst the Raja is in existence do not allow so much as a grain of oil seed to appear different in your conduct. As matters proceed continue to write to me constantly. Dispatched 16th Shuwal.'

[1] This of course, if once admitted, gave the Peishwa as the Raja's delegate entire power over many of the Jagheerdars, and, in every instance of succession, the right of investing the new Jagheerdar.

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The Raja had scarcely ceased to breathe when a body of horse galloped into the town of Satara, surrounded and seized the Pritee Needhee and his Mootaliq Yemmajee Sewdeo; placed them in irons on the instant and sent them off, strongly escorted, to distant hill forts. Every avenue about the town was occupied by troops, and a garrison of the Peishwa's was placed in the fort; whilst a party was detached to reinforce the escort of Ram Raja, who had not arrived when Shao died.

Suckwar Bye had not recovered from the first emotions of consternation and rage at finding her whole plans unmasked and defeated, when the Peishwa sent her an insidious message, 'begging that she would not think of burning with the corpse of her husband, for that he and all her servants were ready to obey her commands'; and not content with working on the mind of an angry woman, to incite her to self-destruction, he sent for her brother Koarjee Sirkay; represented the dishonour that threatened to attach to his house, and promised him a Jagheer in the Concan on condition of persuading his sister to immolate herself, 'not only for the honour of the family of Sirkay, but for that of all India under the sway of the late Raja.' By such arts Ballajee Bajee Rao secured his victim. But let not the reader suppose that those of his own countrymen who know the secret history of this base transaction, and whose minds have not been perverted by the calm villainy of a Bramin court, attempt to palliate it as a sacrifice in conformity with their faith; on the contrary, they mention it with much detestation, and say that even the ordinary mode of execution would have been far more manly and far less objectionable.[1]

[Shāhu's action is mentioned in the *Panipat Bakhar* of Raghunāth Yādav, which states that he made over the whole kingdom to the Pēshwā on his death-bed (Ranade, p. 266.)]

[1] [Suttee was prohibited during the administration of Lord William Bentinck by the Bengal Regulation XVII, dated December 4, 1829, extended in 1830 to Madras and Bombay. The advocates of the practice unsuccessfully appealed to the Privy Council. Several European officers defended the custom. A well-written account of the Suttee legislation is given in D. Boulger's work on Lord William Bentinck, in the *Rulers of India* series. The word *Satī* (Suttee) properly means a virtuous woman, especially one who burns herself with her husband, and in common parlance has been transferred to the actual sacrifice of the woman. (Sleeman's *Rambles*, &c., ed. V. A. Smith (1915), pp. 18, 19.) A succinct history of Suttee will be found on p. 665, *O.H.I.* See also Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 464 ff.]

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CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM A.D. 1750 TO A.D. 1754.

PREVIOUSLY to Shao's demise, orders in his name had been sent to Yeswunt Rao Dhabaray and Rughoojee Bhonslay, requiring their presence at Satara. The former had become totally imbecile from habits of debauchery, and, as had probably been foreseen, neither Dhabaray nor Dummajee Gaekwar, the commander of his army, attended. Most of the other Jagheerdars were present, but if any were disposed to resist the Peishwa's authority, they remained passive, until they should see what part Rughoojee Bhonslay would assume. But Rughoojee's ambition was now controlled by the caution of age and the admonition of experience. He was not only intent on directing annual incursions into Bengal, but owing to the absence of his son Janojee, who accompanied Nasir Jung into the Carnatic with ten thousand horse, and to the number of troops which he was compelled to leave in his own territories, he arrived at Satara in the month of January, 1750, with a force only estimated at 12,000 men. His disposition was pacific towards the Peishwa, but he made some demur in acknowledging Ram Raja. He required, in testimony of his being a Bhonslay and the grandson of Raja Ram, that Tara Bye should first eat with him in presence of the cast, deposing on the food they ate together that Ram Raja was her grandson. On this being complied with in the most solemn manner, Rughoojee declared himself satisfied; and after a long conference with the Peishwa, he gave his assent to the propriety of the plans submitted for his consideration. As a proof of the good understanding which subsisted between them, Ballajee took occasion to proceed in advance to Poona, leaving the Raja in Rughoojee's charge, and requesting that he would accompany him to Poona with the whole of the

A.D. 1750.

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Jagheerdars, for the purpose of concluding the arrangements made by the will of the late Raja. From this period Poona may be considered the capital of the Mahrattas. Ballajee, in the success of his schemes, almost overlooked Tara Bye; but although upwards of seventy years of age, she soon convinced him that it was dangerous to slight a woman of her spirit. On pretence of paying her devotions at the tomb erected over her husband's ashes in the fort of Singurh, she went there and endeavoured to persuade the Punt Suchew to declare for her as head of the Mahratta empire. Ballajee, after much persuasion, induced her to come to Poona, and having flattered her ambition with the hope of having a large share in the administration, at last obtained her influence with Ram Raja in confirming the many schemes he had now to carry into effect.

Rughoojee Bhonslay received new sunnuds for Berar, Gondwaneh and Bengal; and some Jagheer lands, which had belonged to the Pritee Needhee, adjoining Berar, were transferred to him. The sunnuds for half of Guzerat were sent to Yeswunt Rao Dhabaray, which, as he had never yet accounted for a share of the revenue to the state, gave Dummajee Gaekwar to understand what he might expect from the increasing power of the Peishwa. Ranoojee Sindia died[1] about this period, and his eldest son, Jyapa, was confirmed in his Jagheer. The whole of Malwa, estimated at about one hundred and fifty lacks of rupees of annual revenue, was, with the exception of about ten lacks, divided between Holkar and Sindia; that is, seventy-four and a half lacks were conferred on the former, and sixty-five and a half lacks on the latter. The remaining ten lacks were held by various Jagheerdars, of whom Anund Rao Powar was the most considerable: all of them were subservient to the views of the Peishwa, and from them he had to apprehend no opposition.

Ballajee Rao, without intending to employ them, confirmed the eight Purdhans, and for a short time nominated Gungadhur Sree Newass as Pritee Needhee; but, on the application of Rughoojee Bhonslay and of some other Jagheerdars, when about

[1] I have not been able to ascertain the date of Ranoojee Sindia's death. By a history of Sindia's family, procured for me by Major Robert Close, the resident envoy with Doulut Rao Sindia, it appears that the event happened at Shujahalpoor, but the date is not recorded. [Rānojī Sindia died in 1745, near Shujalpur, where his cenotaph stands (*I.G.* (1908), *Central India*, p. 134).]

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to return to their respective districts, he made them a promise to release Jugjeewun Pureshram, and did accordingly restore him to his rank and liberty. But, as the Raja's establishment was to be much reduced, and it was necessary to secure in his interests such of his officers as he could not employ, the Peishwa reserved a great part of the Pritee Needhee's lands as Jagheers and assignments to the persons in question, particularly the tract west of Kurar between the Oormooree and the Warna, where he apprehended an insurrection supported by the Raja of Kolapoor.

Futih Sing Bhonslay, the adopted son of Shao, was confirmed in the possession of his jagheer, in various minor claims on shares of revenue, and in the title of Raja of Akulkote,[1] which, except the detached claims alluded to, are still enjoyed by his descendants. An appointment created by Shao for a relation of the Muntree, and which was termed *Ajahut surdeshmookh* or general agent for collecting the surdeshmookhee, was nominally preserved; but jagheer lands were assigned in lieu of the right of interference in the collections of the ten per cent., on the six soobehs of the Deccan.

The appointment of Sur-Lushkur was taken from the family of Somwoushee, and given to Nimbajee Naik Nimbalkur. All these changes and appointments were made in name of the Raja, but it was now well understood that the Peishwa's authority was supreme in the state, and generally admitted without dissatisfaction.

But Yemmajee Sewdeo, who recovered his liberty at the same time with the Pritee Needhee, threw himself into the fort of Sangola near Punderpoor, where he raised an insurrection and made head against the Peishwa, until suppressed by Sewdasheo Chimnajee Bhow.

The Peishwa, in the measures which have been detailed, owed much of his success to his Dewan Mahadajee Punt; who, next to his cousin Sewdasheo Rao, possessed greater influence over

[1] [The present Akalkot State is bounded on the north by Hyderābād; on the east by a portion of Kurandvād (Junior) State and Hyderābād; on the south by Bijāpur District and Hyderābād; and on the west by the Sholāpur District, the Collector of which acts as Political Agent of the State. The Chief became a British feudatory in 1849, and in 1868 his liability to furnish a cavalry contingent was commuted for an annual tribute of Rs. 14,500. During the minority of the present Chief, who ranks as a first-class Sardār of the Deccan, the State was managed by the British Government. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 508–11.)]

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Ballajee Bajee Rao than any other person. Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, on his expedition to Sangola, was accompanied by Ram Raja, for the purpose of giving Yemmajee Sewdeo no excuse for resistance; and during their stay at that place, the Raja agreed to renounce the entire power and to lend his sanction to whatever measures the Peishwa might pursue, provided a small tract around Satara was assigned to his own management; conditions to which Ballajee Rao subscribed, but they were never fulfilled. The Raja, under a strong escort, returned from Sangola to Satara, when an extraordinary difference arose between the Peishwa and his cousin Sewdasheo Rao, which had well-nigh overturned the whole of the plan which Ballajee Rao had been labouring to establish.

Sewdasheo Rao had at this time connected himself with Ramchundur Baba Shenwee[1]; a person, to whom, although his conduct was extremely exceptionable, especially in the manner by which he obtained power, the Mahratta country is much indebted. This person, originally known by the name of Ramchundur Mulhar,[2] was Koolkurnee of the village of Aroolee, subject to the Sawunts of Waree, from whose power he was obliged to flee as a defaulter in the revenues of his village. He came to Satara, where he was taken into the service of Kucheswur Baba Uteetkur, and by him recommended to Bajee Rao, under whom he dis-

[1] [The Shēnvīs, who come from Goa and the south Konkan, are a sect of Brahmans who have played a considerable part in the history of Bombay. During the later years of the Pēshwā's rule they were subjected to some amount of persecution, and were reduced to the position of *Trī Karmis*, or those permitted to perform only three out of the six Vedic rites. They subsequently styled themselves Gāud Brahmans (of Tirhūt), and still more recently Gāud Sarasvats, i.e. residents on the Sarasvatī river in the Panjāb. Unlike other sects of Brahmans they are fish-eaters. The name of the caste may be connected with *sena* (Kanarese), 'a village revenue official.' (*B.G.*, xv. pt. i. 139, and xviii. 175.) See also Wilson, *Indian Caste* (1877), ii. 29, 30, who suggests that the name may be a corruption of Kanarese *shānbhōg*, a village-accountant. Crooke (Fryer's *Travels* (Hakluyt), i. 199) gives a derivation of the name 'from Mahr, *chhiā-navē*, "ninety-six," probably from the number of their sections.' The former derivation from *sena*, or perhaps *shānbhōg*, seems more probable. See note, p. 343, *ante*.]

[2] When Bramins rise in the world they generally drop their father's name, unless they were very great men. For instance, Sewdasheo Chimnajee, had his father been a person of no note, would have styled himself Sewdasheo Punt; Ramchundur dropped his father's name, Mulhar, when he became a great man.

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tinguished himself, both as a soldier and a man of business. Bajee Rao appointed him Dewan to Ranoojee Sindia, and it partly accounts for Ranojee's proverbial poverty that Ramchundur made a large fortune. At Ranoojee's death he bribed Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, in hopes of being continued by his interest as the Dewan of Jyapa; but as Jyapa disliked him, and Mulhar Rao Holkar opposed the arrangement, the Peishwa removed him from the situation. This circumstance, trifling as it appears, was the seed from which sprung much mischief. It was the foundation of enmity between Holkar and the Bhow, and between Ramchundur and the Peishwa. Sewdasheo Rao appointed Ramchundur his own Dewan, and at his suggestion applied to the Peishwa for the same share of authority as had been held by his father, Chimnajee Appa. Ballajee refused, as it must occasion the supersession of Mahadajee Punt Poorundhuree, to whom he owed innumerable obligations. On which, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, after his expedition to Sangola, made overtures to the Kolapoor Raja; was appointed his Peishwa and obtained the cession of three forts, Pargurh, Kullanidhee, and Chundgurhee, together with a jagheer of five thousand rupees a year. A war was prevented by the admirable conduct of Mahadajee Punt, who voluntarily resigned his situation, and Sewdasheo Rao, quitting his Peishwaship at Kolapoor, returned as prime minister to Poona.

The arrangements before and consequent to the Raja's death had, as already adverted to, prevented the Mahrattas from seizing an opportunity of enlarging their conquest in the Deccan, afforded by the absence of so great an army in the Carnatic. A negotiation with Ballajee Rao had been opened by Ghazee-ud-deen, the eldest son of Nizam Ool Moolk, through Mulhar Rao Holkar. The Peishwa agreed to support his pretensions, and wrote to the Emperor, Ahmed Shah, requesting that Ghazee-ud-deen might be appointed viceroy, assigning as a reason, that the whole Deccan, from the absence of the army and the disorders in the Carnatic, would soon be overrun by independent plunderers.[1] In the meantime, the Peishwa having prepared his troops moved towards Aurungabad, but before quitting Poona he prevailed on the Punt Suchew to give him the fort of Singurh in exchange for Toong and Tikona, and in order to sooth Tara Bye, whose great age had

[1] Mahratta MSS.

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not rendered her less active and intriguing, he incautiously removed his own troops from the fort of Satara, and, having placed in it the Gurhkurees and old retainers, who had great respect for the widow of Raja Ram, gave up the entire management to her. The Raja was kept with a separate establishment in the town of Satara, but perfectly at large, and a splendid provision was assigned to him and his officers; the expense of which amounted to the annual sum of sixty-five lacks of rupees.[1]

About the time that Ballajee Bajee Rao was summoned to Satara on account of Shao's illness, Nasir Jung proceeded on the well-known Carnatic expedition, which ended so disastrously for that prince. Moorar Rao Ghorepuray and some other Mahrattas continued in the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut; but Janojee Bhonslay, Rughoojee's son, left the army, either upon the defeat of Muzuffir Khan in March, 1750, or with Shah Nuwaz Khan, who quitted Sulabut Jung and repaired to Aurungabad during the siege of Kurnoul[2] in March, 1751. The fall of Nasir Jung was wrought by the intrigues of M. Dupleix.[3] He gained a Bramin named Ramdass, a native of Sicacole, in the confidence of Nasir Jung, and through him raised seditions in the army, which Dupleix called into operation by an attack on the camp. Nasir Jung was treacherously shot on the 5th December, 1750, by Mohummud Khan, the Patan Nabob of Kurpa, one of the conspirators. Nasir Jung was totally destitute of his father's prudence, and if successful in his fortunes would probably have sunk into a Mahomedan sensualist; but he was in some respects a superior person, and with a better education in a European country, he had many of the qualities to form the gallant knight and the accomplished gentleman. He possessed bravery and generosity, a taste for poetry and literature, and as he came to an untimely end his memory is cherished by the Deccan Moghuls, to whom he is known partly by his own writings, but principally from the works of his friend Meer Gholam Ally of Belgram.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Khuzaneh Amirah, Suroo Azad, and Mahratta MSS.

[3] [In the struggle for mastery in southern India, the English supported Nāsir Jang, second son of the late Nizām, for the Nizām's hrone, and Muhammad Alī, an illegitimate son of Anwaruddīn, for the Nawābī of the Carnatic. The candidates favoured by the French were respectively Muzaffar Jang, a grandson of the late Nizām, and Chanda Sāheb.]

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Muzuffir Jung assumed the viceroyalty of the six soobehs of the Deccan by aid of his allies, the French. The traitor Ramdass, a fit instrument for the unprincipled ambition of Dupleix, was raised to the situation of prime minister by the title of Raja Rugonath Dass. Nor must we omit to mention Abdool Rehman, the Dewan of Monsieur Bussy, better known by his title of Hyder Jung. The father of this man, a defaulter of revenue under the Nizam's government at Masulipatam, had on several occasions, when in power, been friendly to the French, and in his distress fled to Pondicherry, where he was protected and treated with much kindness by Dupleix. His son, Abdool Rehman, then a boy, soon acquired the French language, was useful to Dupleix in carrying on his intrigues with Ramdass; and upon the success of them, accompanied Bussy when he marched with Muzuffir Jung: he was soon styled the French Dewan, and received from the new made Nabob the title of Hyder Jung. But the Patan Nabobs, dissatisfied at not receiving all they had expected by the death of his predecessor, conspired against Muzuffir Jung,

A.D. 1751. who, although victorious, fell in action in the end of January, 1751. Sulabut Jung, third son of Nizam Ool Moolk, was chosen to succeed him.

Ballajee Bajee Rao, on the plea of requiring money to assist his ally Ghazee-ud-deen, demanded a contribution from Syud Lushkur Khan,[1] then Governor of Aurungabad, the secret friend of Ghazee-ud-deen, which, on pretence of coercion, Syud Lushkur Khan levied to the amount of fifteen lacks of rupees. On obtaining this supply, the Peishwa proceeded to the banks of the Kistna in order to oppose Sulabut Jung, who, attended by the French corps under Monsieur Bussy, was advancing towards Hyderabad. The armies had scarcely come in sight of each other when news from Satara, of an alarming nature, was received by the Peishwa, in consequence of which he closed with the first overtures made by Sulabut Jung, and returned to the westward with the utmost expedition.[2]

Tara Bye, when the Peishwa departed to Aurungabad, sounded Ram Raja in regard to his assuming the control usurped by his servant Ballajee Bajee Rao, but not finding him fit for her purpose, she pretended to have had no serious intentions in the proposal,

[1] Or Rookun-ud-dowlah.
[2] Mahratta MSS., Orme, Khuzaneh Amirah, &c.

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but dispatched messengers to Dummajee Gaekwar, representing the unprotected state of the country and recommending his immediate march to Satara, to rescue the Raja and the Mahratta state from the power of the Bramins. This request was immediately acceded to, and Tara Bye, as soon as certain accounts were received of Gaekwar's approach, invited the Raja into the fort of Satara and made him prisoner. She then reproached him with his want of spirit; regretted that 'she had ever rescued him from a life of obscurity, for which only he could have been destined; declared that he could not be her grandson or the descendant of the great Sivajee; that he was neither a Bhonslay nor a Mohitey, but a base born Gonedulee,[1] changed in the house where he had been first conveyed; that she would make atonement on the banks of the holy Kistna for ever having acknowledged him.' She ordered the havildar to fire upon his attendants, most of whom, unconscious of what had happened, remained near the gate of the fort; and she directed the guns to be pointed at the houses in the town below, belonging to the partisans of the Concanee Bramins. Trimbuck Punt, commonly called Nana Poorundhuree, Govind Rao Chitnees and the officers in the Peishwa's interests at Satara, were at first disposed to ridicule this attempt as that of a mad old woman, but on hearing of the approach of Dummajee Gaekwar from Sonegurh,

[1] Gonedulees are a low cast of musicians, in the house of one of whom Raja Ram had been first concealed. [The Gōndhalīs (Gonedulees) take their name from the *gōndhal* (from Marāthi *gondharne*, 'to make a noise'), a dance in honour of the goddess Bhavānī, and style themselves sons or devotees of the goddess. Supposed to have come originally from Tuljāpur in Hyderābād State, they are now found in various parts of the Deccan, particularly in Sātāra District and Kolhāpur State. They appear to be ethnically akin to the Marāthā Kunbī, and differ little from the latter in dress and appearance. Though occasionally begging in the name of Bhavānī, their chief occupation is *gōndhal*-dancing, and the singing of religious, historical, or amorous songs, called *powadas*. They also perform *tamāshas*, or rude plays, before the lower classes, in which songs describing the exploits of Bhavānī and other goddesses are sung. The investiture of their boys with a sacred necklace of cowries is a custom peculiar to them. With the spread of education the Gōndhalīs are said to be relinquishing their hereditary calling, and their ballads which frequently related historical events with almost Biblical simplicity, are being forgotten. A specimen of one of these *powadas*, describing the *satī* of Rāmabāi, widow of Mādhu Rāo Pēshwā, is given in *J.B. Anth. S.*, ii. 179. (See also Acworth's *Marāthi Ballads*; *J.B. Anth. S.*, i. 371; and Russell, *T. and C.C.P.*)]

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they quitted the town and assembled troops at the village of Arla on the banks of the Kistna. On the advance of Gaekwar by the Salpee Ghaut, although they had twenty thousand and their opponent only fifteen thousand men, they made an irresolute attack and retired to Neemb ; where they were next day followed up, attacked, and defeated by the Guzerat troops. Dummajee Gaekwar immediately went to pay his respects to Tara Bye ; and several forts in the neighbourhood were given up to her. Satara was well stored with provisions, and the Pritee Needhee promised to aid her cause. It was the intelligence of these proceedings which recalled the Peishwa ; but before he returned, Nana Poorundhuree had redeemed his lost credit by attacking and compelling the army of Dummajee Gaekwar to retire to Jore Khora, where they expected to be joined by the Pritee Needhee from Kurar and by troops from Guzerat. In this hope, however, they were disappointed ; and as Shunkrajee Punt, Soobehdar of the Concan, was assembling troops in their rear, whilst the Peishwa's army, which had marched nearly four hundred miles in thirteen days, was close upon them, Dummajee sent a messenger to treat with Ballajee, who solemnly agreed to abide by the terms proposed, and enticed him to encamp in his neighbourhood ; where, as soon as he got him into his power, he demanded the payment of all the arrears due from Guzerat and the cession of a large portion of his territory. Dummajee represented that he was but the Mootaliq of Dhabaray, the Senaputtee, and had no authority for complying with what was required. On this reply, the Peishwa sent private orders to seize some of the family of Gaekwar and of Dhabaray, residing at Tullygaom, and imprison them in the hill fort of Loghur ; whilst at a set time he treacherously surrounded, attacked, and plundered the camp of Dummajee Gaekwar, and sent him into confinement in the city of Poona.[1] The Peishwa next tried to induce Tara Bye to give up the fort and the Raja, but having assembled her garrison, she required an oath from every man that he would stand by her to the last ; such of them, however, as chose, were allowed the option of quitting the fort or joining in the solemn asseveration. Some of the Peishwa's troops became impressed with an idea that she was a Deo (or good spirit), and others, that

[1] In consequence of this treachery, it is said that Dummajee ever after refused to salute the Peishwa, except with his left hand.

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she was a Dyt (or evil spirit), but all the Mahrattas were so strongly of opinion that Tara Bye was the rightful regent, that Ballajee found there was more to be apprehended from proceeding to extremities than leaving her unmolested; although her party, to become formidable, only required a leader of reputation. Perplexing as the affair was in the meantime, the conduct of Tara Bye proved in the end advantageous to the Peishwa, as it took from him the odium of being the first to confine the Raja to the fort of Satara. Tara Bye did not merely confine him to the fort; his prison, which still exists, was a damp, stone dungeon, and his food was of the coarsest grain.

Dummajee Gaekwar was the only person whom the Peishwa dreaded; but as he was a close prisoner at Poona, Ballajee now proceeded towards Aurungabad, in prosecution of his engagements with Ghazee-ud-deen, and wherever Sulabut Jung's authority was acknowledged, he carried on the usual Mahratta plan of contribution or plunder. Monsieur Bussy, who was the principal adviser in directing the movements of the Moghul army, was himself at the head of a battalion of five hundred Europeans and a body of five thousand disciplined Sepoys, and, as the best means of repelling these aggressions, recommended that the war should be carried into the Mahratta country. Sulabut Jung advanced accordingly to Ahmednugur, where he deposited his heavy stores and baggage, whilst Raja Rugonath Dass, his prime minister, opened a communication with Tara Bye [1] and also with Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor.[2] The Peishwa and his officers were not prepared for this unexpected plan of operations, and were proportionally disconcerted on finding their own schemes anticipated. They had intended, by supporting Ghazee-ud-deen or Sulabut Jung according to circumstances, to weaken both; to conquer the whole Deccan; or to obtain large cessions, which, they foresaw, must at all events be granted to them by the one party or the other. To repel Sulabut Jung they had recourse to the Mahratta system, and with forty thousand horse surrounded and attacked the Moghul army in their usual desultory manner; but the French artillery, consisting of eight or ten field pieces, galled them severely, and the Moghuls, supported

[1] Original letter from a spy in the service of Tara Bye to Govind Rao Chitnees.

[2] Copy of original letter to the Raja of Kolapoor.

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by this powerful auxiliary, advanced towards Poona, totally destroying every village in their route. The Peishwa, alarmed at their progress, endeavoured to negotiate; and at the same time to augment dissension and jealousy, which had already become considerable among Sulabut Jung's officers in regard to the views of the French. Monsieur Bussy, as the best means of counteracting such schemes and securing his influence, exerted himself with judgment and energy. On one occasion he planned an attack on the Mahratta camp, and chose the night of the 22d November, at the moment of an eclipse of the moon,[1] when the Hindoos are employed in devotional exercises. The whole Mahratta army fled before him, and some valuable booty was taken, particularly some gold utensils belonging to the Peishwa. This exploit, although the Mahrattas sustained very little loss,[2] made a great impression, and had perhaps more effect in raising the reputation of Bussy amongst the natives of India, than affairs of moment, where he displayed much ability and decision.

The Mahrattas, although surprised, appeared in the course of the ensuing day as active as ever, but the Moghuls continued to advance, plundered Ranjangaom, and totally destroyed Tullygaom (Dumdairay). At last, on the 27th November they were attacked by the Mahrattas in the most determined manner, and nothing but the French artillery prevented a total defeat. The Mahrattas on this occasion were led by Mahadajee Punt Poor-

[1] [According to Hindu belief an eclipse is caused by a demon, Rāhu, swallowing the sun or moon, and people must avoid pollution for the period of the eclipse. Food and drink taken during an eclipse possess poisonous properties, and people must therefore abstain from them while the eclipse lasts. They bathe at the end of the eclipse, to rid themselves of the pollution caused by the supposed decease of the planet. In Madras, people beat drums in the hope of scaring away the demon, and the belief in the calamitous character of an eclipse is so strong that no marriage takes place during the month in which an eclipse falls. See Crooke, *P.R. and F.L.*, i. 18–23.]

[2] The Mahratta army was encamped at Rajapore, on the bank of a river, which I am inclined to think is Rajapore on the Ghore river, not far from the spot which was long a cantonment of the Bombay army. Only one man of any consequence was wounded, Baboo Rao, the son of Rammajee Punt Mahdoo Bhanoo, by a cannon ball in the foot; from this circumstance, and the Mahrattas not having suffered materially, it is evident that their account is correct, and that the surprise was incomplete; if the French had got close they would have used grape or cannister, which, independent of the still more destructive musketry, would have *told* both on the men and horses.

undhuree, the late Dewan, supported by two of the sons of Ranojee Sindia, Duttajee and Mahadajee, and Koneir Trimbuck Yekbootee. The last-mentioned person performed feats of valour, obtained the distinguishing appellation of Phakray,[1] or the heroic, and from that day bore a silver bangle on his horse's leg, which among Mahrattas implies that the rider is always to conquer or die.[2] This success did not prevent the advance of the Moghuls, but on their arrival at Korygaom on the Beema, a spot which was afterwards to become so famous to the British arms, Raja Rugonath Dass, in consequence of overtures from the Peishwa, had an interview with Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, and an armistice would have taken place, but news arrived that one of the Mahratta officers had surprised the fort of Trimbuck, which the Peishwa refused to restore, and Sulabut Jung insisted on immediately proceeding to retake it. The Moghul army returned to Ahmednugur, to replenish their ammunition and take on their battering guns. They moved towards Joonere, but the Mahrattas constantly harassed them: accounts of difficulties of the road for transporting their guns, and intelligence of Rughoojee Bhonslay's progress to the eastward, conspired with other circumstances to damp the hasty and short-lived ardour of Sulabut Jung. His troops were in arrears and clamorous for their pay, and the more their services were required the more urgent they became: many of the principal officers were discontented, and it was at last determined by Bussy's advice to close with the Peishwa's overtures. An armistice was concluded, and the army of Sulabut Jung returned towards Hyderabad. But the symptoms of disaffection did not cease; Rugonath Dass, the Dewan, was assassinated at Balkee on the 7th April, in a tumult apparently created by the soldiery on account of their arrears.[3]

A.D. 1752.

But whilst these events were passing in the west, the experienced

[1] [The Marāthi word *Phānkda*, or *Phākde*, means 'smart, dashing, fine-spirited, clever, proficient, adept.' (Molesworth's Marāthi Dictionary.)]

[2] This Koneir Trimbuck afterwards led the assault at Hooly Onore and escaped, but was shot through the head when standing with Sewdasheo Chimnajee Bhow, in Monsieur Bussy's batteries, before Savanoor in May, 1756. His relations were handsomely provided for by Jagheer assignments.

[3] Khuzaneh Amirah, Mahratta MSS., Hudeequ-i-Alum, and Tareekh-dil-ufroz,

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Rughoojee, whose operations have been alluded to, was engaged in making those acquisitions which closed his long and active life with great reputation among his countrymen. His anxiety to return from Poona towards Berar in 1750, was owing to apprehended commotions in his own territory, and to his desire of seizing what he deemed a favourable conjuncture for prosecuting his views. His son Janojee, having returned from the army of Nasir Jung, was sent into Kuttack to support Meer Hubeeb and to invade Bengal. That province had been freed from Mahratta ravages for a whole year, but they now returned with a keener desire to possess themselves of its resources; and Aliverdy Khan, seeing no other relief, ceded the whole of the province of Kuttack,[1] as far north as Ballasore, which (**1751.**) was granted in the name of Meer Hubeeb as the nominal deputy of the Nabob of Bengal, but as the real servant of Rughoojee Bhonslay. Meer Hubeeb did not long enjoy the situation thus acquired. Owing to the jealousy of his coadjutor, Janojee, he was, on pretence of having withheld balances of revenue, confined until he should render an account, but unable to brook the disgrace, he rushed out with a few followers upon the guards placed over him and was cut to pieces. Twelve lacks of rupees, in lieu of further claims, was the amount which was settled for the chouth of Bengal and Bahar; but the reason of Rughoojee's accepting a sum so inadequate is found in the events which were passing in the Deccan. As soon as the Peishwa and Sulabut Jung went to war, Rughoojee surprised and took Gawelgurh and Nurnallah; made himself master of Manikdroog; occupied the districts dependent on these forts; and whilst Sulabut Jung, by Bussy's advice, advanced towards Poona, Rughoojee not only laid the whole country between the Payn Gunga and Godavery under contribution,[2] but drove out the Moghul *thannas* and established his own.

Before the succeeding events in the Deccan can be explained,

[1] [The Katak (Kuttack) Province was distinct from the part of Orissa in British hands, which comprised the Midnapur District and part of Hooghly. 'The Marāthās never attempted to establish any civil administration in the province, being content to allow the local chiefs to rule as best they could, subject to the necessity of satisfying, so far as possible, the boundless rapacity of the robber state. Orissa remained under the heel of the banditti until 1803.' (*O.H.I.*, p. 488.)]

[2] Mahratta MSS.

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it becomes necessary to revert to the eldest son of Nizam Ool Moolk, and to those affairs of the Imperial court, in which the Mahrattas were engaged. Ghazee-ud-deen Khan, although desirous of proceeding to the Deccan, had been detained at Delhi since the death of his father, and it seems probable from his commencing the negotiations with the Mahrattas that bribes may have been employed by his brothers, to ensure his being kept there. The Imperial court, soon after the acces-
(1748.) sion of Ahmed Shah, was subjected to a fresh alarm, by intelligence of the return of Ahmed Shah Abdallee towards Lahore, of which, as well as of the province of Mooltan, Meer Munnoo, son of the late Vizier, Kummur-ud-deen Khan, was Governor. Meer Munnoo purchased the forbearance of the Abdallee by the cession of the revenues of four districts; and this expedient left the Vizier, Sufdur Jung, at liberty to follow up certain schemes, which he had in progress against the Rohillas. The growing power and encroachments of these adventurers excited the Vizier's particular jealousy, as they threatened to extend themselves over his own territories in the province of Oude. The death of Ali Mohummud Rohillah, which happened a short time before Sufdur Jung's appointment as Vizier, had afforded him an opportunity of raising dissensions amongst those who pretended to the succession, and during the period when Ahmed Shah Abdallee threatened Lahore, civil war raged amongst the Rohillas.[1] At last, Sadoollah Khan, the third son of Ali Mohummud, by the abilities of Hafiz Rehmut, his guardian, became the successful competitor, and although his two elder brothers, who during the struggle were prisoners amongst the Abdallee, afterwards returned to claim their inheritance, Sadoollah Khan, whilst supported by Hafiz Rehmut, maintained the ascendancy he had gained.[2] But Sufdur Jung, as soon as apprehensions from the Abdallee were tranquillized, marched into Rohilcund, reduced the territory to temporary obedience, and appointed one of his dependants, a Kaeeth[3] named Newul Raee, to be

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen.

[2] Forster's Travels.

[3] [i.e. Kāyasth, the writer-caste of Bengal, whose origin has been the subject of much controversy. They claim to be Kshatrīyas, but by reason of observing the ceremonies of the Sūdras were styled *Vratya*, or incomplete Kshatrīyas. They are probably a functional group, developed in response to the demand for an official and literary class; and this caste of writers and clerks may have included elements drawn

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governor of his new conquests; the Rohillas, however, soon rose upon Newul Raee, whom they defeated and slew. Sufdur Jung, proceeding to punish their rebellion, was also totally defeated, and therefore called to his aid Mulhar Rao Holkar, Jyapa Sindia, and the Jath Prince, Sooruj Mull.[1] With these auxiliaries he soon overran the country of the Rohillas, forced most of them to seek refuge in the Kumaoon hills, and gave up the greater part of their territory as assignments, in lieu of subsidy, to Holkar and Sindia.[2] Whilst Mahratta affairs were in this prosperous state in Hindoostan, their capital in the Deccan was, as we have seen, endangered by the advance of Sulabut Jung. Rugonath Rao, who had proceeded on an expedition to Surat, was recalled; and Mulhar Rao Holkar received the most pressing letters from the Peishwa to repair to the Deccan with or without Ghazee-uddeen. Holkar, then near the Kumaoon hills, immediately on receipt of these letters, moved to the southward, and had crossed the Ganges, when he was informed by the Vizier, and by news from Delhi, that peace had been concluded in the Deccan. Upon this intelligence, Holkar wrote to the Peishwa, stating his readiness to advance to his aid, but that in consequence of these reports he should await further orders.[3] In the meantime, the Vizier, Sufdur Jung, was summoned to Delhi, in consequence of another invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, who on this occasion made himself master of Mooltan and Lahore; the entire cession of which was conferred upon him by the Emperor before Sufdur Jung could reach the capital. Had it not been for this precipitate measure, the Vizier would have used every endeavour to expel the Abdallee, and had engaged Holkar and Sindia as auxiliaries, by promise of great rewards, the more necessary as they were obliged to withdraw their troops from the lately assigned districts.[4]

On this occasion, the Mahrattas, before they evacuated the

from the lower grades of society. The Kāyasths of Behār pride themselves on being distinct from the Kāyasths of Bengal. They also appear to be a functional caste recruited from various grades or classes of society. (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. Calcutta (1892).)]

[1] [Suraj Mal (Sooruj Mull) was the virtual founder of the Bharatpur dynasty, between A.D. 1725 and 1763. He was killed in a skirmish in 1763. The splendid buildings which he erected at Dīg (Deeg) have been described by Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. 1910, vol. ii, pp. 178–81.]

[2] Seyr Mutuakhereen. [3] Mahratta MSS., where his letter is given.

[4] Seyr Mutuakhereen.

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districts, consistent with their usual policy of making the best bargain they can on both sides, are said to have exacted a bond for fifty lacks of rupees from the subjugated Rohillas.[1]

When Sufdur Jung arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital he heard of the irrevocable concession that had been made to the Abdallee, and was therefore at a loss how to employ or compensate his Mahratta auxiliaries[2]; but the Peishwa, who had only concluded an armistice until a favourable opportunity of breaking it should offer, continued to urge the advance of Holkar and Sindia to his support, and carried on a close intercourse with Ghazee-ud-deen, both through Holkar and his own Wukeels at Delhi.[3] It was therefore easy to satisfy all parties, by permitting Ghazee-ud-deen to proceed, accompanied by his Mahratta allies, to try his fortune on that field of adventure, the Deccan.

On the assassination of Raja Rugonath Dass, Sulabut Jung, who was at Hyderabad, sent for Syud Lushkur Khan and Shah Nuwaz Khan, the ablest and most popular men under his government, who were then residing at Aurungabad. Both were inimical to the French, the former secretly, the latter openly; both, however, had latterly endeavoured to obtain the good opinion of Bussy, whose influence over Sulabut Jung was already paramount. By Bussy's advice Syud Lushkur Khan was raised to the office of Dewan, and Shah Nuwaz Khan was made Soobehdar of the province of Hyderabad. Syud Lushkur Khan was intimately connected with the Mahrattas, and secretly favoured the cause of Ghazee-ud-deen. When positive accounts reached Sulabut Jung that Ghazee-ud-deen was on his route to the Deccan, Syud Lushkur Khan had the address to persuade Sulabut Jung and Bussy, that by his resigning his situation as Dewan and pretending to go over to the Mahrattas, he should be able, from his influence with many of their chiefs, to induce a great number of them, either to join Sulabut Jung as allies or to remain neutral in the quarrel. Shah Nuwaz Khan was accordingly appointed to act as Vizier, whilst Syud Lushkur

[1] Forster's Travels. The Mahratta MS., in this part, merely says that Holkar interceded with the Vizier for the Rohillas, and made peace between them: the writer of a Mahratta MS. would probably leave the article of the bond, or some equivalent, to be understood as a thing of course.

[2] Seyr Mutuakhereen.

[3] Mahratta MSS.

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Khan proceeded to the residence of Janojee Nimbalkur at Kurmulla.[1] On the approach of Ghazee-ud-deen the Peishwa moved towards Burhanpoor. Syud Lushkur Khan and Janojee Nimbalkur had an interview with him, at which Syud Lushkur Khan, as if the envoy of Sulabut Jung, began by stating that his master had received letters from the Emperor, from which it appeared that Ghazee-ud-deen was merely to proceed to Aurungabad, settle the government in his own name, appoint his brother deputy, and return to Delhi. The Peishwa, however, perfectly understood that he intended to join Ghazee-ud-deen, and wished to obtain his support; but, however desirable it might be to have a fit minister at Hyderabad in his own interest, he was sensible of the abilities of Syud Lushkur Khan, and doubtful of what might be his conduct when he obtained power. He nevertheless wrote to Ghazee-ud-deen respecting these overtures. The letter was referred to his ministers, Syud Ashkar Khan and Mohummud Anwar Khan, who, dreading Syud Lushkur Khan more as a rival than an enemy, desired the Peishwa to detain both him and Nimbalkur, and bring them on to camp.[2] When the whole army, joined by the Peishwa and the Moghul troops from Burhanpoor, who declared for Ghazee-ud-deen, arrived in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men.

Sept. 12.

Whilst both sides were preparing for the campaign as soon as the rains subsided, negotiations began on the part of Sulabut Jung; and circumstances appeared which rendered it as impossible to deny the validity of the elder brother's title from Delhi, as his undoubted claim by priority of birth. In the meantime, the Peishwa required, and obtained, from Ghazee ud-deen, on behalf of himself and his officers, the entire cession of the territory west of Berar, from the Taptee to the Godavery.[3] There seemed to be a prospect of settling the claims of all parties, when Ghazee-ud-deen in an evil hour accepted an invitation to an entertainment provided in the city, partook of a poisoned dish prepared by the hands of the mother of Nizam Ally, and expired the same night.[4]

[1] Mahratta MSS. and Khuzaneh Amirah.

[2] Mahratta MSS., Hudeequ-i-Alum, Khuzaneh Amirah, Orme.

[3] Mahratta MSS., Khuzaneh Amirah, &c.

[4] Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme following a common, but certainly an unnatural supposition, states that he was poisoned by his own

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Sulabut Jung was thus left without a rival, and became desirous of withholding the cessions yielded by his brother to the Mahrattas; but having once admitted the validity of Ghazee-ud-deen's appointment, the whole Mahratta power being now collected, supported by Mohummud Anwar Khan and the Burhanpoor chiefs, whose safety for the time lay in making common cause with Ballajee Rao, Bussy saw that it was both consistent and necessary to avoid war, and the alienation of the provinces in question was confirmed by Sulabut Jung on condition that Rughoojee Bhonslay withdrew his garrisons beyond the Payn Gunga, with which he immediatelv complied.

A.D. 1753.—After peace was thus restored, the Mahratta armies proceeded to their respective territories—Holkar and Jyapa Sindia to Hindoostan, and the Peishwa to Poona. Syud Lushkur Khan was reinstated as prime minister, and Sulabut Jung departed for Hyderabad. On the route to that place M. Bussy was taken ill, and was obliged to proceed to Masulipatam on the sea-coast for the recovery of his health. Syud Lushkur Khan took that opportunity of weaning Sulabut Jung from Bussy's influence, and in the course of a few months artfully detached the French corps and contrived to carry Sulabut Jung to Aurungabad, preparatory to the entire removal of Europeans

mother, a mistake which may perhaps have arisen from not being aware that all Nizam Ool Moolk's sons were by different mothers, except Ghazee-ud-deen and Nasir Jung, who were full brothers. Colonel Wilks mentions that the poison was administered by the mother of Sulabut Jung; and Mr. Mill, without adverting to the relative situations of Aurungabad and the Moghul capital, because the author of the Seyr Mutuakhereen is better informed regarding the affairs of Delhi, and because the murder of Ghazee-ud-deen was favourable to the French, accuses both of patriotic credulity, and rejects the story of the poison. That the fact is not stated in Persian MSS. is easily accounted for; the authors wrote under the government of Nizam Ally, of whose mother, whether true or false, but especially if true, such a story would have cost them their lives. The Seyr Mutuakhereen may be cited as written far beyond the stretch of his power, but its information is avowedly derived from the works of Meer Ghoolam Ally, written in the Deccan.

The author of the Seyr Mutuakhereen, in some extracts regarding the Mahrattas, seemed to me to misunderstand the Khuzaneh Amirah, but as I never saw the entire original of the former, the supposed errors may be those of the translator, not of the author. [Waring (*A History of the Mahrattas*, London, 1810, p. 148) accepts Orme's statement that Ghāzī-ud-dīn died of poison 'given him by his own mother.']

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from his territory. Bussy's illness was long and severe, but as soon as he could travel, he collected his troops and repaired to Aurungabad, where he procured the dismissal of Syud Lushkur Khan and the appointment of Shah Nuwaz Khan as minister.

The excuse made for detaching his corps was the difficulty of raising funds, which was obviated for the future by territorial cessions on the east coast, consisting of Sicacole, Rajamundree and Ellore.[1] M. Bussy placed a body of one hundred and fifty Europeans and two thousand five hundred Sepoys to protect his new acquisitions, the gross revenue of which was afterwards extravagantly estimated by the French at upwards of thirty millions of rupees.[2] Bussy farmed the revenues to Vijyaram Raje, a principal Deshmookh, who had recommended himself by his ability. The rent was moderate, enforced without rigour, accurate accounts were prepared, and most of the hereditary officers, if not those possessing rent-free lands, were confirmed in their property. Facts which do Bussy and his nation great honour.[3]

The Peishwa had no sooner made the arrangements immediately necessary for the occupation of the districts ceded to him, and their appropriation amongst the chiefs, than he prepared a large force for an expedition into the Carnatic. The troops of Mysore were engaged as allies of the French in the well-known war of Coromandel, and the period was so favourable for recovering arrears of tribute, that he on that account deferred other plans which he had projected on the side of Guzerat. But before he took his departure in person, Ballajee endeavoured to pave the way for effecting a compromise with Tara Bye. During his absence at Aurungabad, she had occupied the districts of Waee and Satara, aided by five or six thousand Mahrattas and

[1] Orme, Hudeequ-i-Alum, Khuzaneh Amirah.

[2] Orme.

[3] Grant's Political Analysis. The native historians do not agree with Mr. Grant respecting the French management of the northern Circars, but his authority is quite conclusive. [The northern Circars (properly, Sarkārs) comprised the modern districts of Guntūr, Godāvarī, Kistna, Ganjām, and Vizagapatam. The country had been so devastated that the actual revenue realizable was not large (*O.H.I.*, p. 477). The expression 'The Circars,' i.e. 'governments,' was first used by the French in the time of Bussy, another name for the tract being the *Carling* or *Carlingo* country, apparently a corruption of *Kalinga*. Chicacole is now Vizagapatam, while Rājāmandri and Ellore are included in the modern Godāvari district.]

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Ramoosees, whom she had entertained in her service. A large force was therefore sent to invest Satara and starve her into submission. Anund Rao Jadow, the havildar of the fort, convinced of the folly of resistance, had formed a design of carrying the Raja out of her power, but the circumstances coming to her knowledge, she ordered him to be beheaded, a sentence which the garrison executed on their own commander, as well as several others subsequently implicated in a like scheme. Baboo Rao Jadow, a person unconnected with the late havildar and a relation of the Jadows of Sindkheir, was appointed to the command of the fort. The Peishwa, on his way to the Carnatic, sent to assure Tara Bye that if she would submit, the control of the Raja's person and establishment should remain at her disposal; but to this proposal Tara Bye would not listen unless Ballajee Bajee Rao would come to Satara, acknowledge her authority, and give such personal assurances as should satisfy her on the subject.

A.D. 1754.—The expedition into the Carnatic was the most profitable, in regard to the recovery of tribute, of any in which Ballajee Rao had been engaged. When the Mahrattas proceeded beyond their boundary, to collect revenue and to make war were synonymous; whenever a village resisted its officers were seized and compelled by threats, and sometimes by torture, more or less severe, to come to a settlement; ready money was seldom obtained, but securities from bankers, with whom all the villages had dealings, were preferable, as they were exchanged by the holders for bills payable in any part of India. When the garrisons of fortified places made an unsuccessful resistance they were put to the sword.[1] On the present *Moolkgeeree* (such was the name given to these expeditions), Hooly Onore was taken by storm,

[1] [Sir Thomas Munro (Gleig, *Life*, ii. 14) wrote: 'The Mahratta Government, from its foundation, has been one of the most destructive that ever existed in India. It never relinquished the predatory spirit of its founder, Sewajee. That spirit grew with its power; and when its empire extended from the Ganges to the Cavery, this nation was little better than a horde of imperial thieves. All other Hindoo states took a pride in the improvement of the country, and in the construction of pagodas, tanks, canals and other public works. The Mahrattas have done nothing of this kind; their work has been chiefly desolation. They did not seek their revenue in the improvement of the country, but in the exactions of the established *chout* from their neighbours, and in predatory incursions to levy more.' This and other evidence is given in *O.H.I.*, pp. 637, 638, q.v. See also J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 1919, pp. 479–90.]

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and the Peishwa was bought off from attacking Seringapatam by a sum of money; whilst professions of attachment and submission, and promises of greater regularity in the future payment of the Mahratta claims, were also tendered on the occasion. Ballajee Rao, content with this success, returned with his cousin Sewdasheo Chimnajee to Poona in the month of June, and his brother Rugonath Rao, as soon as the rains abated, set off, accompanied by Duttajee Sindia and Sukaram Bappoo, on an expedition to Guzerat.

In regard to the history of that province, it has been already mentioned that Nujeem-ud-Dowlah, Momin Khan, was appointed by an order from the Imperial court to the charge of its government, on the removal of Abhee Sing in 1735. Nizam Ool Moolk was reappointed Soobehdar of Guzerat in 1737, when he returned to Delhi; it proved, however, but an empty honour, as the confusion of the period left nothing but nominal authority to the Emperor in Guzerat. Baroach, which Nizam Ool Moolk had assigned to himself as one of the districts of his personal jagheer, when he superseded Hyder Koolee Khan, was held by an officer named Abdoollah Beg, as Foujdar, under the government of Sur Boolund Khan, but when the latter was superseded by Abhee Sing, Abdoollah Beg placed himself under the authority of Nizam Ool Moolk, from whom he received the title of Nek Alum Khan, and neither acknowledged Abhee Sing nor admitted the pretensions of the Mahrattas.

In the meantime, Momin Khan had been endeavouring to establish his authority, but the deputy of Abhee Sing, a native of Marwar named Ruttun Sing Bhandaree, continued to dispute the possession of Ahmedabad, until at last Dummajee, after making a treaty and exchanging turbans with Momin Khan, sent a force along with him, under an agent named Rungajee, to expel Ruttun Sing. They were repulsed in an assault, but Ruttun Sing at last capitulated. Rungajee and Momin Khan obtained possession of Ahmedabad about the 20th of May, 1737,[1] and an equal share of the authority and the revenue was assigned

[1] [The *I.G.* (1908) gives the year as 1738. The city was divided between Momin Khān and Rangojī, whose joint rule lasted for fifteen years (1738–53). The Marāthā share comprised the southern portion of the city and the command of the Rāykhad, Khān Juhūn, and four other gates. (*B.G.*, iv. 257.)]

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to the Moghuls and the Mahrattas, which, as might have been expected, occasioned constant disputes.

Dummajee continued to levy all the usual Mahratta dues in Guzerat undisputed, and an annual tribute from Kattywar, until the death of Momin Khan in February, 1743. Abdool Uzeez Khan, then at Aurungabad in the Deccan, was appointed his successor by an imperial *firman*, and immediately began to raise troops. After he had got together a few thousand men, he departed to assume the charge of his new government; passed Surat, and arrived near Baroach; but he was suddenly attacked at Oklaseer by Dummajee, or one of his relations, and his party totally destroyed. Abdool Uzeez Khan was never after heard of, and Futih Yab Khan, the supporter of Nasir Jung's rebellion, was among the killed. Fukhir-ud-Dowlah was then sent from Delhi to take charge of Ahmedabad in 1744. At that period Dummajee was obliged to repair to Satara, until the dispute with Rughoojee Bhonslay and the Peishwa was settled; but a detachment of his troops, under his agent Rungajee, opposed Fukhir-ud-Dowlah and prevented him from obtaining possession. Khundee Rao Gaekwar, taking advantage of his brother Dummajee's absence, made several important changes, removed Rungajee from Ahmedabad, and appointed an agent of his own in his stead. He also gave some support to Fukhir-ud-Dowlah, but Dummajee speedily returning dissolved their connection before it proved injurious to the Mahratta cause, by giving up to Khundee Rao the fort of Boorsut, the valuable district of Neriad, and appointing him his deputy at Baroda. Dummajee, by this judicious management, preserved an ascendancy over the numerous members of his own family, which was probably more difficult than other obstacles in maintaining his power in the province. He would not acknowledge Fukhir-ud-Dowlah, but supported Fidaee-ud-Deen' Khan, the brother, and Mohtuffir Khan, the son of his old friend Momin Khan, in the government.

The precise period when Dummajee Gaekwar obtained a share of the revenue and customs of the town and port of Baroach has not been ascertained[1]; but in 1747 Kedarjee, the cousin of

[1] [It appears to have been shortly after 1742 that Damājī Gaekwār made a demonstration against Broach, which was then held by an agent of the Nizam. As a result of this action he obtained a share of the revenue and customs. (*I.G.* (1907), vii. 33.)]

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Dummajee, was invited to take a share in disputes among severa competitors for authority in Surat, and was by one party promised three lacks of rupees as the reward of his assistance. He accepted this offer, but the object having been effected without his interference and the stipulated payment refused, he began to plunder the country in the vicinity. Syud Acheen, the person who had entered on the agreement, having no other means of satisfying him, offered one-third of the revenue of Surat until the amount should be liquidated, a proposal which Kedarjee, at Dummajee's desire, accepted. Great disturbances continued to prevail in Surat when Dummajee was a prisoner at Poona, and this was one of many reasons which made Dummajee so anxious to procure his liberty. The Peishwa was desirous of effecting a general arrangement in Guzerat; but before he would listen to Dummajee's overtures he bound him down by the strongest securities. He fixed a sum of fifteen lacks of rupees as an acquittance for the amount then due, which was far from immoderate; but the lenity of the Poona government is accounted for by a bribe of one lack of rupees, which was paid by Dummajee to Ramchundur Baba Shenwee for himself and his master, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. The Peishwa also exacted a bond for an equal partition, both of the districts then held by the Gaekwar family in Guzerat and of all future conquests. Dummajee agreed to give up half the territory, and, after deducting his expenses, to render a fair account of half the surplus in all situations where tribute, shares of revenue, contributions, or prize property were realized. Dummajee also engaged to maintain ten thousand horse and to assist the Peishwa when necessary; to pay, as the Mootaliq of Dhabaray Senaputtee, an annual tribute of rupees five lacks and twenty-five thousand for his share of the Guzerat province; to contribute annually a certain sum for the support of the Raja's establishment; to aid the Peishwa in establishing garrisons in the districts ceded by this agreement; and finally, to join in enforcing their mutual claims to tribute over the whole peninsula of Guzerat. But, until a convenient period of fulfilling these conditions, Dummajee, though no longer closely confined, was kept a prisoner at large, attended by a guard of Ballajee's confidential troops.[1]

[1] The amount originally paid by Dummajee is invariably stated, both in Persian and Mahratta MSS., at upwards of a crore, or ten

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Of the port of Surat, which was still accounted the chief emporium on the west of India, the Peishwa was very desirous of obtaining complete possession, and, at the time of the above agreement with Dummajee, was, as will be hereafter noticed, engaged for that purpose in negotiations with the English, who had views in the same quarter.

In 1751, in hopes of obtaining possession of it without the intervention of allies, Rugonath Rao was sent to Surat, but he was, as has been mentioned, recalled to the Deccan before his object could be effected. His second expedition, which brings us to the period at which we had arrived, was undertaken with the more extensive view of completing those general arrangements comprehended in the settlement with Dummajee; whose release appears to have taken place a short time previous[1] to the march of Rugonath Rao, as he joined him with his army soon after he entered the province, and they proceeded together, levying tribute and reducing the country. Their progress was not interrupted until their arrival before the city of Ahmedabad. During Dunmajee's confinement, Juwan Murd Khan Babey,[2] an officer originally appointed to the

A.D. 1755.

millions of rupees; but the above is extracted from the state accounts found at Poona. Besides the annual payment of 5,25,000 rupees, it appears by these accounts that Dummajee Gaekwar paid, during the time he was at Poona in the season of 1752–53 nuzurs and exactions amounting to 1,10,000 rupees; of which one lack was equally divided by the Peishwa, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, Ramchundur Baba Shenwee and Gopika Bye Rastia, the Peishwa's wife. Nana Poorundhuree got 5,000 rupees, and 5,000 rupees probably went amongst the inferior servants. In the ensuing year he paid, in all, 7,90,000 rupees.

[1] It is generally stated that Dummajee was not released until he gave up Dubhoy to Rugonath Rao; but he was in Guzerat, and had prepared his troops by the time Rugonath Rao arrived, as appears by an original letter in the possession of Mulhar Ram Rao Chitnees at Satara.

[2] [The first Bābi (Babey) entered Hindustan with Humāyun, and under Shāh Jahān, Bahādur Khān Bābi was made *Faujdār* of Tharad. His grandson, Jāfar Khān, obtained the *faujdāri* of Rādhanpur and three other districts; and Khān Jahān, son of Jāfar Khān, received the title of Jawān Mard Khān and was made Governor of Rādhanpur, Pātan, Vadnagar, Visalnagar, and other districts. His son, Kamal-ud-dīn Khān, usurped the governorship of Ahmadābād after the death of Aurangzeb, during the incursions of the Marāthās, and may perhaps, like his father, have held the title of Jawān Mard Khān. A branch of the Bābi family established itself at Junāgadh in 1738, and at Bālāsinor in 1761. (*I.G.* (1907), xxi. 23.)]

charge of the Moghul quarter by the brother of the deceased Momin Khan, had usurped the whole power of the city, but he permitted Dummajee's collector to realize his master's dues. When the Mahrattas arrived at Ahmedabad, Juwan Murd Khan Babey happened to be absent at Pulhanpoor, but hastening back he was just in time to save the city from being carried by escalade. A new spirit was communicated to the garrison by his presence, and both the siege and defence were maintained with great resolution. Wittul Sewdeo, the ancestor of the great Jagheerdars of Vinchoor,[1] here greatly distinguished himself, and Naroo Shunkur, the person who built the strong fort of Malygaom[2] in Candeish, was one of the most active of the assailants, having under his command a large body of Arab infantry. The conduct of Juwan Murd Khan Babey procured him an honourable capitulation, and on condition of his giving up the city, Puttun, Burnugur, Radunpoor, Beejapoor, and several other districts north of Ahmedabad, situated between the Saburmattee and the Bunass, were conferred upon him in jagheer; but about ten years afterwards, Dummajee took the greater part of these districts from him.

Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat, was finally taken possession of by the Mahrattas, in April, 1755.[3] The revenue was to be

[1] [Vinchur (Vinchoor) lies in Nāsik District, between Nāsik and Chandvad (Chandor). The estate which formerly comprised forty-five villages in Nāsik District, six in Ahmadnagar, and two in Poona, now contains twenty-six villages only in Nāsik District, half the estate having lapsed to the British Government in 1892. Vithal Shivdev, the founder of the family, was originally the Kulkarni of Nigdi village in Sātāra District, and was one of the few Deshasth Brahmans who attained eminence under the Pēshwās, who were Konkanasth Brahmans. He fought under Chimnājī Appā, and distinguished himself at the siege of Bassein. At the time of the British conquest of the Pēshwā's dominion, the affairs and estates of the family were managed by a distant connexion, Bālobā, who accompanied Bājī Rāo II to Bithūr. The present chief ranks as a first-class Sardār of the Deccan, and enjoys a rental of Rs. 37,000. (*I.G. Bom.*, i. 484, and Forrest, *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), i. 698.)]

[2] [Mālegāon (Malygaom) is now the headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Nāsik District, situated 154 miles north-east of Bombay. During the Pindārī war Mālegāon was occupied by Arab troops, and was captured by a British force in May 1818. It served for many years as a cantonment for British troops. (*I.G. Bom.* 1909, i. 477.)]

[3] Meerat Ahmudee; but the date which that work gives, viz. April, 1753, is incorrect. I take the date from the Mahratta accounts;

equally divided between the Peishwa and Gaekwar, but the whole garrison was furnished by the Peishwa, except one gateway which was occupied by the troops of Dummajee; the latter, however, paid six thousand rupees annually to assist in defraying the expenses. An officer named Sreeput Rao was left as the Peishwa's agent in Ahmedabad; when Rugonath Rao, having taken leave of Dummajee at Baroda, proceeded with Duttajee Sindia to Hindoostan, where he was joined by Khundee Rao, the only son of Mulhar Rao Holkar. They overran Ajimere, levied the chouth and surdeshmookhee in the imperial territory, and insisted on receiving tribute from friend and foe. The Rajpoot states were compelled to pay a contribution, and the Jaths also yielded an acknowledgment, although they resisted the demand and repulsed an attack on the fort of Kombhere,[1] in which Khundee Rao Holkar was killed. Rugonath Rao did not return to the Deccan till 1756.[2]

Whilst the Peishwa's arms were thus successful to the northward, in November, 1754, another expedition from Poona proceeded to the Carnatic and levied contributions as far as Bednore. The Peishwa accompanied the army to Eroor on the Kistna, where he gave over the command to Mahadajee Punt

and since writing the above I have been confirmed in my belief of its correctness, by observing that General Walker, formerly resident at Baroda, repeatedly mentions in his reports to the Bombay government that Ahmedabad was taken by Rugonath Rao and Dummajee in 1755. [The *O.H.I.* (p. 352) states that the Marāthās occupied Ahmadābād in 1758; but according to the *I.G. Bom.*, 1909, i. 256, the combined armies of Damājī and Raghunāth Rāo gained possession of the city in 1753; the Marāthās lost it to Momin Khān II in 1755–6, and eventually retook it finally in 1757. The *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, pt. i, pp. 340–2, states that Momin Khān surrendered the town on February 27, 1758, which appears to be the correct date of the final capture by the Marāthās.]

[1] [Kumhēr (Kombhere) is the headquarters of a *tahsil* in Bharatpur (Bhurtpore) State, Rājputāna, about eleven miles north-west of Bharatpur. The town was founded by one Kumbha, a Jāt; and the palace and fort were built by Mahārāja Badan Singh about 1724. Khandē Rāo Holkar's cenotaph, which was erected by his widow, Ahalya Bāi, at the village of Gangarsoli, three miles to the north of Kumhēr, is still maintained by the Indore State. (*I.G.* (1907), xvi. 22.)]

[2] I was less successful in recovering materials for elucidating the history of Rugonath Rao's expedition, after he quitted Guzerat, than I could have wished, especially as I think there must be some records of it in Hindoostan or Malwa, more satisfactory than anything to be found in the Deccan.

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Poorundhuree, and returned on a pilgrimage to the source of the Godavery, where the waters of the Ganges are supposed to emerge every thirteenth year, and where many thousands of Hindoo devotees repair for the purpose of bathing in the sacred stream.[1]

Ballajee Bajee Rao was naturally of an inactive disposition, and as he had agents on whom he placed dependence, habitual indolence was a natural consequence. The principal military arrangements were entrusted to his brother Rugonath Rao, whilst the whole weight of the civil administration devolved on his cousin Sewdasheo Chimnajee.[2] The system of village government had always preserved the country from total anarchy, and some protection was now afforded from that general system of plunder and violence, which had been universal for a period exceeding the life of a man. The commencement of a system of order is ascribed to Ramchundur Baba Shenwee, and after his death Sewdasheo Rao Bhow improved on his suggestions.

In regard to events in the eastern part of the Mahratta dominions in the Deccan, the most important was the demise of Rughoojee Bhonslay, which, after his great success in the war against Sulabut Jung, happened in the month of March, 1753. He divided his territory amongst his four sons, Janojee, Sabajee, Moodajee, and Bimbajee; the two elder sons, Janojee and Sabajee were born of the younger wife, and the two younger sons Moodajee and Bimbajee, born of the elder wife, were nephews of the late Ranee of Satara, Suckwar Bye Sirkay. Rughoojee, however, left the supremacy to Janojee, with the certain prospect of being confirmed as Sena Sahib Soobeh by the Peishwa. Rughoojee,

[1] The period is termed Shewhurst, or frequently Singust, especially by Europeans. [The *Sinhast* festival takes place when the planet Jupiter enters the sign Leo of the Zodiac, on the completion of its twelve years' cycle. Ceremonial bathing at certain sacred places is the chief feature of the festival, these places being Pushkar in Ajmēr, Ujjain in Central India, Allahābād in the United Provinces, Nāsik (i.e. the neighbourhood mentioned by Grant Duff) in Bombay, and Kumbhakonam in Madras.]

[2] [In Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), vol. i, pt. i, p. 121, is a statement by John Spencer that 'the affairs of the government pass wholly through the hands of his (Nāna's) cousin Sādobā (i.e. Sadāshivrāo), who acts as Diwān, and is a man of great capacity in business, but, as you (Bourchier) observed to us, hasty and avaricious.']

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with his last breath, recommended to his sons the advantage of preserving union in the Mahratta empire, and amongst each other; but precept, however solemn, carries no such weight as the most common experience. In the course of one month Janojee was compelled to reduce his brother Moodajee to obedience by force of arms, and owing to the time lost in operations, he was prevented from receiving his title and investiture until the Peishwa's return from the Carnatic.

Encouraged by Janojee's approach to Poona, and on assurances of safety and protection from the Peishwa, Tara Bye, leaving the garrison of Satara, and the custody of the Raja's person to Baboo Rao Jadow, repaired to the Peishwa's capital, accompanied by Bimbajee Bhonslay, the youngest brother of Janojee, who had attached himself to her party and married one of her relations of the Mohitey family. At Poona, Tara Bye was received with so much attention and consideration that she agreed to the Peishwa's proposals, as formerly made, provided he would promise to accompany her to the temple of Jejoory,[1] and there solemnly swear to abide by his present declarations. The Peishwa acquiesced, on condition that Baboo Rao Jadow should be dismissed, to which Tara Bye reluctantly consented. Taking advantage of her obstinate temper, he gained his end of keeping the Raja a prisoner by pretending a great desire to see him released.

Ram Raja was a prince deficient in ordinary ability, and the miserable thraldom he underwent, during a long confinement, under the circumstances we have described, entirely broke his spirit and ruined his health.

Janojee Bhonslay, having agreed to the terms before subscribed by his father of furnishing ten thousand horse when called upon, for the service of the state, and of paying nine lacks of rupees annually to defray the expenses of the Raja's establishment, obtained formal investiture as Sena Sahib Soobeh, and the concurrence of the Peishwa to those articles concluded with Aliverdy Khan, in regard to Orissa, in 1751. He then took his departure for Berar, carrying with him Bimbajee, whose relationship to the Sirkays, and his new connection with the Mohitey family, excited jealous apprehension at the court of Poona.

[1] [This indicates the great respect in which the god Khandoba was held by Marāthās. See Introduction, *ante*, p. li.]

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Janojee, on his route to the eastward, levied the tribute of Ghasdana, both from the Mahratta and Moghul territory. This exaction excited the resentment of Sulabut Jung, on which Janojee began to plunder his districts; but being attacked by a very inferior force under a Moghul officer, who took his Dewan prisoner, he was compelled to restore a great part of his plunder and to retire to Nagpoor.[1]

It was probably when smarting under this disappointment and disgrace that he accepted an invitation from Jaffeir Ali Khan, the dispossessed Soobehdar of Sicacole and Rajamundree, to invade those districts, which he laid waste and for a short time plundered with impunity, until troops were assembled to repel him. He then sent off an escort with his plunder; and to ensure its safe retreat, maintained a partial engagement with the troops of Vijyaram Raje, the Zumeendar who rented Sicacole and Rajamundree from M. Bussy. The Zumeendar was supported by a body of French troops, but Janojee secured the object for which he fought, and the booty reached his own territories in safety.[2]

Affairs at Delhi were not long exempted from Mahratta interference, owing to the dissensions of the court, which arose to a height greater than ever. Meer Shahabodeen, the son of the late Ghazee-ud-deen, bore a conspicuous part in the troubles and crimes of the period. This youth, on the news of his father's death, pretending to be absorbed in grief, a garb which wickedness frequently assumes, interested the Vizier so much in his apparently melancholy situation that he obtained for him all his father's honours, the title of Ghazee-ud-deen,[3] and the post of Umeer Ool Oomrah. But no sooner were his ends attained than he perfidiously conspired to ruin his benefactor, assisted to obtain the office of Vizier for Intizam-ud-Dowlah, the husband of his aunt,[4] and finally brought on a civil war between the late Vizier and the Emperor. This war continued, in and about the capital, for six

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Orme.

[3] Meer Shahabodeen is frequently mentioned by his father's title of Ghazee-ud-deen, but to prevent confusion I shall retain his original name.

[4] Intizam-ud-Dowlah was married to the sister of Meer Munnoo, and was the son-in-law, not the son of Kummur-ud-deen Khan, as mentioned in the Seyr Mutuakhereen.

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months. Sufdur Jung, at the end of that time, relinquished the contest and retired to his own territory at Lucknow.

During these troubles, Meer Shahabodeen, who audaciously took the lead, had called to his aid Mulhar Rao Holkar and Jyapa Sindia, but they, arriving after the departure of Sufdur Jung, Meer Shahabodeen carried them with him to act against Sooruj Mull, whom he wished to punish for joining the late Vizier. The Jath Prince retired within his forts, but Meer Shahabodeen persevered in his plan and applied to the Emperor for a train of artillery. Intizam-ud-Dowlah, however, being aware of the unprincipled disposition of his relation, as well as of his talents and ambition, notwithstanding the services capriciously rendered to himself, dissuaded the Emperor from sending the guns; an advice which was supported by strong political remonstrances from Sooruj Mull. To counteract these representations, Meer Shahabodeen sent an agent to Delhi, but he, finding the Emperor disposed to follow the advice of the Vizier, enticed away a number of the soldiers belonging to the artillery, and began to plunder the environs of the capital. The Emperor, intending to succour Sooruj Mull, moved out from the city against Meer Shahabodeen and the Mahrattas. Mulhar Rao Holkar, who regarded Jyapa and Shahabodeen as young men whom he was not bound to consult on such occasions, without intimating his design, set off by himself, came upon the Imperial camp when totally unprepared, threw a few rockets, which created such confusion, that the whole army fled in terror, and Holkar gained all the advantages of a victory by the plunder of their baggage. Meer Shahabodeen on this success joined Holkar at Delhi, and obtained from the Emperor the office of Vizier for himself, to the exclusion of Intizam-ud-Dowlah. He next deposed the Emperor, raised a grandson of Jehandar Shah to the Imperial dignity, by the title of Alumgeer the Second, in the end of May, 1754, when the unfortunate Ahmed Shah was confined and deprived of sight. This revolution was soon after followed by the death of the former Vizier, Sufdur Jung, who was succeeded by his son Shujah-ud-Dowlah in his government at Oude.[1] Violence, rapine, and

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen. English Records. [Safdar Jang was the honorary title of Mansūr Alī Khān, who was Vazīr of the Emperor Ahmad Shāh from 1748 to 1752, and practically King of Oudh. Sleeman (ed. V. A. Smith, 1915, p. 506–7) gives a description of his tomb

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anarchy continued to increase in Hindoostan; but affairs of greater interest carry us back, for a series of years, to the detail of Deccan affairs directly connected with the history of Maharashtra.

which 'in the editor's judgement is a very poor attempt to imitate the inimitable Taj.' Fergusson's praise of the building is also qualified (footnote, p. 507). But for a more favourable appreciation of the tomb, see Crooke's note on p. 292 of his edition of Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmauns*, Oxford University Press, 1917. Mansūr Alī Khān died in 1754.]

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CHAPTER XIX.

FROM A.D. 1755 TO A.D. 1756.

A.D. 1755.—THE civil administration at the Mahratta capital continued under the management of Sewdasheo Chimnajee. The Peishwa remained at Poona for nearly a year, and during that time, by the assistance of the English in the manner hereafter explained, his troops had reduced a part of Angria's country, including the important fortress of Severndroog. After the monsoon the Mahratta army in the Concan was strengthened, in expectation of further aid from the Presidency of Bombay, but whilst the preparations were going forward the Peishwa's presence was again required in the Carnatic. Muzuffir Khan, an officer who had commanded M. Bussy's sepoys and had gone over to the Peishwa in 1752, accompanied the army sent by the Peishwa in the preceding year into the Carnatic, under Mahadajee Punt. Having taken offence at some interference in the muster of his corps, he quitted the Peishwa's service and proceeded to Seringapatam, but afterwards joined the Nabob of Savanoor. As the Nabob refused to give him up, and was supported by his old allies the Ghorepurays of Gootee and Sondoor, the Peishwa assembled a great army, which was augmented by the junction of Janojee Bhonslay with his contingent of ten thousand horse; the whole force crossed the Kistna, took Bagulkote, and then proceeded to attack Savanoor. The prime minister of Hyderabad, Shah Nuwaz Khan, who was at this time, for a special purpose, in secret league with the Peishwa, observing this formidable assembly of troops on the part of the Mahrattas, with well dissembled alarm collected troops for the avowed purpose of forming an army of observation on the Kistna. Wukeels were in due form sent by the Peishwa to declare his pacific intentions, and to solicit aid against the Nabob of Savanoor, the subject of Sulabut Jung; whose conduct he represented

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as hostile to both states, and his power, if not instantly crushed, of a nature to threaten the subjugation of the Carnatic. Sulabut Jung and Monsieur Bussy having been brought to accede to an alliance, the Moghul army marched to assist the Mahrattas, then besieging Savanoor.[1] Leaving the combined army engaged in these operations, it is fit to revert to the affairs of the Concan, and the expeditions against Angria; for although, to the Mahrattas, the transactions on the west coast appeared, and comparatively were, insignificant, they acquire an importance, because they explain the first continental acquisitions of the English in Maharashtra, of which the whole population are now subjects of Great Britain, or politically under its control.

A.D. 1756.

(1750.)—Mr. Richard Bourchier,[2] on the 24th November, 1750, announced to the Peishwa that he had succeeded to the government of Bombay and its dependencies on the 17th of the same month; and from that period a more intimate intercourse commenced between the Mahrattas and the English. They had for some years been mutually desirous of settling Surat and suppressing the depredations of Toolajee Angria. Ballajee Bajee Rao, on the first service he had seen in the year 1740, was impressed with a high idea of the English, from their conduct when they relieved Mannajee Angria at Kolabah. The warfare in the Carnatic had greatly contributed to raise their military reputation, and their fidelity to their master (as Mohummud Ally was termed), whose cause they had once embraced, had much effect in raising their national character in the minds of the natives of India.

Ballajee had early promised to assist Mr. Bourchier in restoring order in Surat, where, from the weakness of the Moghul Government, there were three or four authorities, besides the agents of Dummajee Gaekwar and the English factory. Seedee Musaood, an officer of the Seedee of Jinjeera, who had command of that part of the Seedee's squadron whose proper duty was to protect the trade of Surat, having part of the revenue assigned for that sole purpose, was a principal cause of the many broils which took place in that city. The English at Bombay had always main-

[1] Mahratta MSS., Khuzaneh Amirah.

[2] [Bourchier held the office of President (Governor) until February 28, 1760.]

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tained a friendly intercourse with the Seedees of Jinjeera,[1] because theirs was the only territory in the vicinity from which they could procure beef for supplying their ships. In other parts of the Mahratta coast, cows and bullocks were sacred; for to prey on human flesh would not be more revolting to the feelings of a European, than eating beef to the prejudices of a Hindoo. Seedee Musaood had taken advantage of the distractions in Surat, and the confusion in the government at Jinjeera, virtually to throw off his dependence on all authority; and like most of the African race, who have attained power in India, he was overbearing in his deportment and tyrannical in his behaviour.

The depredations of the pirates on the coast were still continued; for although Sumbhajee Angria was dead, and Mannajee remained in nominal obedience to the Peishwa and generally pacific towards the English, Toolajee, who had succeeded to the territories of his half-brother Sumbhajee, situated between Bancoote and Sawunt Waree, disavowed the Peishwa's authority, and seized and plundered all ships not bearing his own passport, which he could overpower. The Raja of Kolapoor and the Sawunts of Waree followed a like system; and by the English were indiscriminately termed Malwans[2]; a name given to them from the fort of Malwan, or Sindeedroog, which commanded the principal fort on their coast, and belonged to the Raja of Kolapoor.

The war which took place between the Mahrattas and the Moghuls, subsequent to the murder of Nasir Jung, prevented the Peishwa from effecting the settlement in Surat. An agreement was made with the English for their co-operation against that place, through Ramajee Punt, Sur-soobehdar of the Concan, at the time when Rugonath Rao was recalled to assist in the war against Sulabut Jung. This derangement of their plan was a great disappointment to the Bombay Government, after the expectations they had formed, and therefore,

(**1751.**)

[1] [In 1735 the Bombay Council advanced a loan of Rs. 30,000 to the Sīdī; in 1737 they enlisted Sīdī troops for the defence of Sion fortress; and in 1746 after the declaration of war against France and Spain, Captain Sterling was sent to Janjīra to treat with the Sīdī for the enlistment of two hundred men. A year later Sīdī Masūd was permitted to enlist troops in Bombay, and was supplied by the Company with eight iron guns for his *grab* (galley). (*B.C.G.*, 1909, ii. 96–7.)]

[2] [Compare the name 'Malabars' given by early English writers (Fryer, p. 68) to the pirates of the Malabar coast, who in turn gave their name to Malabar Hill, Bombay.]

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that their expensive preparations might not be abandoned without some effort, they entered into an agreement,[1] independent of the Mahrattas, with Nek Alum Khan, Nabob of Baroach; but the scheme proved unsuccessful.

The occupation of Guzerat, the siege of Ahmedabad, and the Carnatic expeditions, prevented the Peishwa from joining to reduce Surat, or from co-operating in attacking Toolajee Angria, until the beginning of the year 1755. The Mahrattas (**1755.**) had then a short interval of leisure, and the Presidency of Bombay, when unexpectedly called on in the month of March, although such an expedition was to them in the highest degree desirable, began to start difficulties respecting the lateness of the season, though these objections may have been purposely raised, as they certainly made the Mahrattas more urgent in their application. Ramajee Mahdeo Furnuwees, the Sur-soobehdar of the Concan, was deputed by Ballajee to settle a plan of operations and conclude the agreement. The Council, although they had no King's ship at Bombay, resolved to make the attempt, and Commodore James, of the Company's Marine, was selected for the command of the expedition, which consisted of a forty-four gun ship, a ketch of sixteen guns, and two bomb vessels. Six or seven articles were subscribed by the contracting parties, by which the English were to have the command of the marine, but mutual approbation was necessary in the conduct of all operations. The vessels that might be taken from Angria were to be divided by the captors, but the guns and stores were to belong entirely to the Peishwa. Bancoote with the fort of Himmutgurh, and the sovereignty of the river on which it stands, with five villages, were to be ceded in perpetuity to the English. But the President and Council seem to have considered these stipulations as pledging them too far, and therefore one of the articles guardedly states that the English only engage to keep the sea and prevent Angria's fleet from throwing succours into the northern forts of Severndroog, Anjenweel and Jyegurh.

The strongest forts which Toolajee Angria possessed were Severndroog and Viziadroog. The latter, as already mentioned, was better known in those days by its Moghul name of Gheriah. On account of the approaching monsoon it was deemed inexpedient to reduce Gheriah, or any of the forts south of those three

[1] Bombay Records, November, 1751.

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specified in the articles. The small squadron under Commodore James sailed from Bombay harbour in the evening of the 22d March. A wanton delay on the part of the Mahratta fleet enabled Angria's vessels at Severndroog to avoid the English ships. Commodore James, after a fruitless chase as far as Jyegurh, returned to Severndroog, where he commenced operations on the 2d April; stood close under the fortifications, and by noon of the fourth day from the commencement of the attack, was in possession of the four distinct forts of which Severndroog consists, without the loss of a man: an achievement, which from the previous idea entertained of the pirate Angria, and the strength of the fortifications, was matter of surprise even to those who accomplished it. The whole success was justly attributed to the vigour and judgment of Commodore James, and the resolution of his handful of troops and sailors. The Peishwa's fleet never ventured within gunshot, and Naroo Punt, the Carcoon of Sebundees[1] who commanded, being unaccustomed to the sea, although he had headed several assaults on land, behaved in the most dastardly manner. Shumsher Buhadur, the Peishwa's half-brother, was sent down from Poona with a body of troops, to reinforce Ramajee Mahdeo, and several of the forts in the neighbourhood of Severndroog surrendered to him. Elated by his success, the Mahrattas pushed on to Rutnaguiry, but the stay of the ships was limited to the end of April, and although subsequently directed, at the Peishwa's earnest solicitation, to continue till the 15th of May, the season was too far advanced to permit of their acting with effect, owing to the heavy swell which is caused by the setting-in of the southerly winds, about a fortnight before the rains. Commodore James finally returned to Bombay on the 18th May.[2] Severndroog was punctually made over to the

[1] [The word is derived from Persian *sihbandī* (*sih*, 'three'), and is supposed to mean 'three-monthly, or quarterly, payment.' It was applied to irregular native soldiery, a sort of militia or imperfectly disciplined troops for revenue or police duties. The last official appearance of the title is in the E. I. Register down to July 1869, where it is applied to 'the *Sebundy* Corps of Sappers and Miners' at Darjeeling. (Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Crooke (1903), p. 805.)]

[2] [Commodore James had already returned once after the fall of Suvarndrug on April 27, 1755; but the Home Board having had pressing letters from Nānā (the Pēshwā) and his generals, asking that he should assist them in reducing Ratnāgiri, they reluctantly

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Mahrattas; but Bancoote,[1] by the wish of the English, was not given over till after the ensuing October, when they got possession. The reason of requiring this cession was to obviate that dependence on the Seedee, which has been explained. The Peishwa was assured by Mr. Bourchier that the assistance he desired should be granted at the opening of the season, when the expected arrival of the King's ships from the opposite coast, under Admiral Watson, would place more powerful means at his disposal.

Before that time, however, the Presidency obtained aid on which they had not calculated, by the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Clive with a large detachment[2] of soldiers from Europe. The French establishments in the Deccan had created a jealous alarm in England, and it was there projected to send a force to Bombay, with the view of entering into an alliance with the Mahrattas, which had for its object the expulsion of the French from their districts in the Deccan and from the service of Sulabut Jung. The articles of the truce agreed to by Mr. Saunders and Monsieur Godeheu in the preceding year, on the coast of Coromandel, precluded, in the opinion of the Bombay Government, the employment of this force on its original destination, until accounts should be received from Europe, approving or annulling the articles in question.[3] The Madras Presidency were of a contrary opinion, but on this subject their arguments and their whole design certainly more resemble the sophistry and artifice of a Dupleix[4] than the strong straightforward sense, which

consented to send him there. Commodore James fired a few shells into the place, but finding it impossible to effect any good, finally returned, in accordance with the orders of the Bombay Council, on the date mentioned by Grant Duff. (*B.C.G.*, ii. 104; Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), Introduction, p. viii.)]

[1] [Bānkot proved serviceable in providing hemp ropes, then in much demand for lashing cotton bales, but was chiefly of value to the English as a place from which European and Muhammadan residents of Bombay might be supplied with beef. (*B.G.*, x. 231.)]

[2] [Clive's detachment consisted of three companies of the King's Artillery. Clive had gone home to England in 1753. Admiral Watson's squadron sailed from England in 1754.]

[3] Letters from Mr. Bourchier to Mr. Pigot, 25th September, 1755. Bombay consultations, 21st January, 1756. Letter to the Court of Directors, 31st January, 1756.

[4] [For a succinct and careful estimate of Dupleix's character see *O.H.I.*, pp. 482–3.]

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distinguished the general conduct and deliberations of that government.[1]

The Governor of Bombay, in consultation with Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, resolved to seize the opportunity afforded by the presence of so large an armament, to reduce Toolajee Angria. A commission, consisting of Mr. Hough, one of the members of council, Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, was invested by the Governor in Council with powers to conclude all necessary arrangements and agreements, according to instructions with which they were furnished. Three ships of the line, one ship of fifty, and another of forty-four guns, with several armed vessels belonging to the Bombay Marine, amounting in all to fourteen sail, proceeded in the month of February on this expedition, having on board eight hundred European soldiers and one thousand native infantry.[2]

Since the month of November, a body of the Peishwa's troops, under Khundoojee Mankur, had been successfully employed against Toolajee Angria, and had, with the exception of Gheriah, reduced the whole of his forts along the coast to the northward of that place. No loss of any importance was sustained by them in the attacks, but at Rajapoor, one of the places which they took, after they had got possession, three hundred men were killed by an accidental explosion, owing to the careless manner in which the Mahrattas expose their gunpowder. When the

A.D. 1756. English armament appeared off Gheriah, Toolajee repaired to the Mahratta camp for the purpose of making the best terms he could: Ramajee Punt[3] and Khundoojee Mankur were negotiating for the surrender, which was deemed by the British authorities a violation of the agreement concluded in the preceding year; and therefore, in order to prevent their obtaining possession, Admiral Watson attacked the sea face on the 12th February, whilst Colonel Clive, landing with the troops the same night, invested it on the land side, so as to prevent the

[1] Dispatch from the Madras Government to Bombay, 30th November, 1755.

[2] [The *B.C.G.* (1909), ii. 104, states that Admiral Watson's fleet consisted of 12 men-of-war (6 of the Royal Navy and 6 of the Company's Marine), 5 bomb-vessels, 4 Marāthā *grabs*, and 50 *gallivats*. Aboard were 800 European troops, a c[illegible] y o[illegible] King's Artillery, and 600 native troops. The fleet sailed f[illegible] on February 7, 1756, and arrived off Gheria on February 11.]

[3] [i.e. Rāmājī Mahādev Farnavīs, the Sar-Subhā[illegible]r of the Konkan.]

Mahrattas from having communication with the garrison. If the Mahratta authorities intended to possess themselves of Gheriah in the manner hoped, which from several circumstances as well as their known character is more than probable, the British authorities might be deemed justifiable in anticipating them; but on this point and their subsequent attempt to keep the fort, the evidence is not so satisfactory as to allow our countrymen the merit of a decision entirely correct, or a disinterestedness wholly unimpeachable. Ramajee Punt had intimated, on the arrival of Admiral Watson, that he was in treaty, and promised to come on board for the purpose of obtaining the sanction of the Commissioners. He did not come at the time appointed, and his Carcoon had the assurance to offer Mr. Hough a bribe of any sum, on condition that he could get the Admiral to suspend operations. The Admiral, therefore, was certainly justified in commencing the attack; but it appears that the property contained in Gheriah was well known, and a committee of ten officers, of which Admirals Watson and Pocoke, Mr. Hough and Colonel Clive were members, had, before they left Bombay harbour, agreed to share the whole prize property, without reference to their allies.[1] If the Mahrattas had intelligence of this proceeding, they had an equal right to anticipate the English. Ramajee Punt, when he found Colonel Clive had occupied a position between him and the fort, perceived what was intended, and endeavoured to get in a few of his men by any means. With this view he made secret overtures to Captain Andrew Buchanan, the officer on picket, offering him a bill on Bombay for eighty thousand rupees, if he would permit him and a few of his people to pass into the fort, an offer which was rejected as became a British officer, but it is a circumstance worthy of notice, as elucidating the character of the times, that the Bombay Government thought common honesty so rare as to present Captain Buchanan with a gold medal, in consideration of his extraordinary good behaviour.

[1] Copy of their proceedings on the Bombay Records. The other officers who signed these proceedings were Captains Knowles, Latham, Speke, and Harrison, of the navy; Major Chalmers and Captain Skeddy of the military service. [It appears that, under the King's regulations, Clive was only entitled to the same share of the prize as the captain of a ship, but Admiral Watson generously consented 'to give the Colonel such a part of his share as will make it equal the Rear-Admiral Pocock's' (Pocoke). (*B.C.G.* (1909), ii. 105.)]

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Gheriah surrendered to Admiral Watson on the evening of the 13th February.[1] During the bombardment, a shell thrown amongst Angria's fleet, which lay at some distance up the river, burst in the *Restoration*, a vessel Angria had taken from the Bombay Government, set her on fire, and the flames rapidly communicating, his whole fleet, in the course of an hour, was totally destroyed. The captors of Gheriah declared that the Mahrattas had no right to share in the prize property, and divided about ten lacks of rupees, according to the plan agreed upon before they weighed anchor. Toolajee Angria's family were taken in the fort. Toolajee was also taken, put in irons, and thrown into one of the Peishwa's hill-forts near Raigurh.

The President and Council on obtaining possession of Gheriah were unwilling to relinquish it. They wished to give back Bancoote in exchange for Gheriah; but this offer the Mahrattas peremptorily refused, and urged their right in the clearest manner to its unreserved surrender, according to the articles of the agreement. The Peishwa, in the course of his representations, made repeated applications to Madras and complaints to the King of England; but to all these remonstrances Mr. Bourchier declared that the articles had been infringed by the Mahrattas, that they had not fixed the limits of the Bancoote cession, that Toolajee Angria had not been delivered up to them, and, worse than all, that the Peishwa had contracted for a supply of goods from the Dutch. This last objection alluded not to the agreement made by Ramajee Punt, but to that settled with the Raja Shao, through the agency of Chimnajee Appa, in 1739; the two first were evasive, the last did not relate to the point in question. Mr. Bourchier even condescended to present five thousand rupees to the Carcoon of Ramajee Punt, in order to induce him to persuade his master to accede to the exchange, and he agreed to waive the question of Toolajee Angria, on the simple assertion of the Mah-

[1] [The flag in Gheria was struck at 6.25 p.m.; an officer and sixty men marched into the fort and took possession; at 6.36 p.m. the English flag was hoisted. On February 14 Clive marched in with all the land forces, and then dispatched a vessel to Bombay to announce the capture of the fort and the complete destruction of Angria's fleet. (*Selections from State Records* (1885), p. viii.) The losses on the British side were not more than twenty killed and wounded. About 250 'pieces of cannon' were taken, with much other valuable booty. For full details see Ives, *A Voyage from England to India*, &c., London, 4to. (1773), pp. 83–6.]

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rattas that he should be well treated and never receive any territory within forty miles of the sea. In one respect they kept their word: Toolajee Angria, after long endurance of rigid captivity in the fort of Wundun near Satara, was removed to the fort of Sholapoor, where he died. Two of his sons made their escape twelve or fourteen years after their capture, and were protected at Bombay during the government of Mr. Crommelin.

In the early part of these discussions, the Peishwa was employed at Savanoor. When he was urging Sulabut Jung to enter on that expedition, in order to excite the jealousy of Bussy and blind his usual penetration with regard to the design which was in progress, Ballajee Rao wrote to the Presidency of Madras for a supply of European artillery-men and guns. The members of that government were not quite certain who this Ballajee Rao was; 'but as according to the best information they could obtain, he was said to be the head of all the Mahrattas,' they agreed to assist him, if he would send a detachment of his army to meet and escort their troops to his camp.[1] The Peishwa's whole object consisted in the application, and there the matter of course dropped. The army of Sulabut Jung having joined the Mahrattas, Bussy, than whom no Frenchman better knew the art of display, prepared his artillery, and in the face of the two armies, amounting to one hundred thousand men, opened a fire on Savanoor, so heavy and efficacious as to intimidate the garrison and excite the lasting admiration of the besiegers. Prior to this the Peishwa, through the agency of Bulwunt Rao Mendlee,[2] one of his own officers, had contrived to detach the Ghorepurays from the alliance,[3] and Moorar Rao, in consequence, it is said, of his former engagements with the French, procured the interposition of Bussy in his favour with the government of Sulabut Jung,[4] of which this Mahratta chief was, it will be recollected, a dependant.[5] The Nabob of Savanoor[6] was admitted to terms, and on giving up a

[1] Letter from the Madras government, 14th April, 1756.

[2] One MS. states that Ghorepuray made his peace through the agency of Holkar.

[3] Mahratta MS. supported by a copy of a letter found in the Poona Records, from the Peishwa to Bulwunt Rao Gunput Mendlee, which alludes to his agency on that occasion.

[4] Wilks.

[5] Upon the surrender of Trichinopoly to Nizam Ool Moolk in 1743, he was confirmed as Jagheerdar of Gootee.

[6] [The founder of the Savanūr (Savanoor) family was a Pathān,

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part of his territory, and making due submission to Sulabut Jung and the Peishwa, a reconciliation took place. Muzuffir Khan was entertained, probably at first secretly, in the service of Sulabut Jung, and Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, with his own and the Sondoor Mahrattas, returned to Gootee in the month of May.

A considerable part of these arrangements was preparatory to the secret scheme contemplated by the Peishwa [1] and Shah Nuwaz Khan, of compelling the French to quit the Deccan. Shortly after the fall of Savanoor it was intimated to M. Bussy that the services of his corps were no longer required by the Soobehdar of the Deccan. This unexpected communication at once laid open to Bussy the extent of the machinations against him, and he took measures for counteracting them with admirable prudence and decision. Few Europeans in India have been placed in greater difficulties than those which were surmounted by M. Bussy on this occasion. His corps consisted of two hundred cavalry and six hundred infantry, all Europeans, five thousand sepoys, and a fine train of artillery, enough to have made the whole army of the Deccan pay dear for their treachery; but Bussy knew the influence of the deserter Muzuffir Khan over some of his oldest sepoys, and had great reason to doubt their fidelity. He was surrounded by a host of enemies, in a part of the country where he was an entire stranger, and he at once adopted a plan which divided his enemies, secured his retreat, and enabled him to recover his power at the court of Sulabut Jung. He accepted his dismissal from the service, demanded passports to Mausulipatam,

Abdul Kauf Khān, who obtained in 1680 from Aurangzeb the grant of a *jāgīr* comprising Bankāpur, Torgal and Azamnagar or Belgaum, with a command of 7,000 horse. In 1730 the family, as deputies of the Nizam, received additional territory, which the Pēshwā seized in 1747. In 1786 Tipū Sultān, with whom the Nawāb was connected by marriage, stripped him of much territory; but the Nawāb, allying himself with the Marāthās, regained a part of it, and obtained from the Pēshwā a pension of Rs. 10,000 a month. The modern Savanūr State, with an area of 70 square miles, forms part of the Dhārwār District, Bombay, and represents the territory which was confirmed in the Nawāb's possession at the close of the last Marāthā war. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 501.)]

[1] The scheme, if we are to credit the evidence obtained by Mr. Spencer, who was at Poona, as an envoy from Bombay, a few months afterwards, originated with the Mahratta court, and the whole intrigue was managed by Amrut Rao, the Wukeel of Bulwunt Rao Mendlee.

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and marched straight to Hyderabad, where, immediately
June 14. on his arrival, he occupied some strong buildings and prepared for defence.

After he quitted the allied camp, his design having been suspected, a detachment was sent in pursuit of him, accompanied by six thousand of Sulabut Jung's Mahrattas under Ramchundur, the son of Chunderseyn Jadow, and Janojee Nimbalkur (Rao Rumbha) of Kurmulla, but Bussy effected his purpose with little loss. One of his first acts, on discovering the conspiracy, was to write off an account of his situation to Pondicherry and Mausulipatam, where the French authorities used every possible exertion to reinforce him. He also expected a body of six hundred recruits, Arabs and Abyssinians, whom he had enlisted at Surat, but Janojee Nimbalkur, hearing of their approach, intercepted the party and killed fifty of them, before they submitted as prisoners.

Shah Nuwaz Khan was with Nasir Jung, when he lost his life in the Carnatic, and although he had dissembled his enmity, he was never reconciled to the French. He had a better opinion of the English nation, and at his suggestion an application was made to Madras for a body of troops to assist in expelling Bussy. That Presidency would have taken advantage of an offer which accorded so entirely with their views, but the disastrous account of the capture of Calcutta, on the 20th June, by Shujah-ud-Dowlah,[1] Nabob of Bengal, the grand nephew and successor of Aliverdy Khan, arrived at Madras in July, and obliged the English to send every disposable man to recover their lost settlement and avenge the fate of their murdered countrymen.

In the meantime, Bussy maintained his post at Hyderabad against the army of Sulabut Jung, and contrived to secure in his

[1] [The Nawāb (Nabob) of Bengal was Sirāj-ud-daula, *alias* Mīrzā Muhammad, the grandson of Allahvardī Khān. Shujā-ud-daula was the Nawāb Vazīr of Oudh, whose power was broken by the British at the battle of Buxar in 1764. Sirāj-ud-daula succeeded to the Nawābī of Bengal in 1756, when he was about twenty-nine years of age. His capture of Calcutta is notorious for the Black Hole tragedy, and for the death from disease of many of the British who escaped from Calcutta to Falta. Calcutta was recaptured by Clive and Watson in 1757, and Sirāj-ud-daula was finally defeated at the battle of Plassy on June 23 of that year. Before Watson and Clive sailed for Bengal, the Madras government had dispatched a force of 240 men to relieve Calcutta, nearly all of whom died at Falta from the effects of the climate. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 488–9, 491–4, and *Add. and Corr.* to *O.H.I.* under heading 488 n.) See footnote on page 426, *ante*.]

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interests Ramchundur Jadow and Janojee Nimbalkur, the principal Mahrattas in the Moghul service. They did not oppose the advancing reinforcements from Mausulipatam, and although great efforts were made to cut them off, the troops joined Bussy in the middle of August.[1]

A reconciliation with Sulabut Jung immediately took place, and Bussy for the time attained greater power than ever. Muzuffir Khan was not surrendered to the French, as Bussy desired but he was dismissed from the service, and shortly after appeared at Poona, where, on making humble apologies to the Peishwa and many promises of future good behaviour, he was again entertained, contrary to the advice of Sewdasheo Chimnajee.[2]

The Peishwa returned to Poona on the 20th July, and in a conciliatory letter announces that event to Mr. Bourchier; begs of him to send some gentlemen to Poona, for the purpose of settling several points of importance, but requests that Gheriah may be immediately restored. He also informs the Governor of an unsuccessful attack by the Portuguese upon the fort of Ponda[3];

[1] I have here gone more into events already well known than may appear altogether necessary, but having deviated in some degree from Mr. Orme's account, and considerably from that of Colonel Wilks, where my authority is less clear than, under such difference of opinion, I could wish, I shall submit my reasons to the judgment of the reader. Colonel Wilks states that the Peishwa made overtures to Bussy the day after he quitted the camp, and adduces arguments, which, without evidence, do not appear to me satisfactory on this point. The Madras Presidency were apprehensive that the French might enter Ballajee Rao's service, as appears on the Bombay Records, but on what grounds is no where explained. Colonel Wilks also states that the Peishwa sent a corps to protect Bussy; but the Mahrattas who followed him seem to have been entirely Moghul subjects. There is another point of some importance, as it regards a person whose character has always excited attention. Colonel Wilks mentions that M. Bussy was obliged by circumstances to take post at Hyderabad. If the fact be so it greatly detracts from M. Bussy's reputation. His great merit on that occasion certainly was, as a politician, in exerting the influence he had acquired, to maintain his post, facilitate the march of the reinforcement, and preserve opinion in his favour. If he intended to retreat to Mausulipatam, why was one of his first steps to write off for reinforcements both to Pondicherry and Mausulipatam? Had Bussy continued his march to Mausulipatam he could not have forced his way back to Hyderabad.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] [Ponda was originally seized from the Marāthās in 1741 by the Viceroy of Goa, the Marquis de Lourical, but was subsequently recaptured in 1750. The Portuguese Viceroy who lost his life in 1756

an attempt made, as afterwards appears, for the purpose of deterring the Mahrattas from the projected conquest of Goa, contemplated by Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. The Portuguese viceroy lost his life at Ponda by the misbehaviour of his troops, but other events prevented the Mahrattas from attacking Goa. Mr. Bourchier, amongst the arguments used to induce the Peishwa to take back Bancoote in exchange for Gheriah, lays great stress on its advantageous situation as a barrier to the Mahrattas against the Portuguese. Ballajee in reply does not conceal his contempt for that nation, and artfully parries the argument by hinting at an effectual method of obviating the necessity of a barrier, by at once assisting to expel them.[1]

As soon as the weather permitted, Mr. John Spencer, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Byfield, both members of the Bombay Council, proceeded to Poona according to the Peishwa's request. Although Mr. Spencer was junior to Mr. Byfield, the executive part of the mission was committed to him, and he conducted it with ability. He had a long interview with the Peishwa in the beginning of October, at which Rugonath Rao and Sewdasheo Rao Bhow were present.[2] By that time the restoration of Bussy's influence at the Court of Hyderabad was known, and the Peishwa was sincere in a desire he expressed of obtaining the services of a body of English troops. But Mr. Spencer was instructed by the President in Council, who acted upon fresh orders from the Court of Directors, to evade any solicitation of this nature that might be made, and to decline entering upon the engagement for which troops had been sent out in the preceding season; a scheme which was therefore never communicated to the court of Poona. Mr. Spencer told the Peishwa of the application, which the Madras Presidency had received from Sulabut Jung, for a body of English troops to assist in expelling the French, a connection of which Ballajee Rao unreservedly expressed his disapprobation.

Oct. 12.—A treaty was concluded with the Peishwa at Poona on the 12th October. The exclusion of the Dutch from the trade of the Mahratta dominions; the surrender of Gheriah within

was the Count of Alva. Ponda again fell into the hands of the Portuguese, when Haidar Alī invaded the dominions of the King of Sōnda in 1764.]

[1] Original letters, Bombay records.

[2] Mr. Spencer's report of his mission in the Bombay records.

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twenty-four days after the departure of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Byfield from Poona; and the cession of ten villages, including Bancoote with the sovereignty of its river, to the East India Company, are the substance of eighteen articles of which the agreement consists. The Peishwa also consents to waive all claims on the Honourable Company up to the date of the treaty; to give Toolajee Angria no territory below the Ghauts; to settle an equivalent with the Seedee for one-fourth of the customs levied by him from the vessels in Bancoote river; and to exact no additional inland duties on English merchandize.[1]

[1] English Records. This treaty was published in the appendix to the 5th Report from the Committee of Secrecy.

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CHAPTER XX.

FROM A.D. 1756 TO A.D. 1760.

A.D. 1756.—As soon as the rains subsided, Rugonath Rao was sent into Hindoostan, accompanied as before by Sukaram Bappoo, as his Dewan, and joined by Mulhar Rao Holkar.

A.D. 1757. The Peishwa prepared a large army which was destined for the Carnatic under his own command, but he did not cross the Kistna before the ensuing February.

In his negotiation with the Bombay Presidency, the paramount object of Ballajee Rao was the possession of Gheriah; that obtained, as he had waived all claims on the East India Company, he still pretended a right to the recovery of the treasure and stores carried off as prize by the captors. He again addressed a letter to the King, and forwarded it, as before, through the Madras government. His letter to that Presidency, accompanying the address to his Majesty, was not couched in the strain of frankness and cordial friendship he had assumed to Mr. Spencer; a change which is the first indication of European politics in any degree influencing the conduct of the Mahrattas. It was occasioned both by the renewal of war between Great Britain and France, in the month of May preceding,[1] and by the late misfortunes and still uncertain state of affairs at Calcutta. This policy was adopted, not probably with any hope of restitution, but preparatory to demands for chouth and surdeshmookhee from the Moghul provinces of the Carnatic-Payeen-Ghaut, in which the English had now so direct an interest.

Sixty thousand Mahrattas appeared before Seringapatam in the month of March, and demanded an enormous sum as arrears

[1] [This was the Seven Years' War, which commenced on May 17, 1756. The Comte de Lally was selected by the French Government to direct operations against the English in India, and arrived in Pondicherry in April 1758.]

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of tribute. On their march to that capital the independent principalities south of the Kistna had all, except the Nabob of Kurpa, made suitable submission, and the Ghorepurays attended their countrymen with a body of six thousand horse. As Nunjeraj, the minister of the Mysore state, who had usurped the powers of the administration, declared his inability to pay the contribution demanded from Seringapatam, a battery of thirty cannon was opened against it by Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, under the direction of Muzuffir Khan. Negotiation was for a time at an end, but a shot having struck the top of the Hindoo temple of Runga Swamy, and a gun happening at the same instant to burst in the battery, which killed several of the men who worked it, the circumstance was accounted ominous by both parties; a compromise ensued, by which the Mahrattas agreed to take thirty-two lacks of rupees, instead of a much larger sum demanded in the first instance.[1] Five lacks of rupees were immediately paid in money and jewels, and districts assigned, in trust, for the remainder. The Peishwa next intended to retake the districts of Sera, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor and Kolhar; to which the Mahrattas could claim a right since the days of Shahjee, although they had been successively wrested from Venkajee and his successor of the house of Tanjore. The district of Sera was occupied, but on the approach of the monsoon the Peishwa returned towards Poona with the greater part of his army, and owing to the lateness of the season had great difficulty in recrossing the Kistna. Bulwunt Rao Mendlee was left with a large detachment, for the purpose of reducing these ancient possessions, and with a power, somewhat discretionary, of levying the chouth and surdeshmookhee from Arcot. Bulwunt Rao took Ouscotta, belonging to the Nabob of Kurpa, and Moolwaukil was given up. Kudapannattum was also taken, and peremptory demands made upon the Nabob of Arcot for the payment of arrears of chouth, which was, after much discussion, settled by the Nabob for two lacks in ready money and two and a half lacks in assignments.[2] The members of the Madras government endeavoured to annul

[1] The Mahratta MS. says thirty-six lacks, but I here follow Colonel Wilks, as he probably had access to official papers on the subject. The Mahratta MSS. also differ in the account of the manner in which the amount was paid; but although they are circumstantial, and state nothing respecting the subsequent interference of Hyder, I here also prefer trusting to Colonel Wilks.

[2] Orme.

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the agreement; they had, in the first instance, evaded the claim by representing the disordered state of the province, the expenses and the efforts they had made for the support of order and the preservation of the country, and the scanty revenues which the territory still yielded. They also endeavoured to divert the Mahrattas towards the French districts, or northern Circars,[1] but Amrut Rao, Bulwunt Rao's Dewan, adhered firmly to his demands and succeeded in obtaining them.

Moorar Rao Ghorepuray had retired to Gootee, in consequence of not being put in possession of one of the captured forts, which appears to have been promised; the Peishwa had authorized Bulwunt Rao to comply with his wish, provided he was certain he could be depended upon,[2] but Moorar Rao had joined a confederacy against his countrymen, by uniting with the Nabobs of Kurpa, Savanoor, Kurnoul, and others, to which the confederates solicited the support of the English; a want of troops, however, prevented the Presidency of Madras from availing themselves of an auxiliary force, which in any ordinary season would have induced them to resist the Mahratta demands. It is not ascertained whether Bulwunt Rao complied with the latitude allowed in favour of Ghorepuray, but Moorar Rao is not mentioned as having acted on either side in a battle fought by the Mahrattas on the 24th September near Kuddapah,[3] against the Nabobs of Kurpa and Kurnoul, in which Bulwunt Rao Mendlee was victorious, the Nabob of Kurpa was killed,[4] and his capital plundered; but Abdool Nubee Khan, the cousin and heir of the late Nabob, still defended the country, and occupied the Mahrattas for a period much longer than they could spare. In the meantime, the Mysore government, by the advice of Hyder Ally,[5] then rising into notice, having broken their agreement,

[1] Letter from Mr. Pigot, Governor of Madras, to Bulwunt Rao, and the Peishwa.

[2] Letter from Ballajee Rao, September, 1757.

[3] The town is known by both names, Kurpa and Kuddapah.

[4] Orme.

[5] [Haidar Alī (Hyder Ally), born 1722, was an officer of the Hindu Wodeyar Government of Mysore, and secured the favour of Nanjarāj, the minister, by organizing a small body of well-equipped troops. In 1755, at the age of thirty-three, he was appointed commandant of Dindigul, and later received as a *jāgīr* the district of Bangalore, and became commander-in-chief of the Mysore army. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 483, 484.)]

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refused to pay the stipulated contribution, and expelled the Mahratta agents from the districts assigned for that purpose. The Peishwa prepared a force under Gopaul Hurry at Poona, intended ultimately to unite with Bulwunt Rao against Mysore, supported by a body of ten thousand Mahrattas, which, towards the end of the monsoon, was employed [1] near the Godavery, under the Peishwa's son Wiswas Rao. But, as Gopaul Hurry could not cross the Kistna before November and might not be joined by Wiswas Rao until the beginning of the year, the Peishwa directed Bulwunt Rao to reduce Bednore. He recommends him 'to march to that place as soon as possible, that the garrison had been very sickly, that the Rana's son, as well as the Rana, was dead, and that the whole would fall into his hands before the arrival of Gopaul Hurry, when they must conjointly attack Chittledroog.' [2]

Had this scheme been practicable at the time, it would in all probability have prevented the rise of Hyder Ally,[3] but Bulwunt Rao was detained in the districts of Kuddapah, or in levying contributions from Polygars, until the month of February, and before that date events had occurred at the court of Hyderabad, which called Bulwunt Rao's force to the northward, and fully employed the attention of the Peishwa.

Sulabut Jung, by the advice of Shah Nuwaz Khan, had appointed his brothers, Nizam Ally and Busalut Jung, as Governors of provinces: the former to Berar, and the latter to Beejapoor, whither they had proceeded in 1756. Bussy, in the end of that year, departed from Hyderabad, accompanied by his Dewan Hyder Jung, to regulate the French districts to the eastward, and was thus employed when an opportunity presented itself of reducing some of the English factories in that quarter. Sulabut Jung, in the meantime, took the field, and his operations, at the suggestion of Shah Nuwaz Khan, were directed against Ramchundur Jadow, ostensibly to call him to account for not keeping up his established quota of horse, but in reality to punish him for not acting

[1] The Peishwa in one of his letters says, in reducing a district called *Joohoo*, or *Noohooj*; but the word cannot be distinctly read, neither can the situation be ascertained, nor in whose hands the district was when reduced by Wiswas Rao.

[2] Copy of an original letter from the Peishwa to Bulwunt Rao Gunput Mendlee.

[3] See Wilks, ch. xii, vol. i.

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against the French reinforcements, when marching from Mausulipatam to join Bussy at Hyderabad. Jadow was deprived of most of his Jagheer ; the minister spent the season in revenue arrangements, and Sulabut Jung attended by his brother Busalut Jung, from Adonee, cantoned for the rains at Aurungabad, after having taken the government of Doulutabad from Sadut Bukharu, the Killidar in whose family it had been from the time of Aurungzebe. It was now given in charge of a dependant of Shah Nuwaz Khan ; and here began a scene of intrigue as eventful and complicated as might occur to the fancy of a dramatist. The sum of the plot seems to have been to confine Sulabut Jung in Doulutabad ; to place the government in the hands of Nizam Ally or Busalut Jung, and to expel the French from the Deccan. The Peishwa was probably in the first instance apprised of it,[1] and the real object of Wiswas Rao's march to the Godavery may have been to aid the design. As late as the month of September, he did not, as may be observed by his instructions to Bulwunt Rao, expect that it would obstruct his designs on the Carnatic.

In the month of August a pretended sedition was raised by the soldiery at Aurungabad, on account of their arrears of pay. Shah Nuwaz Khan was beset by their clamours ; he neglected to satisfy their claims ; the troops insisted on his being removed from the administration ; demanded his dismissal from Sulabut Jung, and the appointment of Busalut Jung as minister in his stead. Although contrary to his own wishes, Sulabut Jung yielded to their request ; but the troops were not to be satisfied, and Shah Nuwaz Khan was forced to seek safety in Doulutabad, where he prepared to defend himself against their unjustifiable violence. It is conjectured that the conspirators may have expected Sulabut Jung would pay the seemingly injured minister a visit of condolence in the fortress, but some of his immediate dependants, perhaps the European officer at the head of the French guard, suspected a snare, and induced Sulabut Jung to promise the minister protection, but to demand his submission. The exercise of a little common sense in upholding right rules often disconcerts the deepest cunning ; but the derangement of the plan only thickened the plot. Shah Nuwaz Khan, on being desired to surrender,

[1] It is even probable that the Peishwa may have been a principal instigator in the whole conspiracy about to be detailed, although that does not rest on any direct evidence.

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fired on the troops. Nizam Ally was summoned from Berar by Busalut Jung to assist in the siege; Shah Nuwaz Khan called in the assistance of the Mahrattas as allies, but some person about Sulabut Jung, who had more penetration than himself, prevailed on him to countermand the advance of Nizam Ally. The latter, however, declared he could not hear of his brother being so treated by a rebel minister without hastening to his support. He advanced accordingly, and troops from all quarters were called in by Busalut Jung. Still, however, the troops attached to Sulabut Jung, of whom two hundred were Europeans, and five hundred disciplined Sepoys left by Bussy, were not to be overpowered with impunity, and the conspiracy was aimed rather at the liberty than the life of Sulabut Jung. The Mahrattas began to plunder the country: the necessity of union was now much talked of, and Shah Nuwaz Khan suffered himself to be prevailed upon to submit. Great preparations were made to oppose the Mahrattas. Nizam Ally, to whom the office of minister had been resigned by Busalut Jung, made all the dispositions for the order of battle and of march. The humble post of protecting the baggage was assigned to Shah Nuwaz Khan. The friends of Sulabut Jung remonstrated against his allowing his brother to have the entire management of his army, and his pride and resentment being aroused, he told Nizam Ally that he could not submit to it. The latter at first affected indignation, but afterwards so completely soothed his brother by assurances that his welfare and honour were his only care, that Sulabut Jung forgave all, obliged him to take back the seal of state he had resigned, and bestowed on him their father's title of Nizam Ool Moolk Asif Ja. Very shortly after this reconciliation, intelligence was received that Ramchundur Jadow, proceeding to pay his respects and join the army of Sulabut Jung, was attacked, surrounded, and driven into the town of Sindkheir, where he was besieged by the Peishwa's troops.[1] Orders of march were instantly issued, but the same influence which hitherto had prevented Sulabut Jung from falling into the power of his enemies, once more frustrated their designs. He would not move. Nizam Ally, however, proceeded to Sind-

[1] The body of troops which attacked Ramchundur Jadow was commanded by Mahadajee Sindia, still a very young man, but who had already distinguished himself at the battle fought on the plain, between Korygaom and Tullygaom Dumdairay, 27th November, 1751. Mahratta MS.

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kheir, went through the farce of rescuing Ramchundur Jadow, of beating the Mahrattas, and compelling them to make peace. Although the latter, with more show of reason, afterwards claimed the victory, the nominal defeat was a disgrace to which Ballajee Rao would willingly have submitted, in consequence of his having received a cession of territory, yielding an annual revenue of upwards of twenty-five lacks of rupees.[1] How Nizam Ally could reconcile this transaction to his brother cannot be ascertained, and can only be accounted for by supposing that the agreement was secret. Ballajee Rao returned with Nizam Ally to Aurungabad as a friend; but the arrival of Bussy, with a well-appointed force consisting of two hundred European cavalry, five hundred European infantry, five thousand Sepoys, and ten field-pieces, besides his detachment with Sulabut Jung, threw the whole cabal into confusion; and, except the audacious Nizam Ally, intimidated the rest of the conspirators. All were ready to pay their respects, and no one more prompt than the late minister, Shah Nuwaz Khan. He had been led farther into the mazes of intrigue than he had contemplated; he had seen enough of Nizam Ally to be assured that Sulabut Jung was a better man, and he was probably sincere in his desire to replace everything on its former footing; but once embarked, there is no saying where the current of factious guilt may drive, or who shall be absorbed in its whirlpool.

Bussy, with the measured manner which it became him under such circumstances to assume, paid his respects to Sulabut Jung as the superior whom he served; met the Peishwa half way in a tent prepared for the occasion; visited Nizam Ally, but, as one whose designs were more than suspicious, accompanied by a strong escort; received Busalut Jung; but referred Shah Nuwaz Khan, who had descended from his rank as minister, to his agent Hyder Jung, for the double purpose of marking a distinction and obtaining, through his keen-sighted Dewan, thus placed on an equality with the ex-minister, a complete insight into the views of the faction.

Thus far Bussy acted right, for he acted of himself; but the disadvantages to a European in India, however honourable and upright his intentions, who suffers himself to be guided by natives,

[1] The exact amount 2,508,223 rupees, 13 annas. Poona Records

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beyond a proper regard to their opinions and prejudices, and who is dependent on them for the interpretation of the language, are exemplified in the subsequent events.

Shah Nuwaz Khan unfolded everything to Hyder Jung; but, as was likely under such circumstances, ascribed his motives rather to the weakness of Sulabut Jung than to his jealousy of the power of the French. The friends of Shah Nuwaz Khan had strongly advised him to put no confidence in Hyder Jung; and his conduct in this instance is attributed by his countrymen to that inexplicable predestination which is a rule of their faith. On being made acquainted with the scheme, under such colouring as Hyder Jung thought fit to give to it, Bussy was led to deceive Shah Nuwaz Khan by promises of forgiveness and restoration to the ministry. To have restored Shah Nuwaz Khan was now, perhaps, the wisest expedient that could be adopted. He was respected in the country, knew its resources, and notwithstanding the fictitious want of money he had created, the revenues under his management were in a state of progressive improvement. He had experienced the irresistible power of the French, the weakness and futility of faction, and he had seen the premature disposition to villainy in the bold mind of the young Nizam Ally.

Bussy, if he found it inconvenient to replace him in the ministry, had not even the excuse of necessity for stooping to duplicity, he had only to act on the broad principle of right, and trust to what was in his power, a strong arm and a good cause. But influenced unfortunately by the representations of an Asiatic, his conduct became entangled in the tricks and intrigue which true wisdom despises. His plans seem in this instance to have had no very definite purpose, even in his own mind, though there is abundant ground to suspect that his Dewan may have contemplated his own elevation, and played deep for the high place of Moghul minister in the Deccan.

Hyder Jung having corrupted the Killidar of Doulutabad, Bussy became the principal actor in a scheme, by which he gained little honour from having obtained possession of that fortress.[1] Shah Nuwaz Khan was made a prisoner, and the greater part of Nizam Ally's troops were debauched by bribes, amounting in all to eight lacks of rupees, and came over to Hyder Jung. Of the number was Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who had been brought up as

[1] For particulars see Orme, vol. ii, bk. ix, p. 345.

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an officer of Sepoys under Bussy, and had gone over to Nizam Ally in Berar, in consequence of having incurred Bussy's displeasure. The Peishwa, who was very desirous of possessing Doulutabad, returned from a position fifty miles to the west of Aurungabad, and in vain used every argument with Bussy to prevail upon him to deliver it up to the Mahrattas. Nizam Ally, however, in the hope that the Peishwa would join him after their late transaction, promised the fort of Doulutabad and many other cessions as the price of an alliance, which should raise him to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, but Ballajee Rao saw no advantage from his overtures.

Busalut Jung, the present minister, was neither of a dangerous nor a formidable character, but he was capable of being made an instrument either for a good or a bad purpose. For some reasons it would have been ill-advised to remove him, especially as he had become secretly inimical to Nizam Ally, whose audacity pointed to extreme measures from which Busalut Jung recoiled; but the designs of Hyder Jung remained incomplete whilst Nizam Ally was at liberty; he therefore determined on placing him in confinement, as well as Shah Nuwaz Khan; and at first thought of immuring him in Doulutabad; but the influence of Nizam Ally, even with the soldiery who had quitted his service, was considerable, and the proximity of Doulutabad to the province of Berar made that fortress a fitter prison for Shah Nuwaz Khan than for Nizam Ally. Whether Bussy ever would have authorized his Dewan to take the steps he meditated is certainly very questionable; if he had, it is not improbable that Hyder Jung in time would have sacrificed his French friends to his own ambition. Hyder Jung and Nizam Ally had now each their own reasons for dissimulation; the one proffered friendship, and the other affected content. Hyder Jung wished Nizam Ally to accept the government of Hyderabad, that he might be nearer Golcondah, where he intended to imprison him. Nizam Ally received the proposal with much seeming satisfaction: intercourse was re-established, and everything was made ready for departure; Hyder Jung paid him a visit prior to his setting out, and Nizam Ally, having prepared for his reception, murdered him in the tent. A great tumult ensued as soon as the event was known; the French line beat to arms. Shah Nuwaz Khan, who was confined under a guard of Europeans and Sepoys, was supposed to be the instigator of Hyder

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Jung's murder, and a Hindoo Soobehdar [1] of French Sepoys, with all of whom Hyder Jung had been extremely popular, entered the tent during the uproar, and put Shah Nuwaz Khan, together with his son and Yemen ad Dowlah, to death. Nizam Ally fled towards Burhanpoor the same night.[2] The tragedy was thus closed on the 11th May. The Peishwa with the Mahratta army returned to Poona, and Bussy, shortly after, not choosing to encourage Sulabut Jung in a war against Nizam Ally, bent his course towards Hyderabad. When on the march to that capital, he received from M. Lally those peremptory orders of recall, which at once deprived his nation of the great power and influence he had established. The Mahrattas, like the rest of India, were unable to comprehend such an inexplicable measure; the removal of the French garrison from Doulutabad, and the actual march of Bussy towards Pondicherry, was viewed by Ballajee Rao with wonder and with joy; but Sulabut Jung, to whom the departure of M. Bussy was equally unaccountable, saw in it the extinction of his last hope in the world, and, until soothed with assurances of the probability of his return, he continued in a state of perfect despair.

It has been stated that the Peishwa returned from a position fifty miles west of Aurungabad, for the purpose of trying to prevail upon Bussy to give up Doulutabad; but the reason of his having moved to the westward in the first instance remains to be explained. The Bombay Presidency, as we have seen, had long been urgent with the Peishwa to aid them in establishing their trade and privileges on a secure and respectable footing in the city of Surat, but finding they were not likely to obtain his aid, they with abundant caution proposed trying to effect the

[1] His name was Luximon, and the Moghul author exultingly informs his reader that the murderer of a Syud was afterwards killed in Sicacole; probably in the battle between Forde and Conflans, in December following, at Peddipore.

[2] I have come to the above judgment on these dark intrigues, from a comparison of Orme, Wilks, Mahratta MSS., the life of Shah Nuwaz Khan, the Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum, and all the authorities wherein the subject is mentioned. Both Mr. Orme and Colonel Wilks state that Shah Nuwaz Khan was under a guard of Sulabut Jung's troops; but though that mode of confinement might have been adopted to prevent unnecessary odium towards the French, and is, in the way Colonel Wilks has stated, very common, the Mahomedan authority is against them.

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object themselves, and Mr. Ellis, the agent on the spot, arranged a plan which promised certain success. The Peishwa, apprised of everything that was going forward, sent Shunkrajee Punt, the Soobehdar of Kallian, to amuse Mr. Bourchier until he should find it more convenient than it was at that juncture to detach a force to Surat; but Shunkrajee Punt, judging by the President's indifference, and the preparations of the armament, that they would proceed to the execution of the enterprise by themselves, Ballajee Rao determined to prevent it, by making a feint of threatening the Presidency itself. With this view he moved from Aurungabad a few marches to the westward, and by means of the native agent employed by the English at Poona, he made them believe that he was about to march for Nassuck and thence to Bassein with his army; he also caused the agent to insinuate that the Mahrattas were treacherous people, not to be depended upon, and that it would be prudent to keep a strict guard on the island of Bombay. The Governor and Council, on receipt of this intelligence, *unanimously resolved*, not only to defer the expedition, but to desire Mr. Ellis to send down all the military and marine force he could possibly spare, to defend the settlement. This remarkable instance of credulity proves the great want of experience of the Bombay Government[1]; they, however, got possession of Surat castle some months afterwards, though with considerable loss of officers and men.[2]

A.D. 1759. Mar. 4.

The Peishwa's first object, on the opening of the season, was to detach a force under Gopaul Hurry to Mysore, for the recovery of the districts from whence the Mahratta agents had been expelled by Nunjeraj, at the suggestion of Hyder Ally. Gopaul Hurry established the Mahratta *thannas*, took Cenapatam by surprise, and besieged Bangalore. The Mahrattas were opposed by the Mysore army, which was on this service entrusted for the first time to the rising General, Hyder Ally; and the campaign terminated in the payment of the thirty-two lacks of rupees before stipulated, one half of which was paid in gold, and the other by bills on the security of bankers; after which the Mahrattas evacuated the pledged districts, and peace was concluded with the state of Mysore.[3] Gopaul Hurry then proceeded to the

[1] Bombay Records.
[2] Bombay Records, and Grose's voyage to the East Indies.
[3] Wilks, and Mahratta MSS.

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Damulcherry pass, whilst the French were besieging the English in Madras,[1] and endeavoured to exact money from each of the belligerents, but he was treated with considerable contempt by both parties. To be revenged on the French, he took possession of the temple at Tripittee, intending to have collected the offerings[2] at the ensuing festival, but the main body of his troops was recalled to Poona, and the garrison he left in the temple was driven out by troops belonging to the Nabob of Arcot.

Sulabut Jung had appointed Busalut Jung his Dewan at the suggestion of M. Bussy; their union was certainly the most likely mode of upholding the government of Sulabut Jung and overawing the factious at his court; but the party of Nizam Ally gained strength as soon as Bussy had departed for Pondicherry, and the only French troops in the Deccan were confined to their own districts, the northern Circars, under M. Conflans.

Nizam Ally, soon after he reached Burhanpoor, exacted a heavy contribution from that city, and Mohummud Anwar Khan, the person who, forty years before, had contributed by his advice to obtain the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee for the Mahrattas, is said to have died in consequence of the harsh treatment to which he was subjected. With the money thus obtained, Nizam Ally began to raise troops. He was shortly after again joined by Ibrahim Khan Gardee with his corps, when he quitted Burhanpoor and took up a position about one hundred miles south of that city, at the town of Basum. The minister, Busalut Jung, instigated Janojee Bhonslay, Sena Sahib Soobeh, to attack his brother; accordingly, Bappoo Kurundeea, one of Janojee's officers, intercepted his artillery, which was coming to join him from Burhanpoor, and took the whole of it. In consequence of this aggression, Nizam Ally made a sudden march towards Ankolah, which he surprised and plundered, but being attacked by a superior force, under Janojee in person, he retired on Burhanpoor, for the purpose of equipping some guns for Ibrahim

[1] [Lally attacked Madras in 1758, but the apathy of the Pondicherry government, the able defence of the town by Mr. Pigot and Stringer Lawrence, and lastly the appearance of a British fleet, combined to render the operations of the French fruitless.]

[2] Offerings which are made by Hindoo pilgrims, at stated periods, to the idols in many parts of India, and which are afterwards generally considered the acknowledged revenue of the state; these festivals are termed Jatras, when the temples of celebrated deities are visited by votaries from all parts of the country.

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Khan. As soon as he had furnished himself with this auxiliary, invaluable against Mahrattas, he returned, attacked, and completely defeated Janojee's army. His success soon obtained him friends; Janojee concluded an alliance with him, and he had received encouragement from the Peishwa. He had also been courted by the English, not in consequence of his victory, but as a son of Nizam Ool Moolk, who, beyond reconciliation, had committed himself with their enemies the French. As soon therefore as he understood that Sulabut Jung had quitted Hyderabad, for the purpose of assisting the garrison of Mausulipatam which was besieged by the English, Nizam Ally, after taking possession of Aurungabad, moved towards the capital.[1]

The advance of Nizam Ally hastened the conclusion of a treaty between Sulabut Jung and Colonel Forde, although Busalut Jung, who was partial to the French, endeavoured to obstruct the arrangement. The treaty did not provide for the assistance of the English against Nizam Ally; as every inducement on that point was resisted by Colonel Forde.[2] Sulabut Jung returned to Hyderabad, where, on the arrival of Nizam Ally, much dissension arose among the brothers, but Sulabut Jung was constrained to restore the office of Dewan to Nizam Ally, and Busalut Jung departed for his government, the seat of which was Adonee.

At the court of Poona the principal affairs of administration continued under the management of Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. His able coadjutor, Ramchundur Baba Shenwee, had been dead for four or five years, and his wealth, which was great, had been left at the disposal of the Bhow, who appropriated one-third for charitable and religious purposes, and shared the remainder equally with the son of the deceased. Sewdasheo Rao was violent and avaricious, but active and vigorous; and though proud and unbending in his character, he had a large share of good nature and of good sense. He was corrupt; but not in the opinion of his countrymen, for with them to take money for assistance or support in a good cause is legitimate and avowed; a principle which, if tolerated on whatever pretence in any public officer of a government, must soon spread universal peculation, bribery, and misrule.

[1] Mahratta MSS., Orme, Khuzaneh Amirah, and Hudeequ-i-Alum.
[2] Orme.

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His friend Ramchundur warned him on his death-bed of the opposition and jealousy he might expect from Gopika Bye Rastia, the Peishwa's wife, as soon as her children became of an age fit to be entrusted with public affairs. To prevent these, Sewdasheo Chimnajee was the first to propose that the Peishwa's eldest son, Wiswas Rao, should be early employed, and he honourably endeavoured to instil into all the sons of his cousin the necessity of great acquirements for enabling them to fill the high stations to which they were born, and always recommended that they should be engaged in business and in war as early as possible. The affection which Ballajee Rao had always shown towards his cousin Sewdasheo Rao received a severe shock by his intended desertion when he went to Kolapoor; and notwithstanding the conduct of Sewdasheo Rao, both towards her sons and in the administration, the seeds of hatred, perceived by Ramchundur in the mind of Gopika Bye, grew up the more rank, when the actions of the minister were such as defied detraction and ought to have silenced her jealous fears. The activity and diligence of Sewdasheo Rao were a reproach to the less energetic disposition of the Peishwa; but independent of jealousy, where confidence has once been shaken, abundant materials for discord continually arise between a prince and his minister, without the influence of a woman's wiles to blow it into flame.

The forms of courtesy, and the appearance of perfect concord, continued until the return of Rugonath Rao from Hindoostan, when the minister having found reason to blame the expenditure and arrangement that had taken place during the campaign, by which a debt was brought against the state instead of booty to its coffers; Rugonath Rao told him 'he had better take command of the next expedition himself,' and abruptly quitted the apartment; their dissensions continuing spread to the rest of the family, and soon became publicly known. Whether encouraged by the mere circumstance of their differences, without the connivance of any of the parties, or actuated solely by personal revenge, is not ascertained; but an attempt was made on the life of Sewdasheo Rao, instigated by Muzuffir Khan, the officer already mentioned as having been received into the Peishwa's service after his dismissal from that of Sulabut Jung.

Sewdasheo Rao did not approve of his being readmitted by Ballajee Rao; and Nizam Ally having dismissed the corps of

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Ibrahim Khan Gardee,[1] as a conciliatory concession to Sulabut Jung, they were immediately entertained by Sewdasheo Rao. Ibrahim Khan was the kinsman of Muzuffir Khan ; but the latter, who had just returned from an expedition against a Koolee Raja near Surat, probably suspected that this measure was a prelude to his own supersession. The assassin he engaged, who was one of his own corps, attempted to strike the blow in a Durbar tent, pitched on the spot where the British troops are now cantoned, and where Sewdasheo Rao was seated for the transaction of public business. He would have effected his purpose ; but Nagoojee Goozur, an active Sillidar, who stood behind the Bhow, seized the assassin's arm, and the point of the dagger caused but a slight wound in his back. The man was put to the torture, and confessed that he was employed by Muzuffir Khan. The latter, on being sent for, did not deny the fact ; and, without further inquiry, he was instantly led out to execution, and put to death with the criminal he had hired.[2] A Purvoe in the employ of Muzuffir Khan, being also implicated, was thrown into a hill-fort, and never after heard of ; the usual fate of state prisoners sent to hill-forts by the Mahratta Government.

It having been determined that Sewdasheo Rao should take command of the army during the ensuing season, whilst the civil administration was committed to Rugonath Rao, the troops were assembled for the purpose of proceeding to the northward, when accounts arrived of the success of an intrigue for the surrender of Ahmednugur, which was betrayed into the hands of a Bramin agent of Sewdasheo Rao by Kuwee Jung, the Moghul Killidar, for a sum of money. A war with Hyderabad immediately ensued. Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally were ill-prepared for this event ; their army was in arrears and mutinous ; an insurrection caused by Soorya Rao, the Deshmookh of Neermul, had just been quelled ; and the resources of the country, during the late factious intrigues, had been neglected or wasted. But the disgrace of relinquishing without a struggle the ancient capital of the Nizam

[1] [He was a clever and experienced artillery officer, who had been trained under Bussy, and brought to the Marāthās a good train of the light and mobile field-pieces which the French had introduced into the Nizam's army, and which had been one of the most important factors of their success. (Owen, *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, pp. 221, 222.)]

[2] Mahratta MSS

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Shahee Kings, the reduction of which, a century and a half before, had cost so much Moghul blood, prevailed over the sober dictates of prudence, and the main army, without preparation or equipment, but with a vast quantity of baggage and cumbersome artillery moved towards Beder and thence to Dharoor. Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally, attended by a small force of seven or eight thousand men, were moving towards Oodgeer.

The Peishwa in person proceeded to Ahmednugur with a large army, intended as a reserve, whilst Sewdasheo Rao moved in an easterly direction, took the fort of Buhadurgurh on the Beema, and was on the borders of the Moghul territory when he received intelligence of the enemy's motions and position, as already described. He immediately detached a force in advance, when Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally, instead of quitting the artillery which accompanied them, and pushing forward to their main body, took post at Oodgeer, and began to waste their ammunition in skirmishing with the Mahratta light troops. This injudicious conduct afforded Sewdasheo Rao leisure to bring up forty thousand horse; whilst the regular corps of infantry, five thousand strong, with a light artillery, under Ibrahim Khan Gardee, was advancing to reinforce him.

A.D. 1760.—The brothers saw their error when too late; but they moved from Oodgeer, in hopes of being able to join their main body, or that troops from Dharoor would be sent to their support. In both these expectations they were disappointed; the troops at Dharoor, either entirely occupied in watching the motions of the Peishwa, or not apprised of their situation, made no effort to relieve them. The Moghul guns made little impression on the open straggling horse of the Mahrattas, but the constant skirmishing impeded the march, and in a few days Ibrahim Khan Gardee, with his infantry and guns, arrived. His artillery, which was served after the European manner, made great havoc on the crowded bodies of Moghul cavalry, and those who ventured to extend their order were immediately charged by the Mahrattas, whilst their grain and forage were effectually cut off. Nizam Ally attempted to negotiate, but Sewdasheo Rao desired him to surrender, a disgrace to which neither of the brothers would submit. A desperate charge was made on Ibrahim Khan's corps, which was completely broken, eleven of his standards taken, and many of his men killed: but this success was but of short duration; a

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body of Mahrattas attacked the right wing under Shoukut Jung and cut nearly three thousand Moghuls to pieces.

Nizam Ally renewed his negotiations, and sent his seal of state as minister to Sewdasheo Rao, signifying that he left it to his generosity to make the terms. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the forts of Doulutabad, Sewneree, Asseergurh, and Beejapoor, were given up to the Mahrattas, the possession of Ahmednugur was confirmed, and districts yielded, which included the province of Beejapoor and a part of Beder; together with the province of Aurungabad, excepting the city and two of its pergunnas, Hursoul and Sittarah. The annual revenue of these cessions [1] amounted to upwards of sixty-two lacks of rupees; and, according to an obvious policy invariably observed by the Peishwas, forty-one lacks were given over as military Jagheer to his officers, who always shared in the advantage, or disadvantage, by territory acquired or lost. The Moghul possessions in the Deccan were now confined to an insulated space, which must, it seemed, be soon wholly overwhelmed. A compactness and power would thus be ensured to the Peishwa's dominions, which promised to preserve the Bramin ascendancy, and spread the authority of Hindoos over the vast empire where they had for many centuries been a conquered people in their native land. The pre-eminence to which the Mahrattas had attained was animating and glorious; their right to tribute was acknowledged on the banks of the Coleroon, and the Deccan horse had quenched their thirst from the waters of the Indus. The Mahratta people felt

[1] Poonah Records.
Sewdasheo Rao obtained these cessions in four separate deeds.

				A.	P.
1. In his own name				1,97,499	5 0
2. In the name of the Peishwa's second son .				20,44,115	14 1
3. In the name of the Peishwa's third son . .				35,02,247	14 0
It is not known in whose name the other sunnud was issued, but the districts and the amount of their revenue are recorded as follows :—					
Pergunna Meyhekur . .	1,73,269	15	2		
——— Durrucheegaom .	35,500	0	0		
Boolundee Burhanpoor . .	1,75,000	0	0		
Pergunna Purboney . .	55,524	9	0		
Chaloo Pytun and Ambad .	52,000	0	0		
				4,92,294	8 2
Total amount of cession .			Rs.	62,36,157	9 3

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a pride in the conquests of their countrymen; and action, enterprise, and wealth raised them in political consequence above the mass of that humble race, who, by a system of opinions, stand fettered among nations in the growth of wisdom, and are content to live and to die in the same occupation, and with equal apathy, as their thousand progenitors. How far this stimulus in Maharashtra might ultimately have improved them, or elevated them in the scale of human nature, may be left to the consideration of those who indulge in such speculations; but in their conquests, certainly, no other nation can sympathize; they were not animated by that patriotism which devotes itself merely for its country's weal or its country's glory, the extension of their sway carried no freedom even to Hindoos, except freedom of opinion; and it rarely brought protection, or improved the habits and condition of the vanquished. Destruction, rapine, oppression, and tyranny were their more certain concomitants; and although entitled to the negative praise of not being blood-thirsty, they were unfeeling and ungenerous victors. The Mahratta people, however, who have not followed the profession of arms, and where families, unconnected with camps and courts, have lived content in the simple enjoyment of their hereditary rights and fields, are, except in one respect, their habitual disregard of truth, which is strangely contrasted with their probity in dealings with each other, a remarkably moral, kind, humane, and hospitable race.[1]

[1] [Compare Colonel Broughton's estimate of the Marāthā character: 'I have never been able to discover any quality or propensity they possess which might be construed into a fitness for the enjoyment of social life. They are deceitful, treacherous, narrow-minded rapacious and notorious liars; the only quality they are endowed with, which could, according to our system of ethics, be placed to the credit side of the account, being candour; for there is not one of these propensities I have enumerated to which a Mahratta would not immediately plead guilty; in his idea of things they are requisite to form a perfect character; and to all accusations of falsehood, treachery, extortion, &c., he has one common answer: "*Mahratta durbar hue*" ('tis a Mahratta court).' (*Letters from a Mahratta Camp*, ed. 1892, p. 79.) The author's judgment of the Marāthā *government* is fully corroborated by the testimony of Malcolm and Munro. See also Professor J. Sarkar's verdict at pp. 488–90 of *Shivaji and His Times*, Calcutta, 1919. As regards the Marāthā people no official who has served in the Deccan will dissent from the author's enumeration of their good qualities, and will assuredly add thereto their frugality and their uncomplaining courage in adversity.]

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Ballajee Rao had achieved a conquest by the exertions of his cousin, which afforded the highest gratification to his ambition; but it was not unalloyed. Accounts of great reverses were about the same time received from Hindoostan, which lead us back to notice the principal events that had taken place in that quarter.

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CHAPTER XXI.

FROM A.D. 1760 TO A.D. 1761.

A.D. 1760. **(1754.)**—THE revolution at the fallen court of Delhi, which took place in the year 1754, did but increase the troubles and confusion in the northern parts of India. The new vizier,[1] after evincing much hardihood during a mutiny of his troops, which he quelled by a merciless attack and plunder of all the body in which it broke out, having left Alumgeer the second, an Emperor he had raised to the throne, in the capital, departed with the Emperor's son, the Prince Ali Gohur, towards Mooltan and Lahore; provinces which he proposed to re-annex to the imperial throne. These vast tracts of territory were conquered, as has already been mentioned, by Ahmed Shah Abdallee; **(1758.)** and Meer Munnoo, who first defended them against him, afterwards accepted the government of them from the Abdallee king. Meer Munnoo died suddenly[2]; his son, though still a child, was confirmed in the government by Ahmed Shah, under the guardianship of the widow of Meer Munnoo. Great mismanagement ensued; universal poverty and misrule drew many to swell the numbers of a sect which had subsisted for a considerable period under the name of Seiks,[3] and whose rapid

[1] It may not be unnecessary to remind the reader that the person alluded to is Meer Shahabodeen, the son of Ghazee-ud-deen, and grandson of Nizam Ool Moolk. He is often mentioned in the English records, and in various publications, as Ghazee-ud-deen II. I have thought it best to retain his original name, especially as it ought to be Ghazee-ud-deen III.

[2] [Mīr Mannu (Meer Munnoo) was accidentally killed by a fall from his horse. (Keene, *Mughal Empire*, p. 49.)]

[3] [The Sīkhs (Seiks), or 'disciples,' were originally a pious sect of Hindus following the precepts of their first *guru* or prophet, Nānak (A.D. 1469–1539). Their transformation into a military order commenced under the sixth *guru*, Hargobind (1606–45), and was finally completed by their tenth *guru*, Govind Singh (1664–1708), who was

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increase tended to augment the confusion of the country. The son of Meer Munnoo died ; and the widow, who, still as guardian, claimed the right of governing, after being confined for a time by one of her own officers, at last submitted to a compromise, and shared the authority with him. Under these circumstances, Meer Shahabodeen, the vizier, reasonably concluded that to obtain possession of the country would not be difficult ; but he did not extend his views to the defence which it would be necessary to prepare against the coming of the Abdallee to recover them. It appears that a daughter of Meer Munnoo had been betrothed to Meer Shahabodeen. To aid his projects, he first gained the traitorous Adina Beg, who had been the first cause of the Abdallee invasion ; and, in consultation with him, Meer Shahabodeen, on his arrival in her neighbourhood, sent to the widow of Meer Munnoo, applying for his affianced bride, a request from the vizier, which, on the part of the widow, was received with much satisfaction, and with which she readily complied. But Shahabodeen seized the government, conveyed the widow of Meer Munnoo to Delhi, and appointed Adina Beg to the charge of the provinces.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee, enraged at these proceedings, crossed the Attock [1] with a large army, the provinces were, unresistingly, again occupied, and the king marched onwards to Delhi. Meer Shahabodeen humbled himself, and Ahmed Shah condescended to forgive him [2]; but Delhi was plundered, and its unhappy people again subjected to pillage, and its daughters to pollution. The city of Muttra shared a like fate, and Agra was only saved by the breaking out of a violent disease in the camp of the Afghans, which compelled their king to abandon his conquests and hasten beyond the influence of pestilence, to the more congenial climate

the real founder of the Sikh military power, which was organized to oppose the Muhammadans. (*O.H.I.*, pp. 453–5.) See also Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (1849 and 1853) ; Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, in Rulers of India Series, 1898 ; and Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (6 vols., 1909).]

[1] This was the fourth Abdallee invasion of Hindoostan, but Ahmed Shah was probably in the army of Nadir Shah, and if so, this was the fifth time he had crossed the Attock.

[2] [Mīr Shāhbuddīn (Ghāzī-ud-dīn II) had by this date married Mīr Mannu's daughter and persuaded his mother-in-law, the widow of Mīr Mannu, to intercede for him with Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. (Keene, *Mughal Empire*, p. 50.)]

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of Cabul. He returned early in the year 1756. Prior to his quitting Delhi, he had sent his own son Timoor Shah as viceroy of the Punjab, including Mooltan and Lahore, and had appointed Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, a Rohilla chief of reputation, to the office of Meer Bukhshee, and to the rank of Umeer Ool Oomrah, at the Imperial court. Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, prior to the coming of the Abdallee, had attached himself to Meer Shahabodeen; and the latter, displeased at his being set up as his own rival and promoted without his concurrence, as soon as the Abdallee retired, stripped him of his honours, and conferred his rank and appointment on Ahmed Khan Bungush. The Emperor Alumgeer, with Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, was in possession of Delhi; and, as the one supported the other, Meer Shahabodeen determined to reduce them. For this purpose, on the advance of Rugonath Rao into Malwa, where he arrived in the end of 1756, Meer Shahabodeen entered on an alliance with Rugoba[1]; and by his assistance soon recovered Delhi and the control of the Emperor's person. Nujeeb-ud-dowlah must have fallen a prisoner into his hands, but Mulhar Rao Holkar, who was more friendly to all the Rohillas than any of the other Mahratta chiefs, protected Nujeeb-ud-dowlah and aided his escape from the citadel to his own territory, situated about seventy miles to the north-east of Delhi.

Rugonath Rao remained for a time encamped in the neighbourhood of the capital, when he was summoned to a great conquest, splendid indeed, but to it may be ascribed the immediate cause of the disastrous war which first checked the progress of the Mahrattas, and distinctly marks the date of their decline.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee, before he appointed his son Timoor to the viceroyalty of the Punjab, gave him, as his minister and adviser, Jehan Khan, who apprised of the knowledge which Adina Beg Khan possessed of the resources of the country, applied to him, and for a time derived benefit from his management of some distant districts. Adina Beg was invited to Lahore, but suspicious of Jehan Khan's designs, he refused to go and withdrew to the mountains. He was therefore treated as a rebel, but he successfully opposed the troops sent against him, by raising the Seiks, who from devotees and mendicants now appeared as soldiers. He also invited the Mahrattas into the province, and

[1] Rugoba is the familiar name of Rugonath, and that by which the reader will frequently find this well-known personage mentioned.

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Rugonath Rao, then at Delhi, embraced the proposal with alacrity, met and totally defeated the Abdallee governor of Sirhind, speedily overran the country, and entered Lahore as a conqueror in the month of May, 1758. He appointed Adina Beg Sur-soobehdar of Mooltan and Lahore,[1] and left Shabajee, a relation of Sindia's, to support him with a body of Mahratta troops. Rugonath Rao then returned towards Poona; but his improvidence in this, as well as in most expeditions of his life, was very conspicuous; the magnitude of his conquests brought no revenue to the exchequer; and upwards of eighty lacks of rupees, over and above his receipts, were charged on the present occasion; a circumstance which, as has been alluded to, called forth the strictures of his cousin, and gave vent to those feelings of family jealousy, with which Sewdasheo Rao Bhow was beset.

Rugonath Rao, before he quitted Hindoostan, left Mulhar Rao Holkar and Duttajee Sindia in Malwa, whilst Junkajee, the son of Jyapa Sindia, remained near Delhi at the head of a body of troops, for the purpose of collecting tribute from the Rajpoot states and of supporting, if necessary, the troops in Lahore.[2]

Ranoojee Sindia, so much distinguished under the great Bajee Rao, had three legitimate and two illegitimate sons; of the former were Jyapa, Duttajee, and Jooteba; of the latter, Tookajee and Mahadajee. The whole of the five sons survived their father, except Tookajee. Ranoojee Sindia died shortly after Shao; his sons Duttajee and Mahadajee were generally employed to command the troops with the Peishwa, whilst Jyapa was acting in Hindoostan.

In consequence of a dispute between Ram Sing and Bejee Sing, the sons of Abhee Sing Raja of Joudpoor, regarding the division of their father's territory after his death, the former (1759.) solicited aid from the Peishwa, who directed Jyapa to support Ram Sing and settle their affairs. Jyapa was at first successful against Bejee Sing, whom he besieged in Nagour, but the latter, following the infamous example of his father in regard to Peelajee Gaekwar, engaged two persons, who, under the promise of a Jagheer, repaired to Jyapa as accredited negotiators,

[1] It is said that Adina Beg Khan agreed to hold the provinces of the Mahrattas, paying an annual tribute of seventy-five lacks of rupees.

[2] Seyr Mutuakhereen, partly supported by Mahratta MSS.

and watching their opportunity assassinated him. Of the murderers one escaped, and Jyapa's army retired, but Rugonath Rao afterwards accomplished the object of the expedition, took Ajimere, and established a tribute over the Joudpoor territory.[1]

The most distinguished of the remaining sons of Ranoojee were Duttajee and Mahadajee, who first brought themselves into notice against Sulabut Jung and the French, in the war of 1751. Both of them were now left in Hindoostan, and not long after Rugonath Rao's departure, Duttajee, incited by the restless Vizier Meer Shahabodeen, advanced with a large force to reduce the territory of the Rohillas. Operations were at first directed against Nujeeb-ud-dowlah only, who being unable to withstand such numbers, took post and entrenched himself on the bank of the Ganges, until relieved by Shujah-ud-dowlah, who, although he detested the Rohillas, as much as his father had done, was yet sensible that to unite against the Mahrattas was the only chance of safety to himself. Upon the advance of Shujah-ud-dowlah, Govind Punt Boondelay, the Soobehdar in charge of the Peishwa's share of Bundelcund,[2] was directed by Duttajee to advance with his troops and lay waste the whole territory of the Rohillas, an order which he promptly obeyed, and committed great havoc both in the Dooab and east of the Ganges, where he drove the whole of the chiefs to seek shelter in the Kumaoon hills. Shujah-ud-dowlah advanced towards Govind Punt, and as soon as he came near, detached a part of his army, principally composed of Gosaeens, who attacked and routed Govind Punt with great slaughter, and drove his troops with much confusion across the river, in which many of them were drowned.

After this event, negotiations having been opened with Duttajee, he was induced to grant terms, not on account of the defeat of Govind Punt, but from having received intelligence that Ahmed

[1] Mahratta MSS. and Tareekh-i-Dukhin, a Persian MS. in Mr. Erskine's library, written by Boodh Sing, a native of Lahore, at the request of Major James Browne ; a valuable little manuscript. I have not been able to ascertain the date of Jyapa's murder, nor does Sir John Malcolm's report give it. [The exact date of Jayappa (Jyapa) or Jayajī Sindia's murder is still undetermined. The fort and district of Ajmēr were made over to the Marāthās by Bijāi Singh (Bejee Singh) as *mund kati*, or 'blood-money,' for the murder of Jayappa. (*I.G.* (1907), v. 142.)]

[2] He derived his designations of Boondelay and the Jhansee-Wala from his situation.

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Shah Abdallee was advancing in great force to recover the provinces of Mooltan and Lahore. Although the Rohillas anxiously looked to the arrival of the Abdallee, and were then in communication with Ahmed Shah,[1] they did not hesitate to give the strongest assurances of friendship to Duttajee, and confirmed their agreement on oath. Shujah-ud-dowlah joined in similar declarations, with more sincerity at the time, as he bore a personal and hereditary dislike to Ahmed Shah, which generally has much effect on the political conduct both of Hindoos and Mahomedans, and he dreaded the invasion of the Abdallee as much as the encroachments of the Mahrattas.

Whilst these events were passing between the Mahrattas on the one part, and the Rohillas and Nabob of Oude on the other, Meer Shahabodeen, in consequence, it is said, of discovering a correspondence with Ahmed Shah Abdallee, put the Emperor, Alumgeer II., to death, together with his own relation, Intizam-ud-dowlah. He then raised to the imperial dignity a son of Kaum Bukhsh, the youngest son of Aurungzebe, by the title of Shah Jehan; whilst Ali Gohur, or Shah Alum, the son of the late nominal Emperor, after having some time before ineffectually applied for aid to Wittul Sewdeo, one of the Peishwa's officers, and to Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, was used as an instrument by the crafty Shujah-ud-dowlah, and became the nominal head of a confederacy against Meer Jaffeir and the English in the well-known warfare of Bengal. Meer Shahabodeen, after having perpetrated those execrable deeds, in order to await the issue of the approaching contest between the Mahrattas and the Abdallee, sought protection with Sooruj Mull, Raja of the Jaths, who with mistaken generosity afforded him an asylum in one of his forts.[2]

[1] [Ahmad Shāh, as an Afghan, was in sympathy with the Rohillas; as a devout Musulmān, he resented Marāthā aggression on his co-religionists in Hindustan. 'The cup of his fury was full; and he resolved to bring to a decisive issue his quarrel with the Hindu power which had thus crossed his track of conquest, ill-treated his allies, and made war on true believers.' (Owen, *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, p. 239.)]

[2] [The public career of Ghāzī-ud-dīn here closes. For the next thirty years he lived in disguise and obscurity. In 1790 he was discovered by the British police at Surat, and was, by order of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, permitted to depart with a small sum of money to Mecca. (Keene, *Mughal Empire*, pp. 55, 56.)]

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The Mahratta officer in Lahore was speedily put to flight, before Duttajee and Holkar could advance to his assistance. Ahmed Shah crossed the Jumna with the main body of his army, for the double purpose of favouring the junction of the Rohillas and of procuring forage and supplies with greater facility. At the same time his advanced division continued to march on, and Duttajee, fancying it was the main army, retired skirmishing. Holkar, who was in the rear of Duttajee at some distance, also retired. They had not thirty thousand men in both their armies, which appear to have been nearly equally divided. Holkar was negotiating with Sooruj Mull for his assistance, which the Jath promised, but refused to act in the field whilst the Mahrattas were so weak.

In this manner they gradually fell back along the west bank of the Jumna; but their excesses had made the peasantry their enemies, and they were unusually deficient in regard to intelligence. Whilst the Abdallee vanguard occupied their attention in front, Ahmed Shah, assisted by the local knowledge and activity of Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, suddenly crossed the Jumna near Delhi, took the division of Duttajee Sindia in flank, completely surprised them, and scarcely one-third of their number escaped. Of that number were Mahadajee Sindia and his nephew Junkojee, the son of Jyapa; but Duttajee and Jooteba were killed.

Holkar, on the news of this disaster, continued his retreat with great expedition until beyond Agra, where, stopping to take breath, he heard of a large convoy of supplies, escorted by the troops of Ahmed Khan Bungush and intended for the Abdallee camp. On this intelligence he crossed the Jumna, took or destroyed a great part of the convoy, and again retired until he reached Sekundra, east of the Jumna, but south of the Chumbul, where he fancied himself secure. A body of Afghans, however, detached from their main army, overtook him by a prodigious march, and routed his troops with great slaughter.[1]

[1] I have, after a comparison of the Persian and Mahratta authorities (perhaps on insufficient evidence), rejected the former, wherein it is stated that Holkar was in the Jeypoor country when Duttajee retreated, and that it was at the Sekundra, near Delhi, where he was surprised. The Tareekh-i-Dukhin by Boodh Sing follows the Persian manuscripts, and accounts for Holkar's venturing so near Delhi, by stating that the Afghans had gone to Nagour in pursuit of Junkojee. I should be glad, though a point of no great importance, to be able to present it to my readers with more confidence.

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Accounts of these reverses reached the Peishwa when encamped on the Manjera river, after the conclusion of the treaty by which so large a portion of the Deccan was ceded to him. Sewdasheo Rao, exulting in his late victory, requested permission to accompany Wiswas Rao, recover the lost reputation of the Mahrattas in Hindoostan, and drive the Afghans beyond the Attock; a proposal in which the Peishwa acquiesced. The natural violence of the Bhow's temper was increased by the family jealousy he had experienced, and the factious intrigues to which it gave rise. His pride was augmented by his extraordinary good fortune in the late campaign, and the spirit of military enthusiasm, so dangerous in a general without experience, took complete possession of his mind. Success had inspired him with a blind confidence, which salutary reverses in a humbler sphere would in all probability have amended; but it is unfortunate that such lessons cannot always reach individuals in high command, until the interests of their country, and the lives of thousands, may have been sacrificed to the effects of their arrogance and indiscretion.[1]

The Deccan army, prepared to accompany Sewdasheo Rao and his nephew, amounted to about twenty-thousand chosen horse; besides ten thousand men, artillery and disciplined infantry, under Ibrahim Khan Gardee, whose corps was doubled after the late service against Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally. The equipment of this army was more splendid in appearance than any Mahratta force that ever took the field.[2] The camp equipage, which, in the former expensive campaign, had been brought back from Hindoostan by Rugonath Rao, was employed as part of the

[1] [Kāsi Rājā Pandit, the leading original authority for the battle of Pānīpat, remarks that Sadāshivrāo Bhāu 'began to exercise his authority in a new and offensive manner, and . . . in all public business he showed a capricious and self-conceited conduct. He totally excluded from his council Mulhar Rāo and all the other chiefs, who were experienced in the affairs of Hindustan . . . and carried on everything by his own opinion alone.' Kāsi Rājā Pandit, who was an eye-witness of the battle and was much engaged in the negotiations preceding it, was in the employ of Shujā-ud-daula, Nawāb of Oudh. His narrative, translated from the Persian, is published in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii (1799). (*O.H.I.*, p. 468; Owen, *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, pp. 239, 240.)]

[2] Abajee Gonedeo, a highly respectable old Bramin, now employed in the judicial department at Satara, was then in a civil situation at Sungumnere: he was two days in the Bhow's camp when his army was encamped on the Paira, and gives a most lively description of it.

decoration. The lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broad cloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a great distance; immense parti-coloured walls of canvas enclosed each suite of tents, belonging to the principal officers; vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army, which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to be collected from every quarter in the Bhow's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers, and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was in this instance an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the magnificent Moghuls in the zenith of their glory.

The principal officers with the Bhow's division were Bulwunt Rao Gunput Mendlee, Shumsher Buhadur, Naroo Shunkur (Raja Buhadur), Wittul Sewdeo (Vinchoorkur), Trimbuck Sewdasheo (Poorundhuree), with many of the chiefs, or connections of the old Mahratta families, who were now but secondary personages in the Deccan, owing to the power of the Peishwas and the consequent ascendancy of the Bramins.

A large army remained with Ballajee Rao; but orders were dispatched to all the Mahratta commanders to join the standard of Sewdasheo Rao Bhow as he advanced towards the Moghul capital. Accordingly, before he crossed the Chumbul, Mulhar Rao Holkar, Junkojee Sindia, Dummajee Gaekwar, Jeswunt Rao Powar, Appajee Rao Atowlay, Antajee Mankesir, Govind Punt Boondelay, and many others of less note, had joined with their troops. Most of the Rajpoot chieftains sent parties of their horse, vast numbers of Pindharees, and irregulars of all descriptions, flocked to the increasing host; it seemed the national cause with all Hindoos; and Sooruj Mull, through the agency of Holkar, was induced to meet the army with thirty thousand men.[1]

[1] [According to Owen (*Fall of the Moghul Empire*, pp. 254, 255), Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī's corps comprised ' 2,000 horse and 9,000 sepoys with firelocks, disciplined after the European manner, together with 40 pieces of cannon. Except some five or six thousand inferior infantry, equipped in native fashion, the rest of the army consisted of cavalry, 58,000 in number, under various leaders, who each supplied his own contingent. Thus Holkar contributed 5,000; Sindia 10,000; Amājī Gaikwār, 8,000; Jaswant Rāo Powār, 2,000; &c. The whole train of artillery included 200 cannon, the bulk of these being heavy " guns of position." The Bhāu had also in his service two Pindārī

The experienced Jath, however, soon perceived that the unwieldy assemblage under the Bhow, clogged with a cumbersome artillery and suiting their movements to those of an attendant body of infantry, were ill adapted to the purpose of the war. He proposed, therefore, that the families and all the heavy equipments should be placed either in Gwalior or Jhansee, or under the protection of some of his own forts, whilst the Mahratta horse and his own could cut off the supplies; and, by constant skirmishing, oblige the Mahomedan princes to withdraw, and compel the Abdallee to retreat. Holkar coincided in this opinion, but Sewdasheo Rao had an aversion to Holkar, the enemy of Ramchundur Shenwee, and from the connection between Holkar and the Jaths he imbibed a prejudice against Sooruj Mull. Common report had spread accounts of wonders performed by Europeans; Sewdasheo Rao himself had witnessed the effects of French discipline and artillery; he had gained great advantages by the employment of Ibrahim Khan, and he haughtily contemned the only advice which might have ensured success.[1] The army proceeded to Delhi, and attempted the citadel at once. A party of the Mahrattas clambered up one of the towers and got inside, whilst the main body was assaulting the gateway and the besieged busy in defending it; but the Mahrattas, who had made good their entrance, without ever thinking of opening the gate to keep possession of the place, began to plunder, for some time without interruption, but being at last discovered, the whole body, as helpless as an unarmed mob, were driven out by about twelve men.[2] The assault was therefore deferred, batteries were opened, and in a short time the fort capitulated.[3] The Bhow, on this success, proposed placing Wiswas Rao on the throne and making Shujah-ud-dowlah his Vizier.[4]

As the Jumna was already unfordable, Sewdasheo Bhow

leaders with 15,000 of their irregular and vagabond cavalry.' (See the author's estimate on p. 521, *infra*.) Elphinstone puts the total number of men within the Marāthā lines at 300,000; but a proportion of these must have been non-combatants and followers.]

[1] Mahratta MSS., Asiatic Researches, vol. iii, Seyr Mutuakhereen.

[2] Seyr Mutuakhereen.

[3] Seyr Mutuakhereen, Mahratta MSS., and Asiatic Researches.

[4] Mulhar Rao Holkar, in his account of the campaign, asserts that the Bhow placed Wiswas Rao on the throne: the account in the Asiatic Researches, said to be on the authority of Shujah-ud-dowlah, mentions that such an arrangement was intended; but it seems to be an exaggeration on the part of Holkar.

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cantoned his army at Delhi, where his innumerable followers consumed everything in the neighbourhood ; all articles of provision and supply became scarce, but the first difficulty that appeared to the Bhow was the want of treasure. In this respect, however, he was more provident than in others, he brought two krores of rupees with him from the Deccan, and Holkar, Sindia, Govind Punt Boondelay and the Rajpoots furnished three more ; but the prospect of want of funds induced Sewdasheo Rao to seize the gold and silver ornaments of the imperial audience chamber, and to destroy the throne ; from all which he only procured the sum of seventeen lacks of rupees.

Against this procedure both Holkar and Sooruj Mull remonstrated in the strongest manner, as they considered it both impolitic and indecorous, but Sewdasheo Rao treated their opinion with scorn, on which Sooruj Mull with his whole force quitted the army in disgust, and the Rajpoots, at the suggestion of some of their friends in the Mahomedan camp, withdrew from the confederacy.[1]

In the meantime, Ahmed Shah Abdallee, whose camp was opposite to Anopshuhur[2] on the Ganges, had through Nujeeb-ud-dowlah prevailed on Shujah-ud-dowlah to make common cause with the Mussulmans against the Hindoos ; but as Shujah-ud-dowlah was less inimical to the Mahrattas than any of the other confederates, Sewdasheo Rao used many endeavours to conciliate or detach him from the alliance, opened a private communication, and also made him the organ of a public negotiation, which continued to be carried on for months between the Mahrattas and the Abdallee.[3] Both public and private intercourse was laid open by Shujah-ud-dowlah to his allies, and his answers were dictated at their suggestion.[4]

[1] Mahratta MSS., Holkar's letter, and Seyr Mutuakhereen : all the Mahratta accounts impute Sooruj Mull's defection wholly to the Bhow's misconduct. The Asiatic Researches say that he also was advised by the Mahomedans.

[2] [Anūpshahr (Anopshuhur) is now in the Bulandshahr District.]

[3] [' The Bhāu was finessing in the hope of extricating himself from a position which was becoming more and more embarrassing.' The habit of continuing negotiations in the midst of war through the medium of *vakīls* or agents was common among the Marāthās and other Indian belligerents. Wellesley highly resented this practice ; and his brother Arthur, in the Mahratta war, put a summary stop to it.' (Owen, *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, p. 245.)]

[4] Asiatic Researches.

When the violence of the monsoon had subsided, Sewdasheo Rao raised Mirza Juwan Bukht, the son of the absent Shah Alum, to the throne of Delhi, and proclaimed Shujah-ud-dowlah vizier of the empire. He then left Naroo Shunkur (Raja Buhadur), with a garrison in the citadel, and proceeded in person to Kunjpoora, a fortified town strongly garrisoned, which he breached and stormed. Ahmed Shah had been very desirous of relieving this post, but the Jumna was not yet fordable. He, however, moved his camp to the banks of that river, continued to amuse the Bhow by negotiation, and after some failures at last discovered a ford, which he crossed, twenty miles above Delhi; a great part of his army had gained the western bank before the Bhow would give credit to the intelligence,[1] and the whole of the Mahomedans were across by the 25th October. On the following morning the advanced guards of the two armies had a severe action, and both sides claimed the advantage; the Mahrattas intended to attack next day, but Holkar was still anxious to adopt the predatory plan and act against their supplies. Ibrahim Khan expostulated in a very violent manner; he said it would be abandoning him and his corps to destruction, and that he would turn his guns on the first body of cavalry that followed such an advice.[2] These dissensions were with some difficulty suppressed; and during their continuance the Mahrattas retired skirmishing to Panniput, where Sewdasheo Rao, by Ibrahim Khan's advice, entrenched himself. He dug a ditch fifty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and raised a rampart on which he mounted cannon, round both his own camp and the village of Panniput. Ahmed Shah likewise encamped with his allies, and fortified himself by placing felled trees around his army.

The Mahomedan force consisted of forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, thirty-eight thousand foot, and about seventy pieces of cannon: these were choice troops, but the irregulars not mustered were very numerous, and probably amounted to as many more. The Mahrattas have been reckoned at fifty-five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, with two hundred pieces of cannon[3] besides their Pindharees and followers, of whom

[1] Mahratta MSS. One Mahratta account by Rugonath Yadow, the Buker-Nuwees of the Peishwa, states that they were opposed in fording, but all other authority is against the assertion.

[2] Mahratta MSS., confirmed by Holkar's own letter.

[3] Asiatic Researches.

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there are supposed to have been upwards of two hundred thousand souls.[1]

Soon after the armies had taken post, Sewdasheo Rao directed Govind Punt Boondelay to cut off the enemy's supplies, in which he was for a time very successful; but Attaee Khan, sent out for the purpose, having come suddenly upon him when in a mango grove with only about a thousand of his men, the rest being dispersed plundering, attacked and killed him, cut off his head, and presented the acceptable present to the Abdallee king. Before the death of Govind Punt there was a probability that a treaty might be concluded, and the officers in both armies had visited each other; but as Sewdasheo Rao declared that Govind Punt was only in quest of forage for his own army, mutual accusations of treachery inflamed both parties, and negotiation for a time ceased.[2] The loss of Govind Punt was followed by another misfortune; a party of horse in charge of treasure, each man carrying a bag, were returning with it from Delhi, but having in the night mistaken the Afghan camp for their own, they were cut off with the whole of the treasure.[3] Nevertheless, the Rajpoots, although they had deserted, contrived to assist the Mahrattas with money, and Sooruj Mull sent a very large sum[4] which safely reached their camp; but the distress was soon extreme, and the battalions of Ibrahim Khan became clamorous for arrears.[5] Holkar proposed that they should attack with their horse and leave the Gardees (such was the name by which the regular infantry were distinguished) to take care of the camp; a taunt to which the Bhow showed himself superior by acceding to the proposal.[6] This attack was made on the 29th November on the left of the Abdallee camp, where Shah Wulee Khan, the Vizier of Ahmed Shah, was posted. The Mahrattas, in number about fifteen thousand, broke in, charged at all they met, and although the Afghans stood, they were broken, and upwards of

[1] [Both sides used *shuternals*, or camel-swivels, and rockets in great profusion. The Afghan force, in addition, included '2,000 camels, on each of which were mounted two musketeers, armed with pieces of a very large bore.' The usual name for a swivel-gun carried on a camel was *Zambūrak*, 'little hornet.' (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 985.)]

[2] Holkar's letter.

[3] Asiatic Researches and Tareekh-i-Dukhin.

[4] One manuscript says a crore of rupees.

[5] Mahratta MSS.

[6] Oral information.

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two thousand of them killed; at last the Vizier having been supported from all parts of the camp, the Mahrattas retired with the loss of one thousand men.[1] Holkar led on that occasion; and although there was constant and daily skirmishing, in which the Mahratta horsemen individually killed their antagonists,[2] there was no action of importance until the 23rd December, when Sewdasheo Bhow, Wiswas Rao, Holkar, Bulwunt Rao Gunput Mendlee, and several other commanders came out to attack Shah Wulee Khan, who, attended by a body of horse, was proceeding to a mosque in the neighbourhood,[3] and was surrounded by this host of Mahrattas. Nujeeb-ud-dowlah and many other officers came out to support him, and a very desperate conflict ensued. Nujeeb-ud-dowlah having advanced beyond the others towards the entrenchment, Bulwunt Rao, then acting as the Dewan of Sewdasheo Rao, an officer of courage and experience, instantly seized the advantage and charged him furiously; three thousand Rohillas were killed, and Nujeeb-ud-dowlah for a time in great danger of being taken, but Bulwunt Rao, in a moment of victory, was shot after the close of day by a musket-ball, when the Bhow, greatly afflicted by his loss, thought only of retiring to his entrenchment with the body of his friend.[4] Actions took place almost daily, and the Rohillas and Shujah-ud-dowlah earnestly tried to bring on a decisive action. But Ahmed Shah steadily refused,[5] in which he showed himself a good general, acquainted both with the minds of men and the science of war. The irritable impatience in his own camp, where the hardships were trifling compared with the Mahratta distress, told him precisely the state of his enemies, and that every day's delay in the situation only rendered the prey more certain. The Mahrattas were starving:—the improvident waste to which

[1] Mahratta MS. Asiatic Researches.

[2] Oral information; there was a large post (*a run-kham*) erected between the camps by the Bhow, where challenges and duels constantly took place.

[3] Tareekh-i-Dukhin.

[4] This was the same officer that levied the contribution from the Carnatic, and with whom Mr. Pigot corresponded in 1757. It is mentioned by the author of the Seyr Mutuakhereen that the Rohillas on this occasion penetrated into the Mahratta entrenchment; this is not stated by Kassee Punt or Boodh Sing, and is positively contradicted by Naroo Bhugwunt, the Arla Koolkurnee. Of Naroo Bhugwunt I shall take further notice presently.

[5] Asiatic Researches.

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they had long been accustomed rendered them totally unable to bear privation, and inaction gave them full time to reflect on the state to which they were reduced. Sewdasheo Bhow saw that it was now impossible to avoid a decisive battle: and although he still negotiated, his own judgment told him it was hopeless. A vast body of followers, whom hunger had made careless and daring, issued forth from the entrenchment in the night to procure food for themselves or their famished families, when they were discovered, surrounded, and butchered by the Afghans. The Mahrattas called to be led forth to fall by the sword, and not to be left to die in long endurance of useless misery. The chiefs applied to the Bhow, who approved of their resolve, and with his ordinary manner and in perfect composure distributed the usual *pan* and *betel* at breaking-up of the assembly.[1] Orders to prepare for battle were issued to the troops. All the grain in store was distributed, that they might have one full meal that night, and on the 7th January, an hour before the break of morning, the Mahratta troops were moving out of their entrenchment, left in front; their cannon, swivels, *shuternâls* or musquetoons mounted on camels, and their rockets marched first, covered by Ibrahim Khan Gardee; next came Dummajee Gaekwar's horse, followed by those of Wittul Sewdeo, Sewdasheo Bhow, and Wiswas Rao, Jeswunt Rao Powar, Shumsher Buhadur, Mulhar Rao Holkar, and Junkojee Sindia.

6th Jan. 1761.

7th Jan.

In this order they slowly advanced towards the Abdallee camp, with every symptom of hopeless despair rather than of steady resolution. The ends of their turbans were let loose, their hands and faces anointed with a preparation of turmeric,[2] and every-

[1] On the breaking up of an assembly or levee, or even in dismissing an ordinary visitor, rose-water, cardamoms, cloves, mace, &c. are first distributed; when the *pan* leaves and betel are given it is the signal for departure.

[2] These preparations signified that they were come forth to die. [Turmeric (*haldi*), the powdered tubers of the *Curcuma longa*, figures very largely in religious and other ceremonies, from the belief in yellow as a potent spirit-scarer. A few days before marriage the bride will wear a robe dyed in turmeric; the marriage letter of invitation is coloured with turmeric; it is used in the ceremony of the boundary oath in Madras, in vows for procuring children, and is frequently waved in a gourd round a sick man. Corpses are often smeared with turmeric before cremation, a custom which is not peculiar to the so-called Aryan Hindus, but prevails also among

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thing seemed to bespeak the despondency of sacrifice prepared, instead of victory determined. Sewdasheo Rao gave over his own wife and several of the principal families to the particular care of Holkar. His reason for this is supposed to have been that Mulhar Rao was the only chief who might expect to find favour with the unrelenting Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, by whose counsel Ahmed Shah was greatly swayed, and Holkar was therefore the only person whose influence was likely to obtain their eventual protection. Sewdasheo Rao, just before he moved out, (**1761.**) sent a note to one of the Carcoons [1] of Shujah-ud-dowlah, who had been employed as an agent in their negotiation, in which was written, 'The cup is now full to the brim and cannot hold another drop,' and requested that if anything could be done, it might be immediate. At the time this note was received, the scouts of Shujah-ud-dowlah brought intelligence that the Mahrattas were moving out, on which he proceeded straight to the king, whom he found asleep in his tent, with his horse saddled at the door. On being awoke he asked what news? and when informed of the exigency, mounted his horse and rode forward about a mile in front of his lines, where he at first began to doubt the intelligence; but by this time the Mahrattas had drawn up their army in the same order as they had moved out, with Ibrahim Khan on the left and Junkojee Sindia on the right; their artillery was placed in front of their line, and a general discharge of cannon announced that they were ready. Upon hearing this, the king, who was sitting upon his horse smoking a Persian kalleoon, gave it to his attendant, and with great calmness said to Shujah-ud-dowlah, 'Your servant's news is very true, I see.' He then ordered out his army, which drew up with its artillery in front. His Grand Vizier, Shah Wulee Khan, with the Afghans, was

very primitive tribes. The scent of burning turmeric is a well-known demon-scarer. The anointing of their faces and hands with turmeric by the Marāthā hosts was doubtless intended to scare away the evil spirits who would otherwise attack their bodies after death. Compare the Rājpūt practice of wearing a saffron-coloured robe when they went forth to conquer or die, mentioned in the *Ballad of Tānājī Mālūsrē*. This robe is termed in the ballad *maranācha poshak*, i.e. 'dead-clothes.' Note also Fryer's remark that 'A soldier that puts on a crocus-dye intimates a resolution either to die or be conqueror.' (Fryer, ed. Crooke, 1912, ii. 106.)]

[1] Kassee Punt, the same whose well-written account of the campaign is published in the Asiatic Researches by Mr. James Browne.

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posted in the centre; from which Ahmed Khan Bungush, Hafiz Rehmut and Doondy Khan Rohillas, with Umeer Beg and Berkhordar Khan, formed the right wing; and on the Vizier's left were posted Shujah-ud-dowlah, Nabob of Oude, and Nujeeb-ud-dowlah Rohilla. Shah Pusund Khan, with a choice body of Afghans, secured the extremity of the left flank. In this order the battle began with a general cannonade, and the lines drew near to each other. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, supported by Dummajee Gaekwar, advanced resolutely on the Rohillas in the right wing of the Mahomedan army, covering his left flank from the attack of Umeer Beg and Berkhordar Khan, by wheeling back two of his battalions in an oblique direction from their right. On the right of the Mahrattas, Junkojee Sindia was immediately opposed to Shah Pusund Khan and Nujeeb-ud-dowlah. The last advanced, throwing up a succession of embankments to cover his infantry,—a most extraordinary labour, which he probably undertook with a view to ultimate defence, that in case, as was not improbable, the desperate impetuosity of the Mahrattas should break through the troops, each embankment might then prove a rallying point.

Sewdasheo Rao, with his nephew, and Jeswunt Rao Powar were opposite to the Grand Vizier. The great Bhugwa Jenda, or standard of the nation, was raised in the front, and three Juree Putkas were in the field. Ahmed Shah was at some distance in rear of the Mahomedan army. When the combatants respectively had outmarched their artillery, the Mahratta cry of Hur Huree! Hur Huree! was distinctly heard; the battle then very soon became general, and a tremendous charge was made full on the centre, where the troops of the Grand Vizier, of whom ten thousand were horse, were guilty of a great mistake in not advancing to meet the shock. The Mahrattas, in consequence, broke through them, but riders on both sides were dashed to the ground. The dust and confusion were so great that combatants, whilst they fought hand to hand and grappled in the strife of death, could only distinguish each other by the Mahomedan Allah! and Deen! or the incessant Hur! Hur! Mahdeo! which rent the air from the Mahratta host. Shah Wulee Khan, in full armour, threw himself from his horse, and the bravest of his men followed his example; but most of the Afghans gave way. 'Our country is far off, my friends,' said the Vizier, 'whither do you

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fly!' but he was left for a time defended only by the broken remnant of his force. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, though with the loss of more than half his men, and himself wounded, was successful; near eight thousand Rohillas lay dead or wounded; but the left wing of the Mahomedan army was still unbroken. This state of the battle was about noon reported to Ahmed Shah, who now evinced the collected decision of a great commander. He directed a chosen band of his personal guards to enter his encampment, and drive out every armed man who had retired from his duty; an order which they promptly executed. Troops were soon sent to support the right wing, and the Grand Vizier was directed to make repeated charges with ten thousand men at full gallop on the centre of the Mahrattas; whilst Shah Pusund Khan and Nujeeb-ud-dowlah supported the Vizier by simultaneous attacks on the flank. These onsets were still met and repulsed; but the physical strength of the Afghans, in the protracted and close struggle, was an over-match for the slighter frames of the Hindoo natives of the south. The Mahrattas, however, on this terrible day fought valiantly; and no chief was reproachable, except Mulhar Rao Holkar. Of his countrymen none doubted his courage, but he did not do his utmost to support his prince; and some do not hesitate to accuse him of treachery. A little after two o'clock in the afternoon Wiswas Rao was mortally wounded; on seeing which, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow descended from his elephant, sent, as is said, a message to Holkar 'to do as he had directed,' and mounting his horse, a famous Arab charger, disappeared in the confusion of the fight. The message to Holkar, if it ever was sent, as he alleges, proved instantaneously fatal. Holkar went off, Dummajee Gaekwar followed, and in a moment resistance on the part of the Mahrattas ceased. All was then flight and confusion. Thousands were cut down, and vast numbers perished by suffocation in the ditch of their entrenchment; men, women, and children crowded into the village of Panniput, where they were surrounded for the night; and here it might seem that the greatest barbarians would have been touched with some feeling of mercy; but the Afghans showed none. To the eternal disgrace of themselves and of humanity, they next morning coolly took out the unfortunate victims and divided them in their camp. They retained the women and children as slaves; but they ranged the men in lines, and amused themselves

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in cutting off their heads,[1] which they afterwards piled as trophies in front of their tents. The body of Wiswas Rao was found, and Ahmed Shah having sent for it to look at, the Afghans assembled

[1] They ranged them in lines, gave each of the unfortunate wretches a few grains of parched grain, and the Bihishtee (or water carrier) went along pouring a little water into their palms, after which they were beheaded. Naroo Bhugwunt, Koolkurnee of Arla, one of the persons led out to execution, relates his escape in the following manner. He was Carcoon in charge of the accounts of a party of Afghans belonging to the Bhow's artillery at the time they left the Deccan. When the Mahrattas attacked their countrymen, the Jemadar of the Afghans, Hoossein Khan, who was a person well known, represented to the Bhow that his people were afraid to fight, as they had been assured, both by the Rohillas and the Abdallee, that they should be executed if they appeared in arms against their own king. He therefore solicited and obtained his discharge; but he assured Sewdasheo Rao that he would return when he could with safety; that he had eat his salt and regretted his being compelled to leave his service. He afterwards kept up a correspondence with the Bhow, to which the narrator was privy. The Bihishtee, who poured the water into his hand, was the same that had served with Hoossein Khan. He immediately ran to the Jemadar and told him, 'here is our Bramin about to be killed.' Hoossein Khan came forward, said something to his countrymen, which the narrator believed was, 'he wanted him as a slave,' and dragged him violently by the arm towards his tent, where he remained for a day. The Jemadar then asked him through an interpreter, if he would like to stay with him or go back to the Deccan. To which the narrator replied, that 'he would like to stay with him.' 'Tell him he lies,' said the Jemadar; shortly after he called him on one side, told him in Hindoostanee (which he could speak very well when he chose,) that a party of horse belonging to a friend of his would escort him twenty kos from camp; the generous Afghan at the same time gave him five gold mohurs, telling him to be careful his escort knew nothing of his having money, and thus they parted. The narrator, after they had gone some distance, bethought him of the Jemadar's advice, and conceiving it likely that his conductors might search him, put his gold into his mouth, and shortly after when they turned round towards their camp, thought his treasure quite secure. But one of their party, more cunning than the rest, had observed him put the money in his mouth, and when his companions had got to a sufficient distance he set out *after* the prize. Presently, the narrator, who was running on as fast as he could, heard a cry of 'Ho! Bohman!' behind him, and turning round saw an Afghan with *large eyes* and a *very long* beard in pursuit of him;—he stood in terror. 'Ho, Bohman!' said he in broken Hindoostanee, 'what have you got in your mouth?' and obliged him to give up his gold mohurs; he then told him 'to go to the devil,' and galloped back to rejoin his comrades.

I believe the old man's narration to be perfectly correct, having at an interval of two years cross-examined him, on all the points which I had before noted down.

in a tumultuous manner, calling out, 'This is the body of the king of the unbelievers; we will have it dried and stuffed to carry back to Cabul.'

Shujah-ud-dowlah and the Rohillas prevailed on Ahmed Shah to permit the body to be burnt by the Hindoos. Shujah-ud-dowlah also endeavoured to save Junkojee Sindia and Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who were among the wounded prisoners; but the enmity of Nujeeb-ud-dowlah to the name of Sindia was inflexible, and the crime on the part of Ibrahim Khan, of having fought on the side of Hindoos against the true believers, decided his doom. They were both put to death. A headless trunk, supposed to be the body of the Bhow,[1] was found at some distance from the field of battle, and there is scarce a doubt of his having been slain, but his fate was never accurately known. Jeswunt Rao Powar fell in the field, but Shumsher Buhadur escaped wounded from the battle, and was one of the many massacred by the peasantry. Wittul Sewdeo (Vinchoorkur), Dummajee Gaekwar and Naroo Shunkur,[2] with part of the garrison at Delhi, returned to their own country. Of the fighting men, one-fourth only are supposed to have escaped, and of the followers about an equal proportion; so that nearly two hundred thousand Mahrattas perished in the campaign.

Sooruj Mull treated such of the fugitives as reached his territory with the greatest kindness, and the Mahratta nation, to this day, view the conduct of the Jhats on that occasion with gratitude and regard.

During the period when Sewdasheo Raǫ was shut up in his entrenchment, news of his situation from time to time reached the Peishwa, and in the month of November he moved to Ahmednugur, and from thence to the banks of the Godavery. In December the intelligence became still more alarming. Janojee Bhonslay joined him with a body of ten thousand men, and the army moved towards Hindoostan. In the middle of January, when crossing the Nerbuddah, a cossid (or letter carrier) belonging to the Soucars,[3]

[1] [Waring states that the Bhāu (Bhow) was killed by an Afghan, who had pursued him for the jewels he was wearing. His body was recognized by some Hindus, and was duly cremated according to Hindu rites. (*A History of the Mahrattas*, 1810, p. 161.)]

[2] The author of the Seyr Mutuakhereen says he and his garrison were destroyed, which is a mistake.

[3] In India, the Soucars, or bankers, are generally in possession of

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who was engaged to reach Aurungabad in nine days from Panniput, met the Peishwa's army and mentioned that the Mahrattas were defeated. He was brought to the Peishwa, who opened the letter in his charge and read its fatal contents; 'two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up.' From these words the fate of Sewdasheo Rao, Wiswas Rao, the officers, and the army was understood.

A confirmation of the account, by the arrival of some persons from the army, soon placed it beyond all doubt; amongst the first of the fugitives was Ballajee Jenardin, nephew of Baboo Rao, and afterwards well known as Nana Furnuwees.[1] His mother was taken by the Afghans, but his wife escaped, as did Parwuttee Bye, the widow of the unfortunate Bhow. Grief and despondency at once spread over the whole of Maharashtra. All the military families had to mourn relatives, missing or slain, and the Peishwa never recovered the shock. He slowly retraced his steps towards Poona, but his faculties were much impaired; a rapid decay of the constitution ensued, and he expired in the end of June at the temple of Parbuttee, a conspicuous building erected by him in the southern environs of the city of Poona.[2]

the first intelligence which in any way affects the state of the money market. The figurative style used in the letter which will follow, is by no means uncommon in India, when caution is necessary.

[1] [In Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Jervis's MS. studies of the Marāthā people, Nānā Farnavīs (Furnuwees) is described as descended from Mādhujī Pant Bānū, a Chitpāvan Brahman and a village-officer in Bankot *tāluka*, Ratnāgiri District. He gave shelter to Tānu Vishvanāth, brother of the Pēshwā Bālājī Vishvanāth, after his defeat by the Sīdīs near Srīvardhan, and was subsequently invited by the Pēshwā to Poona. His three sons were given employment at Court, the elder, Bālājī, being appointed Farnavīs. He died at Delhi, leaving two sons, Janārdhan Pant and Bābu Rāo, who succeeded to his office. Janārdhan Pant's son, Bālājī, after his flight from Pānīpat, filled the office of Farnavīs jointly with his uncle Bābu Rāo and his son Morobā. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, xxii. 65.)]

[2] [Elphinstone (*History of India*) should be consulted for a good summary of the effects of the battle of Pānīpat (Panniput). Up to that date the great Marāthā chiefs had been generally obedient to the Pēshwā, and had always joined his standard. Now his prestige was gone, and the chiefs became more and more independent. The fact is that with the close of the history of the Mughal Empire, which may be dated from the same battle, the confederacy of Marāthā princes automatically dissolved, for the danger of Mughal dominance had passed away.]

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This event so closely following the fatal field of Panniput contributed to increase the general gloom which overhung the country. Ballajee Bajee Rao was one of those princes whose good fortune, originating in causes anterior to their time, obtain, in consequence of national prosperity, a higher degree of celebrity, especially among their own countrymen, than they may fully merit. Ballajee Rao, however, was a man of considerable political sagacity, of polished manners, and of great address. His measures are marked by an excessive cunning, which Bramins, in general, mistake for wisdom; he practised all the arts of dissimulation, and was a perfect adept in every species of intrigue. A strong example of the worst species of Bramin character is shown in the manner by which he compassed the destruction of Suckwar Bye Sirkay. The private life of Ballajee Rao was stained with gross sensuality; but, though indolent and voluptuous, he was generous and charitable, kind to his relatives and dependants, an enemy to external violence, and to that sort of oppression which such violence implies;—on the whole, he may be regarded as rather a favourable specimen of a Bramin in power.

Previously to Shao's death, little amendment took place in the civil administration; but the territory under the immediate care of the Peishwas had been in a progressive state of improvement since the time of Ballajee Wishwanath, principally owing to the abolition of the pernicious system of letting out the revenues of districts in farm, and to the encouragement afforded to the villagers to protect themselves from the exactions of every petty chief who had the means of enforcing contributions in money, forage, or provisions. Ballajee Rao appointed fixed Mamlitdars, or Soobehdars, each of whom had charge of several districts, and Sur-soobehdars were placed in the more distant provinces, under whom there were several Mamlitdars. There was, in the first instance, no Sur-soobehdar in the territory between the Godavery and the Kistna; the intermediate districts, the best protected and most productive under the Mahratta rule, were entrusted to the Peishwa's favourites and courtiers, some of whom were his relations. They held absolute charge of the police, the revenue, and the civil and criminal judicature; and in most cases had power of life and death. They were bound to furnish regular accounts, but they always evaded a settlement. They governed by deputy, and remained at court, whether in the capital

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or in the field, in attendance upon the Peishwa. Their districts were, of course, extremely ill-managed and in very great disorder; the supplies furnished for the exigencies of the state were tardy, and, in comparison with the established revenues, insignificant.

The commencement of a better system is ascribed to Ramchundur Baba Shenwee, and after his death Sewdasheo Rao Bhow improved on his suggestions. Ballajee Rao was sensible of the advantage to be derived from bringing the collectors of revenue under control; he had not sufficient energy for the undertaking himself, but he supported the measures of his cousin. Fortunately, Sewdasheo Rao found a fit person in Balloba Manduwagunnee, whom he appointed Sur-soobehdar over the Soobehdars and Mamlitdars in question; and, after much opposition and odium, not without the necessity in one instance of resorting to force, he compelled them to produce their accounts, displaced one or two, and made large recoveries on account of the government. This was a very great step towards amendment in one department, nor were others neglected. A Shastree of respectability, named Bal Kishen Gargeel, was appointed head of the Poona Nyadeish, or court of justice; and the police, which had generally been an object of some attention in their camps, was much invigorated at the capital. The Peishwa himself had little genius for civil government, but a strong inclination to all sorts of political intrigue. Sewdasheo Rao was open to bribery, and the Mahratta nation, generally, had not obtained sufficient leisure for great improvements in civil arrangement; they had scarcely begun to lay down rules when they were called off by some foreign war or internal dissension. But under the government of Ballajee Bajee Rao, Punchayets, the ordinary tribunals of civil justice, began to improve; because power, if it did not always examine and uphold their decrees, at least did not interfere to prevent the decisions of the community. The Mahratta dominion attained its greatest extent under Ballajee Rao's administration; and most of the principal Bramin families can only date their rise from that period. In short, the condition of the whole population was in his time improved, and the Mahratta peasantry, sensible of the comparative amelioration which they began to enjoy, have ever since blessed the days of Nana Sahib Peishwa.

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CHAPTER XXII.

FROM A.D. 1761 TO A.D. 1766.

A.D. 1761.—In the end of September, Mahdoo Rao, the second son of the late Peishwa, then in his seventeenth year, proceeded to Satara, accompanied by his uncle, Rugonath, and received investiture as Peishwa from the nominal Raja, who remained precisely in the same state of imprisonment under the obdurate Tara Bae, as before described, until her demise, which happened in the month of December following, at the great age of eighty-six. To the last moment of her existence she maintained her inveteracy against Ballajee Rao and Sewdasheo Rao, declaring that she expired contented, having lived to hear of their misfortunes and death. The Raja's condition was afterwards so far improved that he was brought down from the fort and suffered to live a prisoner at large in the town of Satara. At a subsequent period he was permitted by Mahdoo Rao to appoint agents for the management of his Patell dues in several villages and the collection of his other hereditary claims as Deshmookh of Indapoor.

Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally were at Beder when news of Ballajee Rao's death reached them. The latter, as nominal Dewan, had already usurped the entire powers of the government; and deeming the present opportunity favourable for recovering the lost districts from the Mahrattas, he began under various pretences to concentrate a large army in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad.

Rugonath Rao, naturally fond of power, contemplated with no small satisfaction the prospect of gratifying his favourite inclination during the minority of his nephew. When the preparations of Nizam Ally gave reason to expect a rupture with the Moghuls, he became desirous of putting an end to some existing disputes between the Presidency of Bombay and Ramajee

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Punt, the Soobehdar of the Concan, which had arisen in consequence of protection afforded by the English to their ally, the Seedee of Jinjeera, who had been besieged the preceding season by Ramajee Punt, assisted by a corps of Portuguese. The conduct of the Bombay Government on this occasion was equally judicious and spirited. They saved a petty chief, by whom they had frequently been much accommodated, prevented his throwing his island into the hands of any other European power, and compelled the Mahrattas to respect the British flag, which was hoisted at Jinjeera, when Ramajee Punt, after every representation, persevered in his intention of reducing the place. Mr. Crommelin[1] was President in Council at this juncture, and an agent having arrived on the part of Rugonath Rao, for the purpose of accommodating all differences, an agreement was concluded by the Bombay Government and Govind Sew Ram on the part of the Peishwa.[2] A gentleman was also sent to condole with Mahdoo Rao on the occasion of his father's death; a customary form which civility requires. The agreement itself was rather an assurance of civility and friendship than a definite treaty, but Rugonath Rao, being ill-prepared to resist the expected invasion of the Moghuls, wished eventually to obtain from Bombay some European soldiers and guns, and prolonged the negotiation for that purpose by sending another wukeel to Bombay, on pretence of making some alterations in the agreement, but in reality to negotiate for military aid.

The English East India Company, from the example of their great commercial rivals the Dutch, had early been desirous of obtaining territory. Partly from this circumstance, and the representations of their servants for the last twenty years, they had been exceedingly solicitous to obtain possession of the island of Salsette and the fort of Bassein, not only on account of the advantages expected from the revenue, but as advanced positions

[1] [Charles Crommelin became Governor of Bombay on February 28, 1760, and was succeeded by Thomas Hodges on January 27, 1767.]

[2] It consisted of seven or eight articles regarding detention or stoppage of vessels, wrecks, deserters, and the restoration of all territory taken from the Seedee by Ramajee Punt. The Seedee afterwards took an improper advantage of the protection afforded, by committing several acts of violence in the Mahratta territory, of which the English were obliged to mark their disapprobation in the strongest manner.

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essentially necessary to the security of the island and harbour of Bombay. The overtures of Rugonath Rao, therefore, met with the readiest attention; but although he offered to cede territory yielding a revenue of one lack and a half of rupees at Jumboseer, and to make several other concessions, yet as the favourite island of Salsette was not of the number, the alliance was suspended.

As the danger from the threatened invasion increased the overtures were renewed, even Salsette was offered, and though not by an accredited agent, the President and Council were sanguine in their hope of accomplishing their object; especially as by every succeeding day's account, the Mahrattas, without aid from the English, were likely to be completely worsted.

No period indeed for the last forty years had been more favourable for the restoration of the Moghul authority in the Deccan. The loss of the battle of Panniput was imputed by the Mahratta Sillidars solely to the misconduct of the Bramins; the Bramins of the Desh, or country above the Ghauts, acknowledged the fact, but declared that it was to be ascribed entirely to the mismanagement of their brethren of the Concan. The violent party feelings, which arise under every government on occasions of reverses, were heightened in the loose confederacy of this nation by the prejudices of ignorance and of cast; under such circumstances, where so very few could distinguish between misfortune and misrule, dissension was a natural consequence. Nizam Ally was not yet sufficiently apprised of those dissensions [1] to reap advantage from them; but even if he had possessed the requisite information, one of his first acts, the destruction of the Hindoo temples at Toka, a village upon the Godavery, would have prevented his being joined by any party. It was nevertheless celebrated by the Mahomedan soldiery as a triumph, and Nizam Ally was pushing on towards Poona, when Ramchundur

[1] The Bombay Government appear to have been at least as well informed as Nizam Ally, and it is much to be regretted they do not oftener mention the Mahrattas. 'We well know,' say they, in their secret consultation of 14th December, 1761, 'that Nizam Ally is now near Poona, that the Bramins cannot raise a force sufficient to oppose them, from the backwardness of their own officers (who look upon the situation of Nanna's family as desperate), and the low state of their finances; Tarra Boy (the Sow Rajah's widow) and all the Morattas at the bottom are against them, and would show it at a proper occasion.'

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Jadow[1] and most of the Mahrattas in the Moghul service, disgusted by the insult offered to their religion, deserted to the Peishwa, and carried with them Meer Moghul, the youngest son of Nizam Ool Moolk.

The Moghuls, although they continued to advance, were opposed with increasing spirit; and after they were within fourteen miles of Poona, Nizam Ally was induced to listen to overtures, and relaxed in an original demand for the restoration of the whole territory conquered by Ballajee Rao. An accommodation took place, by which cessions to the amount of twenty-seven lacks of rupees of annual revenue from Aurungabad and Beder were relinquished by Rugonath Rao as the price of peace; and the negotiation for European assistance from Bombay was abruptly terminated by extravagant and impertinent proposals from Ramajee Punt.

A.D. 1762.—After the conclusion of the treaty the young Peishwa, attended by Trimbuck Rao Mama, maternal uncle of the late Sewdasheo Chimnajee Bhow, was sent into the southern territory for the collection of revenue,[2] and Nizam Ally returned towards Beder, where he imprisoned Sulabut Jung in the month of July,[3] and about fifteen months afterwards secured his usurpation by the murder[4] of a brother, whose natural imbecility would have prevented his ever becoming a formidable rival whilst unsupported by a foreign power.

Shortly after the return of Mahdoo Rao to Poona, disputes arose between him and his uncle, in consequence of Mahdoo Rao's desire to be admitted to a share in the administration. Rugonath Rao, as well as Sukaram Bappoo and several other ministers, were much offended at his presumption: conceiving that affairs could not be conducted without them, they threw up their situations, but Sukaram Bappoo, whose object was to

[1] Descendant of Dhunnajee Jadow. Jadow of Sind Kheir has, I believe, maintained his allegiance to the Moghuls since the murder of his ancestor Lookhjee Jadow Rao by the son of Mullik Umber.

[2] Mahratta MSS. and Poona Records. Colonel Wilks does not mention this expedition into the Carnatic, and I therefore conclude Mahdoo Rao did not go far beyond the Kistna, if he crossed that river at all.

[3] 14th Zeehije A.H. 1175. according to the Mahomedan accounts, which I have adopted, because Sulabut Jung was with the army near Poona. By the English authorities he is said to have been confined on the 18th July, 1761.

[4] 8th Rubbee-ul-uwul A.H. 1177.

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keep well with both parties, resigned, as if a matter to which he was compelled, and always contrived, as far as he was himself concerned, to keep open the door of reconciliation. Mahdoo Rao in the promptest manner requested Trimbuck Rao Mama to act in the situation of Dewan, which he accordingly undertook, assisted by Gopaul Rao Govind Putwurdhun, Jagheerdar of Merich[1]; and it is worthy of remark, as extremely creditable to the selection of so young a man, that Ballajee Jenardin Bhanoo, already mentioned and afterwards well known as Nana Furnuwees, and Hurry Punt Phurkay were at this period employed as personal Carcoons by Mahdoo Rao.

Trimbuck Rao's acceptance of the office of minister excited great jealousy towards him in the mind of Sukaram Bappoo, and an irreconcilable aversion on the part of Rugonath Rao. This state of feeling, aggravated by the strongest animosity between Anundee Bye, the wife of Rugonath Rao, a woman of a very violent character, and Gopika Bye, the widow of the late and mother of the present Peishwa, inflamed the parties to open hostility.[2] Rugonath Rao having quitted Nassuck, to which place he had retired, proceeded to Aurungabad, where he was received with the greatest attention by Moraud Khan, governor of that city, immediately assisted with Moghul troops, and in a very short time was joined by a large body of Mahrattas. With this force he proceeded towards Poona, and half way between

[1] [Merich, i.e. Mirāj, originally formed part of the Sāngli State, which was granted as a *jāgīr* by Mādhav Rāo the Pēshwā to Govind Rāo Patvardhan, a Konkanasth Brahman, who was the son of the family priest of the Chief of Ichalkaranjī. In 1772 the *jāgīr* descended to the minor Chintāman Rāo, grandson of Govind Rāo, who on coming of age quarrelled with his uncle. Eventually the *jāgīr* was divided between them, the uncle, Gangādhar Rāo, retaining Mirāj, and Chintāman Rāo taking Sāngli. The modern Mirāj State is divided into parts, held by a senior and junior branch of the Patvardhan family. The senior branch holds a group of villages in the Kistna valley, a second group in the south of Dhārwār District, and a third in the midst of Sholāpur District; while the junior branch holds other villages in the Dhārwār, Sātāra and Sholāpur Districts. The chiefs of both branches pay tribute to the British Government and rank as first-class Sardārs of the Deccan. (*I.G. Bom.*, 1909, ii. 529, 530.)]

[2] [W. Taylor (Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), vol. i, pt. ii) mentions that the hostility of Gopīkabāi to Raghunāth Rāo arose primarily from the reproaches cast upon her by Raghunāth Rāo in consequence of her addiction to licentious intrigues, which he, as the brother of Bālājī Bājī Rāo, naturally resented.]

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Poona and Ahmednugur, attacked the army of his nephew, which, being very inferior, immediately gave way. Nizam Ally was advancing to the support of Rugonath Rao. Janojee Bhonslay, without avowing his intentions, was approaching from Berar, and every appearance indicated the probability of a great revolution in the Poona government; when Mahdoo Rao, with remarkable foresight and decision, immediately resolved on throwing himself into the power of his uncle, as the only means of preventing a complete division in the state. Whilst his associates were directed to seek their own safety, Mahdoo Rao presented himself before his uncle, urged his reasons for making the concession with much propriety; and although the latter placed him in confinement, he was obliged to yield him that respect which, at the height of his prosperity, Rugonath Rao himself could never command. As the price of the Moghul alliance, he had promised to restore the forts of Doulutabad, Sewneree, Asseergurh, and Ahmednugur, and territory from the cessions made in January, 1760, yielding a revenue of fifty-one lacks of rupees, or an equivalent to that amount. Nizam Ally, finding that a reconciliation had taken place, affected great satisfaction; and having come to Pairgaom on the Beema, a friendly interchange of civilities took place, and orders were issued for the delivery of the districts stipulated; but these orders, for reasons hereafter explained, were suspended, and none of the promised forts except Doulutabad were ever relinquished.[1]

Rugonath Rao being now uncontrolled appointed Sukaram Bappoo and Neelkunt Mahdeo Poorundhuree his principal ministers, bestowing on the former a Jagheer of nine lacks of rupees, and conferring on the latter the command of the important fort of Poorundhur, which, since first obtained by Ballajee Wishwanath, had been hitherto carefully retained in the Peishwa's family. Rugonath Rao's next proceeding was still more imprudent. On the demise of Jug Jewan Pritee Needhee, he had been succeeded by his nephew, Sreenewass Gungadhur; more commonly known by his original name, Bhowan Rao; but Rugonath Rao having displaced him raised his own infant son, Bhaskur Rao, to the dignity of Pritee Needhee, and appointed Naroo Shunkur (Raja Buhadur), the same officer, who for a time

[1] Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum, Mahratta MSS.

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commanded in the citadel of Delhi, to the office of Mootaliq, which was in effect conferring the office of Pritee Needhee upon him. Ramchundur Jadow, who had in the preceding year deserted the Moghul standard, was restored to the rank of Senaputtee, formerly held by his great grandfather, the famous Dhunnajee; but, as he was disappointed in a promise made to him of receiving, as Senaputtee, the sovereignty of Guzerat, he took the first opportunity of making his peace with Nizam Ally. Kanhojee Mohitey was appointed Sur-Lushkur, and Wittul Sewdeo (Vinchoorkur)[1] was also raised to high rank. The situation of Peishwa's Furnuwees, which, since the time of Ballajee Wishwanath, had been continued in the family of Bhanoo, was taken from Moraba Baboo Rao and conferred on Chintoo Wittul.

A.D. 1763.—These changes occasioned much discontent, but when Rugonath Rao, in order to gratify his revenge towards Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun, attacked and took the fort of Merich, it caused disaffection in many persons, who were before disposed to support him in the government during the minority of his nephew; and Gopaul Rao with several others, who had suffered by his measures, readily listened to overtures, which were made to them by Wittul Soondur, the minister of Nizam Ally.[2] This minister was a Bramin of the Yajurwedee tribe, who was raised to the office of Dewan with the title of Raja Pertabwunt, at the period when Nizam Ally confined his brother. Jealous, it is said, of the arrangement concluded by Moraud Khan,[3] Wittul Soondur persuaded Nizam Ally that he had now an opportunity of completely reducing the Mahrattas; and that the most advisable policy was to overturn the government of the Concan Bramins, to declare Janojee Bhonslay regent, of which situation (the Raja of Satara being incompetent to the task of governing), it should be pretended that Janojee, by the death of Tara Bye, became the proper representative. To this scheme Janojee readily acceded; but Nizam Ally, whose duplicity rendered him

[1] He was appointed *Punt Raj Adnya*, an office created during Shao's government, about the period of the revenue arrangement. It was intended as an office of control and inspection under the Raja, but it soon dwindled into a mere sinecure; as the latter, and with considerable emoluments, it still exists.

[2] Mahratta MSS.

[3] Hudeequ-i-Alum.

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true to no plan, whilst his minister was thus negotiating, secretly renewed a correspondence with the Raja of Kolapoor, by which he intended to have an eventual competitor in reserve, in case Janojee's claims should prove inconvenient.[1] Everything seemed to promise success; Meer Moghul having been neglected by Rugonath Rao returned to his brother; Moraba Furnuwees, Sewdasheo Ramchundur, the son of Ramchundur Shenwee, Bhowan Rao, the dispossessed Pritee Needhee, Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun, and many other persons joined the Moghuls. The former agreement, known as the treaty of Pairgaom, was broken off before the districts were restored, and hostilities recommenced. Rugonath Rao was not prepared for this event, but derived the greatest assistance from his nephew, who, on this emergency, although still retained in a state of confinement, afforded his uncle the full support of his influence and counsel. Mulhar Rao Holkar and Dummajee Gaekwar were both present with Rugonath Rao; the army was not sufficient to contend with the undivided force which accompanied Nizam Ally, but they were lightly equipped; and that circumstance, in Holkar's opinion, made them superior to the enemy. They advanced as if to give battle, but avoided an action, passed the Moghul army, and proceeded to Aurungabad, which they attempted to escalade, but were repulsed. On the approach of Nizam Ally they went off towards Berar, entered the districts of Janojee Bhonslay, and plundered in their usual manner. They levied a contribution of sixty thousand rupees from Mulkapoor, and, on being pursued, returned to Mungy-Pyetun; thence they turned off in a south-easterly direction, and committed great havoc in the Moghul territory. Nizam Ally followed them for some time, but seeing it was impossible to overtake them, he marched straight on Poona, which he determined to plunder; and Rugonath Rao, for the purpose of retaliation, proceeded towards Hyderabad.

As soon as it was known at Poona that the Moghul army was approaching, most of the people removed as much of their property as they could carry away, and fled to the hill-forts or into the Concan. The Peishwa's family and the state papers

[1] Mahratta MSS. Oral information, Hudeequ-i-Alum, and original letters from Nizam Ally, procured from the Raja of Kolapoor. The letters are addressed to Jeejee Bye, the widow of Sumbhajee, who acted as Regent during the minority of her adopted son, named Sivajee.

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were sent off towards Singurh, but Bappoo Kurundeea, one of Janojee Bhonslay's officers, advanced so rapidly, that some of the property belonging to the fugitives was taken, the village below Singurh was set on fire by his troops, and many manuscripts and state papers, illustrative of Mahratta history, were totally destroyed.

Nizam Ally encamped at a short distance from the city, and allowed his army to plunder it; after which all houses not ransomed were torn down or burned. He next proceeded towards Poorundhur, and thence ravaged the country as far east as the Beema; but the violence of the rains was such as to induce him to adopt the resolution of cantoning his army until the opening of the season. For this purpose he intended to have gone to Beder, but Janojee Bhonslay persuaded him to alter the destination to Aurungabad.

In the meantime Rugonath Rao had returned to watch his motions; the wall which surrounds the city of Hyderabad had prevented him from making any impression on the Moghul capital,[1] but he exacted a contribution of one lack and eighty thousand rupees from the suburbs.[2] He had opened a secret negotiation with the Mahratta chiefs in the army of Nizam Ally, and found Janojee Bhonslay, the only one whose defection occasioned serious alarm, willing to listen to an accommodation. His ambitious hopes, formed on joining the Moghuls, had been damped from a suspicion of the duplicity of the Dewan, Raja Pertabwunt. Upon a promise, therefore, of receiving territory yielding a revenue of thirty-two lacks of rupees, being a portion of that which was promised to Nizam Ally as the price of his assistance to Rugonath Rao, he agreed to withdraw his support, and soon found a very critical opportunity.

As the Moghul army pursued their route towards Aurungabad, Rugonath Rao followed them some marches in the rear. On arriving at the Godavery, Nizam Ally with a part of his force crossed over; leaving the Dewan with the remainder at Rakisbone, on the south bank of the river, until the whole of the stores and baggage had been sent over. At this juncture, Janojee, on pretence of not receiving money to pay his troops, quitted the Dewan and encamped at a distance. This movement was the

[1] Hudeequ-i-Alum, and Mahratta MSS.
[2] Mahratta MSS.

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signal to Rugonath Rao, who made a rapid march, attacked the Moghuls, and after a sanguinary conflict finally routed them with immense slaughter. Raja Pertabwunt, the Dewan, was among the slain.[1] The resistance was very determined on the part of the Moghuls, and continued for nearly two days. Rugonath Rao was amongst the foremost in every attack, and at one time, almost alone, was completely surrounded and cut off from his troops, but his own determined bravery and that of his friend Sukaram Hurry,[2] who fought by his side, enabled him to defend himself until rescued by his nephew. Throughout the battle[3] the young Peishwa particularly distinguished himself, both by personal energy and the judicious support which he sent not only to his uncle, but to different points of the attack. The loss on both sides was very great, and on that of the Moghuls is said to have amounted to ten thousand men.[4]

Nizam Ally at first endeavoured to aid his Dewan by a cannonade from the opposite side of the river, but without effect. He thus became a spectator of the destruction of his troops, without the possibility of succouring them, and was afterwards obliged to retire within the walls of Aurungabad, lest the Mahrattas should be able to ford the river. This object they accomplished in a few days, and arrived at the city, which they again attacked without success, and a number of them were killed. Immediately afterwards, Nizam Ally visited Rugonath Rao, and with that apparent contrition which he could so well affect, laid all his errors to the fault of his late Dewan, and so worked on the weakness and good nature of Rugoba, that he not only forgave all that had happened, but, in consideration of the aid with which

[1] He was accidentally hit by one of his own men before he received his death-wound from a party of Mahrattas under Dummajee Gaekwar. Moraud Khan, his rival, is accused of having hired the man who wounded him, but this accusation seems more than questionable. A party of Afghans, in Holkar's service, with their usual ferocity, cut off the Dewan's head, which they carried in triumph on the point of a spear.

[2] [Sakhārām Hari (Sukaram Hurry) was a Prabhū by caste and a member of the Gupte family. His descendants are the *Jāgīrdārs* of Ambegāon and live at Baroda. (Note on p. viii, vol. ii of Calcutta edition of author's work, published 1912 by Cambray & Co.)]

[3] It is called the battle of Taindulza by the Mahrattas.

[4] This is the lowest computation in any Mahratta manuscript. The Moghul historians have not enumerated the loss sustained by Nizam Ally's army.

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he had been furnished in his distress, he wished to bestow upon Nizam Ally such part of the cession of fifty-one lacks made by the treaty at Pairgaom as remained at his disposal, after deducting the assignment of thirty-two lacks promised to Janojee. His ministers, however, dissuaded him from following his inclination to its full extent, and he was induced to confine the gift to ten lacks, so that nine lacks[1] of the original cession was saved, and a new treaty was concluded with Nizam Ally in October.

At the time of delivering the deeds by which Janojee was paid for his treachery, Mahdoo Rao openly reproached him for his duplicity to both parties, and vehemently condemned the unprincipled and unworthy motives by which he had been drawn in to become a tool for the subversion of a government which had aggrandized his father's house and raised the Hindoos to the power they enjoyed. This manly candour in a young man, educated in a Bramin court, is the more remarkable, when we consider the control under which Mahdoo Rao was still held, but over which his judgment and ability were gradually obtaining the ascendancy.

Bhowan Rao was restored to his rank of Priteo Needhee upon the death of Bhaskur Rao, which happened about the period when the treaty with Nizam Ally was concluded. The fort of Merich was restored to Gopaul Rao; and although Moraba Furnuwees was not immediately appointed to any share of the hereditary duties of his office, it was bestowed on his cousin, Ballajee Jenardin, whom I shall hereafter designate by his common appellation of Nana Furnuwees.

A.D. 1764.—Whilst the Mahrattas had to maintain these struggles in the Deccan, a new power was arising on the ruins of the Hindoo dynasty of Mysore, under the celebrated adventurer Hyder Ally Khan, which to the southward promised in a very short time at least to confine the Mahrattas to their native boundary. Busalut Jung, still hopeful of forming an independent kingdom in the Carnatic, took advantage of the absence of the Mahrattas

[1] Mahratta MSS. Original accounts from the Poona Records, and oral information. The Mahratta manuscripts state the nine lacks of rupees withheld, as territory taken, and it is only by comparison with both Mahomedan and Mahratta evidence, collated with very intricate and voluminous accounts in the Poona Records, that I have been able to find out and simplify these complicated transactions.

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to plan the conquest of their southern districts, and with this view obtained the alliance of Hyder, whom he appointed Nabob of Sera, precisely in the same manner as the Raja Shao used to confer unconquered territories, the right to which, as Colonel Wilks has observed, 'could only be inferred from the act of granting.' Busalut Jung and his new ally had reduced Ouscotta, Sera, and Bura-Balapoor by the end of 1761, and Busalut Jung soon after, being apprehensive of an attack from his brother Nizam Ally, returned to his capital at Adonee; but Hyder prosecuted his conquests. In 1762 he reduced, or exacted tribute from, the Polygars of Chota-Balapoor, Raidroog, Harpoonelly, and Chittledroog. In 1763 he conquered Bednore,[1] and confined the Ranee and her adopted son in the fort of Mudgerry; Fuzzul Oollah Khan, one of his officers, overran Soonda, and early in the ensuing year Hyder defeated the Nabob of Savanoor. He left Fuzzul Oollah Khan in that quarter, to occupy as much as possible of the Mahratta country, whilst affairs of government required his own return to Bednore. Fuzzul Oollah Khan accordingly took Dharwar, and established Hyder's posts nearly as far north as the Kistna.[2]

The Mahrattas were not unconcerned spectators of the rapid progress of Hyder Ally, and a large army was assembling at Poona to be directed against him. Mahdoo Rao insisted on his right to command this army, whilst his uncle remained at Poona to conduct the government; Sukaram Bappoo joined in supporting the Peishwa's pretensions on this occasion, till at last Rugonath Rao yielded his consent, but quitted Poona in anger and retired to Anundwelee near Nassuck.[3] The discussions prior to this arrangement delayed the advance of the Mahratta army beyond the time which mere preparation required, and Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun, who had crossed the Kistna in advance, was defeated with great loss by Fuzzul Oollah Khan. Early in the month of May, Mahdoo Rao entered the Carnatic with an army

[1] [Bednūr (Bednore) is now represented by a small country town named Nagar in the western part of Mysore. At the time of Haidar Alī's attack it was a place of much wealth and importance, and the booty seized by him is stated to have been worth twelve millions sterling. Haidar Alī always attributed the foundation of his subsequent fortunes to the sack of Bednūr. (*O.H.I.*, p. 484, which gives quotations from Wilks's *Sketches of South India*, 1810, 1817.)]

[2] Wilks.

[3] Mahratta MSS.

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of thirty thousand horse, and about the same number of infantry. Fuzzul Oollah Khan, leaving a strong garrison in Dharwar, fell back on Hyder's army, which had quitted an entrenched camp prepared at Annawutty, and advanced to a strong position; where when joined by Fuzzul Oollah Khan, the whole army under Hyder's personal command has been estimated at twenty thousand horse and forty thousand foot, of which one half were disciplined infantry. Mahdoo Rao's superiority in cavalry enabled him to obtain more correct intelligence than his adversary, and assisted by the experience of Sukaram Bappoo, it was determined not to attack Hyder's united force in the position he had chosen. Detachments were therefore employed in driving out his garrisons from the towns and villages north of the Wurdah. This plan of operations induced Hyder to try a stratagem for bringing on a general engagement, for which purpose he moved out with twenty thousand men, intending to retire and draw the Mahrattas towards his reserve, which remained in its first position under Fuzzul Oollah Khan. Such a shallow artifice proves how little he then knew of his enemy. The Mahrattas, as is their usual practice, showed a few men, small bodies began to skirmish and drew Hyder forward, until their parties, still retiring but gradually thickening, at last presented solid masses of horse, moving round between him and his camp. Hyder was obliged to change his intended feint of retiring into steady dispositions for a retreat to his camp, which was not effected without considerable loss. Next day his army fell back to the entrenched position at Annawutty[1]; and Mahdoo Rao, as the rains had set in, fixed his headquarters at Nurrindra,[2] north of the Wurdah, sending his horse for shelter into all the villages twenty miles round. After the defeat of Hyder, Abdool Muzeed Khan and Moorar Rao Ghorepuray joined the Peishwa, who, as Ramchundur Jadow had rejoined Nizam Ally, formally restored Moorar Rao to his rank of Senaputtee, as the representative of the family of Ghorepuray, a circumstance the more creditable to the Peishwa, as he declared it but an act of justice to the descendant of the gallant Suntajee, so ill-requited in the reign of Raja Ram.

[1] Wilks and Mahratta MSS.

[2] Mahratta MSS. This place (Nurrindra) is not to be found by that name in any map that I have seen.

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As soon as the season permitted, Mahdoo Rao laid siege to Dharwar, which capitulated after a breach had been made. The whole country north of the Wurdah was then in his possession, except Moondogoor, which continued rain prevented his investing; but when the weather cleared up it was speedily reduced. Perceiving that the war would terminate successfully, he requested Rugonath Rao to join and assume the command—a remarkable instance of self-command in a general so young, and obviously proceeding from motives purely conciliatory, though at the same time more creditable to the heart of the individual than the judgment of the prince. Rugonath Rao accordingly left Nassuck, and arrived as the army was about to cross the Wurdah.[1]

A.D. 1765.—Mahdoo Rao's intention was to cut away the thick woods which surrounded Annawutty, and get between Hyder and Bednore, which the Mahrattas had no sooner begun to carry into execution than Hyder decamped with precipitation. The country was so close that, for the two first days, the Mahrattas could only harass the rear of Hyder's army; but on the third day the country becoming more open, a body of the Peishwa's troops was moved between Hyder and Bednore, which compelled him to stand an action.[2] His troops were attacked with impetuosity, and many of them immediately sought shelter in the woods. Hyder reached Bednore with only two thousand five hundred horse and ten thousand infantry, the rest of his army being for the time dispersed, and several thousands of them destroyed. As the Mahrattas advanced, all the garrisons surrendered on the first summons, except Anuntpoor, which held out for some time, until Hyder had got together some of his dispersed army, when he entered upon a negotiation with Rugonath Rao, to whom both the conduct and conclusion of the treaty were wholly entrusted.[3] Hyder engaged to restore all districts and places wrested from Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, to relinquish all claims on the Nabob of Savanoor, and to pay thirty-two lacks of rupees to the Peishwa.[4] The terms were by no means approved of by Mahdoo Rao; but having once granted full authority to his uncle he adhered to the agreement, and made no objection where

[1] Mahratta MSS. [2] Wilks. [3] Mahratta MSS.
[4] Wilks. The only Mahratta MS. where I find any mention of the terms states, fifteen lacks of tribute and the expenses of the war to be defrayed by Hyder.

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an attempt to remedy what was defective would have been a departure from good faith.[1] He quitted the Carnatic, and recrossed the Kistna in the end of February.

Mahdoo Rao, whilst anxious to conciliate his uncle and willing to relinquish as large a share of power as was consistent with the dignity of his situation and his duty to the state, had to contend with the intrigues of party and to resist the counsel of his mother, Gopika Bye, who, naturally jealous and inflamed by the violent behaviour of Anundee Bye, the wife of Rugonath Rao, advised her son, as a measure of self-preservation, to place his uncle under restraint. Mahdoo Rao, however, long entertained hopes of being able to avoid such an extreme measure. Rugonath Rao, though frequently perverse, was not untractable, except when exposed to the influence of his wife; he probably would have acceded to his nephew's views, but for the malicious and desperate woman, by whom his ambition and resentment were alternately excited. The Peishwa was sensible that Rugonath Rao could at this period obtain the aid either of Nizam Ally or of Janojee Bhonslay, and, as affairs then existed, perhaps of both. For although Nizam Ally boiled with resentment against Janojee, on account of his treacherous defection, there was as yet no breach between them which could not have been speedily accommodated for purposes of mutual aggrandizement. Nizam Ally, during this year, had made a successful campaign south of the Kistna, and had reduced his brother Busalut Jung to submission and obedience. The conquests of Hyder Ally and the Nabob of the Carnatic, or rather his supporters the English, prevented him from extending his sway over those countries to the southward of the Kistna conquered by Aurungzebe, and forming a part of that viceroyalty which his father had seized and to which he had succeeded by usurpation and murder.

Under these circumstances, with regard to Nizam Ally and Janojee, Mahdoo Rao deemed it his safest policy to conciliate the one at the expense of the other. He soon found that Nizam Ally would readily enter on an offensive alliance against Janojee, with the ultimate hope of engaging the Mahrattas in co-operation against Hyder. A secret compact was accordingly entered into, about the beginning of the ensuing year, the particulars of which, if ever committed to

A.D. 1766.

[1] Mahratta MSS.

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writing, have not been discovered, but the objects of it become tolerably obvious from a variety of facts. The united armies of the Peishwa and Nizam Ally invaded Berar, compelled Janojee Bhonslay to sue for peace, and to restore three-fourths of the districts[1] he had gained by his double treachery during the former war; a politic moderation on the part of Mahdoo Rao, who still left Janojee something to lose, but made it apparent, from what follows, that the Moghuls rather than the Mahrattas were gainers by the invasion. Of the districts which were thus restored on the 4th February, nearly two-thirds, or a tract of territory equivalent to fifteen lacks of rupees of annual revenue, was given up to the Nizam on the 16th of the same month, and stated in the accounts of the Poona government as ceded 'for the firm establishment of peace and friendship.' It is more than probable the agreement pointed to conjoint operations for the ensuing season in the Carnatic; but circumstances occurred in the meantime which materially changed the relative situations of the contracting powers.

The English East India Company, after they had overcome their rivals the French and found time to contemplate the situation into which they had been hurried by national hostility, the treachery of the native powers, the ambition of their servants and the bravery of their troops, were astonished and alarmed at the height to which they had ascended, and would have relinquished a part of their acquisitions in order to purchase security for the remainder. But those who fully understood their situation were convinced that they had already gone too far to recede, and that they must be prepared not only to resist, but to punish aggression.

All the states in India were inimical to Europeans of every nation, and even when bound down by treaties, they were at best but faithless friends, who would never maintain an alliance, unless when controlled either immediately or remotely by their interests or their fears. Their jealousy, no less than their prejudice, would have prompted them to extirpate the foreigners, and the English had, therefore, only the choice of offensive or defensive war. To have adopted the latter would have lost

[1] The amount restored was Rs. 24,50,269 A. 10 P. 1.
(Poona Records.)

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them the advantage of all favourable conjuncture, and must have obliged them to oppose the united armies of the natives, instead of having to contend with their divided force. They might, indeed, have avoided the contest by resigning the trade, privileges, and dominion they had acquired; but those mistaken philanthropists who imagine that the happiness of India would have been secured by such a sacrifice, require no other answer than is afforded by the series of mismanagement and devastation which it has already been my duty to record.

It is not my province to trace the rise of the British power in India, but many of the principal events which led to our ascendancy in that quarter are blended with the Mahratta history; and these, as hitherto, I shall endeavour to describe without favour to my own nation, and without the equally unjust bias which is apt to arise from a desire to guard against so natural a partiality.

The records of the Company's governments in India are probably the best historical materials in the world: there we find the reasons for every undertaking; the steady rules intended for conduct; the hurried letter from the scene of action; the deliberations of the council, the separate opinions of the members composing it, and their final judgment. The scrutiny, censure, or approval of the Court of Directors from a remote situation, and after a long interval, bring to recollection all that was done and all that was speculated; what has occurred in India in the meantime, and what opinions have stood the test of events. Many inconsistencies appear, both in the orders of the Directors at home and in the measures of their governments abroad, which frequently arose from causes irremediable or excusable, such as the distance of the supreme power and the defective information at the different presidencies. The divided nature of the authority in India was also for a long time a source of great evil; and even after the Act of Parliament[1] had passed, which vested a control in

[1] [This was the Regulating Act of 1773, which definitely declared the supremacy of the Bengal Presidency over the other Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and Bencoolen in Sumatra. Except in certain emergent cases, the governments of these minor presidencies were forbidden to declare war, commence hostilities or negotiate any treaty with Indian princes or powers without the previous consent of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal. All transactions and matters relating to the government, revenues or interest of the East

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the President and Council of Bengal, the defects, as might have been expected, were not immediately remedied; for it generally requires time and a judicious exercise of power to fit any new law to the end for which it is framed.

Much corruption and many reprehensible acts are to be found, especially before the affairs of India had attracted the full attention of the British legislature and nation; but not only is every act and every deliberation, which other governments have generally the power to conceal, recorded in detail at the different presidencies, but the personal animosity of individuals composing the governments has given the most glaring interpretation to mere errors, and has sometimes occasioned gross misrepresentation of facts. On the other hand, many services performed without any great degree of exertion or ability have, in consequence of their results, been extravagantly praised, and given a tone to Indian dispatches which prejudices sober judgment and obscures the honour of toils and of virtues, to which in every department, both civil and military, our countrymen in India have found claims as just as the instruments of any government, ancient or modern.

India Company were to be regularly reported by the Governors of Madras and Bombay to the Bengal Council. The Regulating Act may be regarded, writes Dr. V. A. Smith, 'as the starting-point of the modern constitutional history of India.' (*O.H.I.*, p. 519.)]

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CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM A.D. 1766 TO A.D. 1772.

A.D. 1766.—WHILST universally admitted that unwieldy dominion is the forerunner of certain decline, it is not always considered that, under some circumstances, conquest may be too slow as well as too rapid. Illustrative of this observation we have some striking examples connected with the history of Maharashtra, particularly in the decay of the Portuguese and the rise of the Mahrattas. The middle course, as steered by the English, and the steady march of aggrandizement which they have hitherto pursued in the East, is to be ascribed to the remarkable men who have at various periods directed their councils and their armies; and to the caution of a body of merchants, who, though pleased at the gain, were appalled at the venture, and who feared the loss of all they had acquired by each succeeding contest into which they were plunged.

Lord Clive, who returned from England to assume the government of Bengal in May, 1765, not only perceived that it was impossible for the English to recede, but was convinced that to advance was essential to their preservation. Of the three great powers, the Mahrattas, Nizam Ally, and Hyder, the first was considered the most formidable. As early as the end of the year 1761, immediately after the death of Ballajee Rao, when Mr. Vansittart was President of the Council in Bengal, it was intended to expel Janojee Bhonslay from Kuttack; and it was proposed, not only to the governments of Madras and Bombay, but to the Emperor of the Moghuls, to Sulabut Jung,[1] and Nizam

[1] This is another reason for supposing that there is a mistake of a year in stating Sulabut Jung's confinement on the 18th July, 1761; such a circumstance must have transpired at Bengal long before 11th December, 1761, which is the date of the letter containing the proposal to the Bombay Government.

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Ally. Although the sister presidencies for various sufficient reasons disapproved of the expedition, it was prevented, not seemingly on account of their disapproval, but at the request of the Nabob of Bengal.

The Court of Directors were desirous of seeing the Mahrattas checked in their progress, and would have beheld combinations of the other native powers against them with abundant satisfaction: but they were apprehensive of the consequences of granting a latitude to their own servants, or of being engaged as umpires or auxiliaries; and their instructions were designed to prevent their becoming involved in hostilities, especially as principals, in any case short of absolute defence. With these cautious views, however, they were anxious to attain two objects which they deemed of vital importance to their security; the first, of old standing, was one in which the Mahrattas were directly concerned, the possession of Salsette, Hog Island, and Caranja, in the neighbourhood of Bombay, which every year tended to render more important; the second, the accomplishment of which devolved more particularly on the presidency of Madras, was the occupation of the five districts formerly belonging to the French on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, best known as the Northern Circars. With respect to the first, the Mahrattas, though but a few years before they scarcely regarded the English, were now too jealous of their aggrandizement willingly to relinquish the islands alluded to; besides which, they attached peculiar value to these possessions as the fruits of their success against a European nation. In regard to the second, Guntoor, one of the five districts in question, was appropriated as the Jagheer of Busalut Jung. Nizam Ally, having at one time offered to farm the remaining four to the Nabob of Arcot, it was hoped he might allow the Company to occupy them on the same terms. But although the Madras government offered six times more than he had ever before received, he positively refused to rent them to the English. In consequence of this obstinacy on the part of Nizam Ally, Lord Clive determined to take possession of the districts at all events, and for this purpose obtained a grant of them from the Emperor. The Madras government occupied Rajamundree by force, and it is not surprising that Nizam Ally should have treated as mockery all assurances of their being actuated solely by motives of self-preservation,

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Encouraged by the deference with which representations were still made to him by the English, and by his alliance with the Mahrattas, Nizam Ally threatened the English with extirpation, and endeavoured to incite Hyder to invade the Carnatic. The Madras presidency, in considerable alarm, tried to form an alliance with Hyder, but he refused to receive the envoy. In this dilemma, Mr. Palk, the Governor of Madras, referred to Lord Clive, who recommended a connection with the Nizam, which should have for its object the subjugation of Hyder, and an alliance for restraining the spreading power of the Mahrattas.

The prospect thus held out to Nizam Ally precisely suited his views. He wished to reduce Hyder and to humble the Mahrattas; he knew the value of regular troops, and he readily listened to the proposals of the English; but as he had already leagued himself with the Mahrattas against Hyder, he deemed it most advisable not to break with Mahdoo Rao, until he had effected the overthrow of the usurper of Mysore. A treaty, however, was concluded between Nizam Ally and the English, by which the Madras government agreed to pay seven lacks of rupees a year for four of the districts, or to assist Nizam Ally with two battalions of infantry and six pieces of cannon. In case the troops should be required, the seven lacks of rupees were to be appropriated for their expenses.

A.D. 1767.—The Mahratta court seem to have perceived the object of this combination, and Mahdoo Rao, without waiting for his ally, if such he could be termed, crossed the Kistna in the month of January, and before the end of March took Sera, Ouscotta, and Mudgerry, released the Ranee of Bednore[1] and her adopted son, who had been confined in Mudgerry, and after levying thirty lacks of rupees[2] of tribute from Hyder and collecting nearly seventeen[3] more from different parts of the Carnatic, was prepared to return to Maharashtra before Nizam Ally had made his appearance. When the English and Nizam Ally wished to have brought forward their pretensions to share

[1] She died on the way to Poona.—Mostyn's Dispatches.

[2] Poona State Accounts. Colonel Wilks says, thirty-five lacks, and that Sera was at that time given up to Hyder in exchange for Gurumconda. Of this last transaction no mention is made in the state records, or in the dispatches of Mr. Mostyn, resident at Mahdoo Rao's court.

[3] Rupees 16,95,777.

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in the Mahratta tribute, their envoys were treated with broad and undisguised ridicule.[1] It is not positively known whether Mahdoo Rao was apprised of the ultimate design of the alliance between Nizam Ally and the English, nor is it ascertained what agreement existed between Nizam Ally and the Mahrattas, but we have an unsupported assertion of Nizam Ally's minister, Rookun-ud-dowlah, that his master had been duped by the Mahrattas for the third time[2]; at all events it could not have escaped the observation of Mahdoo Rao, that the English in the war against Hyder voluntarily appeared as auxiliaries to one of two contracting parties, and that, upon the subjugation of Hyder, Nizam Ally, by the English aid, could dictate, as the Mahrattas probably otherwise would have done, in any partition of his territories. This proceeding, therefore, on the part of Mahdoo Rao, which has been alluded to as ordinary Mahratta artifice to anticipate the plunder,[3] was a measure perfectly justifiable for the purpose of effecting an important political object and disconcerting the plans of his enemies. He recrossed the Kistna in the end of May, leaving the Moghuls and their allies to settle with Hyder as they best could.

The subsequent treachery of Nizam Ally in joining Hyder against the English,[4] and the circumstances which induced him, by a fresh act of treachery, to desert Hyder and renew the treaty with the English, have been elsewhere distinctly and fully recorded[5]; and as they belong not to this history, it is only necessary to mention, in order to preserve a connection with subsequent events, that a new treaty was concluded on the 23d February, 1768, between Nizam Ally and the English, which, though framed on the basis of that which was settled in 1766, differed from it in some very essential particulars; the most remarkable of which was their arrogating to themselves the right

[1] Wilks, vol. ii, page 16.

[2] Wilks, vol. ii, page 15. The reader has it in his power to judge of the occasions to which Rookun-ud-dowlah alluded, first, in regard to Rugonath Rao, and second, in the late campaign against Janojee Bhonslay.

[3] Wilks, vol. ii, page 6.

[4] [The joint forces of the Nizām and Haidar Alī were severely defeated at Trinomalai by Colonel Joseph Smith. But early in 1769 Haidar Alī appeared before Madras and dictated a treaty to the Madras Government, which ended the First Mysore War.]

[5] See Colonel Wilks' South of India, vol. ii.

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and the power to dispose of Hyder's territories. The treaty declared Hyder a usurper; the Carnatic Balaghaut was taken from him by Nizam Ally, as Moghul viceroy in the Deccan, and the office of Dewan for the future management of that territory conferred upon the English Company, for which they agreed to pay an annual tribute of seven lacks of rupees. Nizam Ally further consented to cede Guntoor, the remaining district of the Northern Circars, upon the death or misconduct of his brother Busalut Jung. The Mahrattas, without having applied to become parties to this absurd treaty, were by a special clause to be allowed their Chouth from the territory thus disposed of. The Peishwa had no interference in the warfare which continued for some time between the English and Hyder; the line of conduct which he adopted, and which will be explained in the regular narrative of events, may be ascribed partly to policy, but principally to the internal situation of his empire.

Rugonath Rao in the preceding year, after the campaign against Janojee, had set out on an expedition into Hindoostan, accompanied by Mulhar Rao Holkar. The prosecution of an intended reduction of many places formerly in the possession of the Mahrattas, or tributary to them, was obstructed in the first instance by the death of Mulhar Rao Holkar. His grandson Mallee Rao, only son of Khundee Rao and a minor, succeeded to his possessions, but died soon after, which gave rise to a dispute between Gungadhur Yeswunt the Dewan and Aylah Bye[1] the widow of Khundee Rao, now lawful inheritor. The Dewan proposed that some connection of the family should be adopted by the widow; but to this Aylah Bye, although her Dewan's proposal was approved of by Rugonath Rao, would by no means consent. Supported by her own troops, by the Peishwa, and by the voice of the country, she appointed Tookajee Holkar,[2] an experienced Sillidar, a great favourite with the late Mulhar Rao, but no relation of the family, to the command of her army, retaining under her own management the civil administration of the

[1] [This is the famous Ahalya Bāi, who governed the Indore State from the death of Malhār (Mulhar) Rāo in 1765 until her own death in 1795. For a full account of her character and achievements see Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, 3rd ed., 1832, vol. i, pp. 157–95.]

[2] Tookajee Holkar paid a Nuzur or fee to the Peishwa's government, on being appointed commander of Mulhar Rao's troops, of Rs. 15,62,000. (State Accounts, Poona Records.)

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extensive family Jagheer. To the death of Mulhar Rao Holkar may probably be attributed the inactivity of the Mahrattas[1] during this campaign, and the failure of Rugonath Rao in an attempt to reduce the Rana of Gohud,[2] a petty chieftain of the Jhat tribe, whose uncle rose into notice under the Peishwa Bajee Rao, but who, upon the defeat of the Mahrattas at Panniput, rebelled against them. Rugonath Rao, after a protracted siege of the town of Gohud, accepted a tribute of three lacks of rupees, and shortly after proceeded towards the Deccan, where he arrived in the month of August, some time after the Peishwa's return from the Carnatic. On Mahdoo Rao's intimating his intention of meeting his uncle at Toka, the latter strongly suspected that there was a plan laid for seizing him. The fact appears to have been that Rugonath Rao's views, at the suggestion of Anundee Bye, were directed to dividing the sovereignty of the empire, and conscious that attempts to strengthen his party had been discovered, he dreaded the consequences. Mahdoo Rao intended to make a last effort to reclaim his uncle, to repeat his offers of conceding a principal share in the administration, or to give him a handsome but moderate establishment in ãny part of the country where he might choose to reside. It was not easy to overcome Rugonath Rao's suspicions so far as to induce him to meet Mahdoo Rao, but an interview was at length effected by the mediation of Govind Sew Ram.[3]

[1] The reader acquainted with the history of British India will recognize the first appearance of Rugonath Rao's army in Bundelcund as that which occasioned the alarm at Korah during a period of serious commotion. See Mill's British India, vol. ii, page 251.

[2] [Gohad (Gohud) lies between Etāwah (Itāwa) and Gwãlior, twenty-eight miles north-east of the latter. The chief, originally an obscure Jāt landholder, rose to power during the confusion of the eighteenth century, and allied himself with the British in 1789 (Thornton, *Gazetteer*, s.v. 'Gohad,' quoted in Sleeman's *Rambles*, &c., ed. V. A. Smith, 1915, p. 270). Gohad was ceded to Sindia by Sir George Barlow, according to an arrangement made in 1805, during the brief and inglorious second term of office of Lord Cornwallis.]

[3] Mr. Mostyn, the British envoy at the court of Poona, says, by the mediation 'of Sukaram Bappoo.' (Secret Dispatches, dated Poona, 5th December, 1767.)

Sukaram, according to his usual duplicity, was intriguing with both parties, that he might at all events be able to retain his place. He would not incur the risk of interference in a reconciliation which he foresaw would only be temporary. Mr. Mostyn also states that 'Mahdoo Rao, instigated by his mother, certainly had intentions

Rugonath Rao at first refused all offers, and expressed his determination to retire to Benares. Mahdoo Rao replied that he thought such a resolution extremely proper, and indeed that he *must* either take the share of the administration which was proposed, or have no interference whatever in the government. To this last proposal Rugonath Rao, piqued at the decided tone which his nephew had assumed, affected the readiest compliance, and gave orders to his officers, in charge of the forts of Ahmednugur, Sewnweree, Asseergurh and Satara, to obey the orders of Mahdoo Rao ;—he declared that all he desired, before renouncing the world, was the payment of the arrears due to his troops and a suitable provision for his family and attendants. Mahdoo Rao agreed to pay twenty-five lacks of rupees in three months, to place at his disposal a Jagheer, situated about the source of the sacred river Godavery, yielding twelve or thirteen lacks of rupees of annual revenue and including six forts, amongst which were Trimbuck, Oundha, and Putta [1]; but Rugonath Rao was dissatisfied, and only sought a fit opportunity to assert his claim to half of the Mahratta sovereignty.

Mahdoo Rao at this period was courted by the English and Mohummud Ally on the one part, and by Nizam Ally and Hyder on the other. Mr. Mostyn was sent to Poona by the Bombay government, for the purpose of ascertaining the Peishwa's views and of using every endeavour, by fomenting the domestic dissensions or otherwise, to prevent the Mahrattas from joining Hyder and Nizam Ally. An alliance was not to be resorted to, if it could be avoided, but if absolutely necessary, the conquest of Bednore and Soonda, regarding which the Mahrattas always regretted having been anticipated by Hyder, was to be held out as an inducement for engaging them in the English interests.[2]

of seizing his uncle at that interview' ; but as he mentions this on hearsay evidence, respecting an intention, and that too relating to what had taken place prior to his arrival at Poona, although his opinion has been generally followed on this point, I have preferred the authority of the natives of the country, who concur in imputing such a wish to Gopika Bye, but no such design to Mahdoo Rao.

[1] Mahratta MSS. and Bombay Records.

[2] [In their letter of instructions to Mr. Mostyn the Bombay Government remarked that the growing power of the Marāthās was a subject much to be lamented, 'and has not failed to attract our attention as well as that of the Presidencies of Madras and Bengal, inasmuch as that nothing either in their power or ours would be omitted to

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The Mahratta court evaded all decisive opinions or engagements, but candidly told the envoy that their conduct would be guided by circumstances. The Peishwa, however, could not quit the Deccan whilst his uncle's conduct manifested symptoms of hostility; and Sukaram Bappoo's intentions, always affectedly mysterious, continued equivocal.

A.D. 1768.

Towards the end of the fair season Rugonath Rao had assembled a force of upwards of fifteen thousand men, with which, in hopes of being joined by Janojee Bhonslay, he encamped, first on the banks of the Godavery, and afterwards in the neighbourhood of Dhoorup, a fort in the Chandore range. It was at this period, when despairing of having another son, that Rugonath Rao adopted Amrut Rao, the son of a Concan Bramin, whose family surname was Bhooskoottee. His principal supporters in rebellion were Dummajee Gaekwar, who sent him some troops under his eldest son Govind Rao, and Gungadhur Yeswunt, the Dewan of Holkar, who was not only a zealous partisan of Rugonath Rao, but entertained a personal pique against the Peishwa, the origin of which is too remarkable to be omitted. At a public Durbar in Poona, after Rugonath Rao had retired from the administration, Gungadhur Yeswunt took an opportunity of saying, in a contemptuous manner, 'that in the present affairs his old eyes could distinguish the acts of one who only saw with the eyes of a boy'; Mahdoo Rao, to the astonishment of all present, jumped from the musnud, or cushion of state, on which he sat, and struck him a violent blow on the face; a singular instance of the effects of anger in a Bramin Court, among a people remarkable for their decorum.

Mahdoo Rao, on hearing of the formidable rebellion under his uncle, in order to anticipate a design formed on the part of Janojee Bhonslay to support him, immediately marched to Dhoorup, where he attacked and defeated Rugonath Rao's troops, forced him to seek shelter in the fort, obliged him to

check the same as much as possible.' Mr. Mostyn reached 'a pagoda called Ganeshkhind within one *kos* of Poona' on November 29, 1767, and resided at Poona for three months, during which period he had many interviews with the Pēshwā. The negotiations proved fruitless, for both the English and the Marāthās were watching the general tide of events. (Forrest's *Selections* (*Marāthā Series*), xi–xii.) The modern residence of the Governor of Bombay, which he is accustomed to occupy during the monsoon months, is situated at Ganeshkhind.]

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surrender, conveyed him a prisoner to Poona, and confined him in the Peishwa's palace.

The season of the year prevented Mahdoo Rao from taking immediate notice of the hostile intentions of Janojee, but he was publicly engaged in negotiations with Nizam Ally and with Hyder, in which he had a triple object: his chief design was to punish Janojee, and his first care was to engage Nizam Ally in an alliance for that purpose; the second was to draw the tribute from Mysore without the necessity of sending Gopaul Rao's army from Merich, as Hyder, fully occupied in the war with the English, might be thrown off his guard by his extreme anxiety to procure the aid of the Mahrattas; the third object was to deter the Bengal Government from entering on an alliance earnestly solicited by Janojee, from the fear that Mahdoo Rao, aided by Hyder and Nizam Ally, would ruin the Company's affairs on the coast of Coromandel before their forces from Bengal could join Janojee in Berar.

A.D. 1769.—The Governor and Council at Bombay, although the agent then at Poona, Mr. Brome, reported precisely as Mahdoo Rao wished him to believe, being less directly interested than Madras, were the first to perceive the depth of this well-planned scheme; and Hyder, as soon as his eyes were opened by finding that the tribute was required as a prelude to the Mahratta alliance, improved on the deception and endeavoured to turn the reports then in circulation to his own advantage, by drawing the presidency of Madras into an alliance with himself.[1]

Mahdoo Rao, when he gave out that his preparations were intended to assist Hyder, amongst other stratagems to mask his real designs, sent his fleet to cruise off Bombay harbour; but Visajee Punt, the commander from Bassein, on being called upon by the Governor and Council to explain his conduct, gave as an excuse that he was watching two Portuguese ships, and assured the President that the Peishwa had no intention of breaking with the English. This assurance strengthened their opinion and was soon confirmed by reported commotions, the preparations of Janojee Bhonslay, and the advance of a combined army of

[1] Colonel Wilks has overlooked the Bombay letters on this point. Hyder was certainly a master at left-handed diplomacy. See Wilks' South of India, vol. ii, page 117.

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Mahrattas and Moghuls under the Peishwa and Rookun-ud-dowlah towards Nagpoor.

Janojee laid a judicious plan for the campaign, and opposed the invaders on the old Mahratta system, in which Mahdoo Rao was less experienced than in the half regular kind of warfare to which his attention had been directed. The artillery, the Arabs, and the infantry partially disciplined, the numerous tents, and the heavy equipments of the Peishwa and Rookun-ud-dowlah, unfitted them for the active war of detachments which Janojee pursued.

The combined armies entered Berar by the route of Basum and Kurinja. Naroo Punt, the Soobehdar of the province on the part of Janojee, attempted to oppose them, but was defeated and killed; his nephew, Wittul Punt Bullar, retired towards Nagpoor, where Janojee and Moodajee, with their families and baggage, were encamped. As the Peishwa advanced they moved off to the westward, and as no attempt was made to cut them off from Gawelgurh, as soon as Mahdoo Rao passed to the eastward, they lodged their families and baggage in that fortress, and were joined at Wuroor Zuroor by their brother Sabajee at the head of a large detachment. Mahdoo Rao plundered Nagpoor, Janojee made no attempt to save it, but moved to Ramteek, where his whole force united; Bimbajee, the fourth brother, having joined from Chhutteesgurh, Janojee then made a feint, as if intending to proceed towards the Peishwa's districts to the northward. Mahdoo Rao, however, was not tempted to follow him; he placed *Thannas* in various districts, collected the revenue all over the country, and laid siege to Chandah. Janojee in the meantime wheeled off to the westward, and marching with extraordinary diligence passed Ahmednugur, and began to plunder the country on the route to Poona. Mahdoo Rao had at one time proposed, after his capital was destroyed by Nizam Ally, to surround it by a strong wall, but this design was on mature consideration abandoned, lest it should ultimately occasion irreparable loss, by holding out a security to property which was best ensured by a dependence on the strong hill-forts of Singurh and Poorundhur. The inhabitants, on Janojee's approach, sent off their property as usual, and Mahdoo Rao, as soon as he was apprised of the route he had taken, sent Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun and Ramchundur Gunnesh with thirty thousand

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horse in pursuit of him; but Janojee still plundered in the neighbourhood of Poona, and Gopaul Rao was justly accused of being secretly in league with him. The Peishwa and Rookun-ud-dowlah raised the siege of Chandah; Janojee moved towards the Godavery, pretending that he was about to give fair battle to the Peishwa in the absence of Gopaul Rao, whom he left at some distance in the rear. Nothing, however, was farther from his intention; he passed the Peishwa's army near Mahoor, but detached Bappoo Kurundeea by a circuitous route, who suddenly fell upon the baggage and succeeded in carrying off a portion of it. Both parties, however, were tired of the war, they had each sustained heavy loss; and Janojee, although hitherto as successful as he could have expected, was sensible that if hostilities continued they must end in his ruin; but his principal alarm was caused by some intrigues with his brother Moodajee, and he readily embraced the first overtures of pacification afforded by a message from Mahdoo Rao. A treaty, or in the language of the Peishwa who did not admit the independence which treaty implies, an agreement was concluded on terms extremely favourable to the Peishwa on the 23d March,[1] eleven days prior to the masterly manœuvres by which Hyder Ally dictated a peace to the English at the gates of Madras.

The agreement between Mahdoo Rao Peishwa and Janojee Bhonslay, Sena Sahib Soobeh, was concluded at the village of Kunkapoor, on the north bank of the Beema near Brimeshwur, and consisted of thirteen articles, by which Janojee restored the remainder of the districts he had received for deserting the Moghuls at Rakisbone, and gave up certain sequestrated shares of revenue, or an equivalent for what rightfully belonged to Futih Sing Bhonslay, Raja of Akulkote. The tribute of Ghas Dana, hitherto levied by the Sena Sahib Soobeh, from the Peishwa's districts in Aurungabad, was discontinued, and in lieu of such tribute due from any other district belonging to the Peishwa or Nizam Ally, a stipulated sum was to be fixed and paid by an order upon the collectors; but in case the Moghuls should not pay the amount, the Sena Sahib Soobeh should be at

[1] 14th Zilkad, Soorsun 1169. The Bombay Records mention the treaty between the Peishwa and Janojee as having taken place 23d April; in which, if there be no error in my calculation, they have made a mistake by one month.

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liberty to levy it by force; he was neither to increase nor diminish his military force without permission from the Peishwa, and to attend whenever his services were put in requisition; to protect no disaffected Sillidars, nor to receive deserters from the Peishwa's army; to maintain no political correspondence with the Emperor of Delhi, the Soobehdar of the Deccan, the English, the Rohillas, and the Nabob of Oude. A Wukeel was permitted to reside with the English in Orissa and at the Court of Nizam Ally, but his business was to be strictly confined to revenue affairs. Janojee Bhonslay also submitted to pay a tribute of rupees, five lacks and one (500,001), by five annual instalments.[1] On the other hand, the Peishwa agreed not to molest Janojee's districts by marching his forces towards Hindoostan by any unusual route; to pay no attention to the pretensions of his relations, as long as he continued their just rights;—he was to be permitted to send a force against the English, who were represented as troublesome in Orissa, provided his troops were not required for the service of the state. There are a variety of other items mentioned in the agreement, but the above are the most important; the form of the Sena Sahib Soobeh's dependence upon the Peishwa is maintained throughout; but it seems more particularly marked, by avoiding the usual terms of an offensive and defensive alliance, instead of which the Peishwa agrees, at the request of the Sena Sahib Soobeh, to assist him with troops in case of an invasion of his territories by any other power.

Of the advantages obtained by Mahdoo Rao, Nizam Ally received three lacks of rupees of annual revenue; and one lack was conferred on his minister, Rookun-ud-dowlah.[2]

After the close of the campaign against the Raja of Berar, the Peishwa sent an army into Malwa, under the command of Visajee Kishen Beneewala, accompanied by Ramchundur Gunnesh, Tookajee Holkar, and Mahadajee Sindia. Their proceedings will be hereafter detailed; but some circumstances connected with the last-mentioned person, domestic affairs at Poona, and operations in the Carnatic, demand our previous attention.

[1] This payment of five lacks is the only part of the agreement which came to the knowledge of the Bombay government.

[2] Mahratta MSS. and copies of original agreements from the Poona records.

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Mahadajee Sindia, after the death of his nephew Junkojee, although his illegitimacy was against his succession, had by his services and qualifications established claims to the family Jagheer, which it would have been both impolitic and unjust to set aside, especially as there was no legitimate descendant of Ranoojee alive. His birth tended greatly to lower his respectability in the eyes of the Mahratta Sillidars, a circumstance which was a cause of Sindia's subsequent preference for Mahomedans and Rajpoots, and occasioned an alteration in the constitution of his army. Rugonath Rao, seemingly without any reasonable cause,[1] wished to see him appointed merely the guardian of his nephew, Kedarjee Sindia, the eldest son of Tookajee; an arrangement of which the Peishwa disapproved; and this difference of opinion not only widened the breach between Mahdoo Rao and his uncle, but ever after inclined Mahadajee Sindia to Nana Furnuwees, Hurry Punt Phurkay and several others, the ostensible Carcoons, but the real ministers of Mahdoo Rao.

When ordered to Hindoostan on the expedition just adverted to, after all the commanders had obtained their audience of leave, Mahadajee Sindia, presuming on the favour shown to him, continued to loiter in the neighbourhood of Poona. Mahdoo Rao, who at all times exacted strict obedience from his officers, had particularly desired that they should proceed expeditiously, in order to cross the Nerbuddah before there was a chance of obstruction by the swelling of the rivers from the setting-in of the south-west monsoon; but two or three days afterwards, when riding out to Theur, his favourite village, thirteen miles from Poona, he observed Sindia's camp still standing without the smallest appearance either of movement or preparation. He sent instantly to Mahadajee Sindia, expressing astonishment at his disobedience and presumption, and intimating that if on his return from Theur he found a tent standing, or his troops in sight, he should plunder his camp and sequestrate his Jagheer. Mahadajee took his departure promptly; but this well-known anecdote, characteristic of Mahdoo Rao, is chiefly remarkable

[1] Many years after this period, in a dispatch from Colonel Palmer, resident at Poona, 8th June, 1798, it is mentioned, that Rugonath Rao conferred Sindia's Jagheer on Mannajee Phakray; but the Mahratta manuscripts do not allude to such a transaction.

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from the contrast it presents to the future power of Mahadajee Sindia at the Mahratta capital.

The Peishwa seized every interval of leisure to improve the civil government of his country. In this laudable pursuit he had to contend with violent prejudices and with general corruption; but the beneficial effects of the reforms he introduced are now universally acknowledged, and his sincere desire to protect his subjects by the equal administration of justice reflects the highest honour on his reign. His endeavours were aided by the celebrated Ram Shastree, a name which stands alone on Mahratta record as an upright and pure judge, and whose character, admirable under any circumstances, is wonderful amidst such selfishness, venality, and corruption as are almost universal in a Mahratta court. Ram Shastree, surnamed Parboney, was a native of the village of Maholy near Satara, but went early to Benares, where he studied many years, and upon the death of Bal Kishen Shastree about the year 1759 was selected for public employment at Poona, without either soliciting or declining the honour of being placed at the head of the Shastrees of the court. As Mahdoo Rao obtained a larger share of power, Ram Shastree was at great pains to instruct him, both in the particular branch which he superintended and in the general conduct of administration. An anecdote related of him is equally creditable to the good sense of himself and his pupil. Mahdoo Rao, in consequence of the conversation of several learned Bramins, had for a time been much occupied in expounding and following the mystical observances which the Shasters enjoin. Ram Shastree perceived that to oppose this practice by ordinary argument would only lead to endless disputes with Mahdoo Rao, or rather with his associates; but one day, having come into the Peishwa's presence on business and found him absorbed in the contemplation enjoined to Hindoo devotees,[1] during which all other faculties are to be suspended, the Shastree retired; but next day, after making the few arrangements necessary, he went to the Peishwa and formally resigned his office, which is politely expressed by intimating an intention of retiring to Benares. Mahdoo Rao immediately apologized for the apparent impropriety of his conduct the day before, by stating the cause, which he

[1] That sort of contemplation which the Mahrattas express by the single word Jhep.

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defended as excusable and praiseworthy. 'It is only so,' replied Ram Shastree, 'provided you entirely renounce worldly advantages. As Bramins have departed from the ordinances of their faith and assumed the office of Rajas, it becomes them to exercise power for the benefit of their subjects, as the best and only apology for having usurped it. It behoves you to attend to the welfare of your people and your government; or, if you cannot reconcile yourself to those duties, quit the Musnud, accompany me, and devote your life strictly to those observances, which, I fully admit, our faith enjoins.' Mahdoo Rao acknowledged the justness of the rebuke, and abandoned the studies which had misled him.

The benefits which Ram Shastree conferred on his countrymen were principally by example; but the weight and soundness of his opinions were universally acknowledged during his life; and the decisions of the Punchayets, which gave decrees in his time, are still considered precedents. His conduct and unwearied zeal had a wonderful effect in improving the people of all ranks; he was a pattern to the well-disposed; but the greatest man who did wrong stood in awe of Ram Shastree; and although persons possessed of rank and riches did, in several instances, try to corrupt him, none dared to repeat the experiment or to impeach his integrity. His habits were simple in the extreme; and it was a rule with him to keep nothing more in his house than sufficed for the day's consumption.

One of Mahdoo Rao's first acts was to abolish the system of forcing the villagers to carry baggage, a custom then so prevalent in India that, when first done away in the Mahratta country by Mahdoo Rao, it occasioned discontent among the men in power, and many secretly practised it. But the Peishwa having intelligence of a quantity of valuable articles conveyed in this manner by order of Visajee Punt, Soobehdar of Bassein, seized and confiscated the whole; remunerated the people for being unjustly taken from their agricultural labours, and at the same time issued fresh orders, which none who knew his system of intelligence ventured to disobey.[1]

In the ensuing fair season, Mahdoo Rao had leisure to turn his attention to affairs in the Carnatic. Hyder, after concluding

[1] Some say that Mahdoo Rao exacted a heavy fine, besides confiscating the property.

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peace with the English and obtaining a promise of their eventual support, was under no alarm at the prospect of a war with the Mahrattas. He not only evaded their demands for the payment of arrears of tribute, but levied contributions upon some of the Polygars, tributary to the Peishwa; an encroachment which Mahdoo Rao was not of a disposition to tolerate. In the month of November he sent forward a large body of horse under Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun, Mulhar Rao Rastia, and the cousins of Gopaul Rao, viz. Puresham Bhow and Neelkunt Rao Putwurdhun.

A.D. 1770. Mahdoo Rao followed at the head of thirty-five thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were infantry. He rapidly reduced the two Balapoors, Kolhar, Nundedroog, Mulwugul,[1] and the greater part of the open country on the eastern boundary of Hyder's territory, including sixteen forts, none of them considered of very great importance; and twenty-five fortified villages, of which he destroyed the greater part of the defences.[2] The fort of Mulwugul was carried by an assault led by two rivals of the Ghatgay family, of Boodh and Mullaoree. Their hereditary disputes, known to have existed from the time of the Bahminee dynasty, had been repeatedly revived in the Peishwa's camp, but though settled by a punchayet in favour of Nagojee Raja, Joojhar Rao, the other branch of the family, the head of which was Bajee Ghatgay, being dissatisfied, both parties had solicited permission to decide the quarrel, according to the family privilege, 'at the spear's point,' to which Mahdoo Rao would not consent; but when the assault was about to take place, it was proposed that of the two, he whose flag first appeared before the Juree Putka on the top of the rampart should be confirmed in all the hereditary privileges. One of the family who carried the flag of Bajee Ghatgay was killed; Dumdairay, the person who had charge of the Juree Putka, also fell, but Nagojee seized the standard, and planting his flag with his own hand hoisted the Juree Putka over it amidst an enthusiastic shout from the whole Mahratta army. Unfortunately the lustre of this gallant action was tarnished by the slaughter of the whole garrison.[3]

[1] Wilks. [2] Bombay Records.

[3] Mahratta MSS., and a family legend known to every individual of the clan of Ghatgay, although in their usual loose way they mention different names for the fort which was the scene of Nagojee's exploit.

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The Peishwa's progress was for a time arrested at Nidjeeghul, a place of inconsiderable strength, which held out several months and repulsed two assaults made by the Mahrattas, in one of which Narrain Rao, the Peishwa's brother, was wounded.[1] It was at last stormed by the Polygar of Chittledroog at the head of his Beruds,[2] a class of people who, as already noticed, are said to be originally Ramoossees from Maharashtra.

Hyder, as the Mahrattas advanced on the east, retired to the westward, where the country being closer, their cavalry were prevented from acting against him with effect. He never ventured within twenty *kos* of Mahdoo Rao, as his infantry would not face the Mahratta horse on a plain; but a light force under Gopaul Rao, which was sent to watch his motions and ravage the country, was surprised and put to flight by Hyder on the night of the 3d and 4th March. This affair was attended by no advantage, the Mahrattas continued to plunder and ravage his territory, and Hyder hoped that they would retire to the northward of the Kistna on the approach of the south-west monsoon.[3] But he was disappointed. The state of Mahdoo Rao's health compelled him to return to Poona in the beginning of June; but he left the infantry and twenty thousand horse under Trimbuck Rao Mama to prosecute the war. Hyder offered to pay the Chouth, but would not restore the amount exacted from the Polygars, as he conceived their submission to his authority in 1762 gave him a right to the tribute he had levied.[4]

Trimbuck Rao, before the season when he might expect the return of the Peishwa, gained several advantages, reduced the fort of Gurumconda, and some other garrisons.

[1] By a bullet in the hand. Mahratta MSS.

[2] Wilks. The anecdote given by Colonel Wilks of the mutilation of the captive garrison is not preserved in the Mahratta country, therefore as a mere anecdote I am not authorized in repeating it, although it is very characteristic of the anger, the violence, and the generosity of Mahdoo Rao. There is, however, an anecdote given by Colonel Wilks, which I must remark, respecting Appajee Ram, vol. ii, page 14. It might do for the licentious court of Poona at any other period, but even if authentic, which I cannot discover, it conveys a wrong impression. Mahdoo Rao would excuse want of form and even an ebullition of anger, but he never tolerated indecency or impertinence. [See note on p. 264, *ante*, for Beruds.]

[3] Letters from the Bombay deputies, Mr. Richard Church and Mr. James Sibbald, from Hyder's camp.

[4] Mahratta MSS. Bombay Records. Wilks.

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Mahdoo Rao, as soon as the season permitted, marched from Poona, intending to have joined Trimbuck Rao, but being again taken ill he gave over the command to Appa Bulwunt, the son of that Bulwunt Rao who fell so much distinguished in one of the battles at Panniput. After the junction of Appa Bulwunt, the Mahratta army consisted of nearly forty thousand horse, with ten thousand infantry and some guns. Hyder, with twelve thousand horse and twenty-five thousand infantry, of whom fifteen thousand were regulars, and forty [1] field guns, did not at first venture to take the field, and the Mahrattas encamped a short distance to the north of Seringapatam. Trimbuck Rao, in hopes of being able to draw Hyder from his position, retired a short distance to the northward, when Hyder, who always kept up a correspondence with some of the Mahratta officers,[2] is supposed to have been deceived by false information, and took the field, imagining that a great part of Trimbuck Rao's force was detached.[3] He was soon undeceived, and such was his impression, whether from having been formerly beaten by the Mahrattas or from want of confidence in his army, a circumstance rare in a good officer, this man, who had fought with skill and bravery against British troops, did not dare to risk a battle, and at last fled in the most dastardly and disorderly manner towards his capital. The whole of his guns were taken, some thousands of his men and fifteen hundred of his cavalry were destroyed; twenty-five elephants, several thousand horses, and the whole of his camp equipage, were the recorded trophies of the Mahrattas, who as usual boasted less of their victory than of their plunder.

A.D. 1771.

After this success Trimbuck Rao invested Seringapatam, but being almost destitute of men capable of working his guns, the attempt was conducted with more than the usual absurdity of a Mahratta siege. It was disapproved by Mahdoo Rao whose object was to possess himself of Bednore and Soonda during the ensuing season. Trimbuck Rao, after wasting five weeks before Seringapatam, retired in the middle of April to Turry Ghuree,[4]

[1] Wilks. Mahdoo Rao says in a letter to the governor of Bombay, eight or ten thousand horse and forty-five guns.
[2] His own letters to the Bombay government.
[3] Letter from Mr. Sibbald.
[4] Probably Turry Kaira.

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keeping a strong garrison in Belloor, and exacting heavy contributions in various directions.

Before the roads were completely occupied, Hyder, in the beginning of June, attempted to draw a convoy of military stores with twenty pieces of cannon from Bednore to Seringapatam, but the whole, including the escort that accompanied them, were intercepted; and at last, so effectually did the Mahrattas cut off the communication, that Hyder's *Hircarrahs* were obliged to pass through the Koorga Raja's country and descend the Ghauts in Malabar, as the only route to Bednore. On the 24th October the Mahrattas moved to Bangalore; Hyder, with about twenty thousand men of all descriptions, remained at Seringapatam strongly entrenched.[1] The only success which attended his arms during the whole season was achieved by his son Tippoo, who intercepted a very large convoy of grain proceeding towards the Mahratta camp. Hyder's situation was considered critical, and a prospect of the total reduction of his country, which formed the only barrier between the Mahrattas and Madras, inclined the Bombay Government to afford him their assistance, but the territory[2] and subsidy, demanded as preliminaries on the one part, and the terms proposed on the other were out of all proportion; besides which, Hyder artfully endeavoured to make them principals in the war, by requiring of them to attack Salsette which at once put an end to the negotiation.

The Governor and Council at Madras deemed it of vital importance to support Hyder Ally, but they were prevented by the wishes of Mohummud Ally and the opinion of Sir John Lindsay, His Majesty's minister plenipotentiary, both of whom, in the face of the late treaty with Hyder, urged the Madras Government to unite with the Mahrattas.[3] But news of the increasing illness of the Peishwa, which was pronounced incurable in the month of March, alarmed all the Mahratta commanders at a distance from the capital; especially those who owed their situations exclusively to Mahdoo Rao. The design of reducing Soonda and Bednore was abandoned; and assigning as a reason that the Mahratta Sillidars were desirous to return to their homes, which was also perfectly true,

A.D. 1772.

[1] Mr. Sibbald's Reports, and Mahratta MSS.
[2] Mangalore and Pargurh on the coast were the places applied for.
[3] Madras Records.

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Trimbuck Rao listened to Hyder's overtures. Negotiations began in the middle of April, when the Mahrattas were in the neighbourhood of Bangalore; and a treaty was concluded in June, by which the Mahrattas retained the ancient possessions of the father of Sivajee,[1] besides Mudgerry and Gurumconda. Hyder likewise agreed to pay thirty-six lacks of rupees, as arrears and expenses, and fourteen lacks as the annual tribute, which he in future promised to remit with regularity;—all other Mahratta demands were to cease.[2]

Mahdoo Rao's disease was consumption, but his health improved considerably during the monsoon, and great hopes were entertained of his recovery; the progress of his generals in Hindoostan had been still more important than his acquisitions in the Carnatic.

The army which crossed the Nerbuddah in 1769, under Visajee Kishen as chief in command, consisted, when the whole were united in Malwa, of nearly fifty thousand horse. Visajee Kishen and Ramchundur Gunnesh, besides Pindharees, had twenty thousand horse, of which fifteen thousand belonged to the Peishwa. With Mahadajee Sindia there were fifteen thousand, and with Tookajee Holkar about the same number.[3] There was also a large body of infantry with a numerous artillery,[4] chiefly natives of Hindoostan and Malwa, including men of all casts. The Arabs, Abyssinians, and Sindians, of whom there was a small proportion, were accounted the best soldiers of the army, and were mostly obtained from the seaports of Cambay and Surat.

For some time after the fatal field of Panniput, the Mahrattas,

[1] Kolhar, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor and Sera.

[2] Wilks mentions only thirty lacks (vol. ii, page 151), which may be correct, but the Mahratta MS. is here supported by the fact of there being forty-nine lacks and fifty thousand rupees debited to Hyder in the Mahratta state accounts, at the period of Mahdoo Rao's death, for which, as it is regularly credited, they probably had some collateral security.

[3] Mahratta MSS. This agrees pretty nearly with the statement given by Nujeef Khan to General Barker in May, 1773; but by that time Ramchundur Gunnesh had returned with a party of the Peishwa's horse to the Deccan, and the increase may be accounted for by numbers of Pindharees. See Appendix, No. 21, to the Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy.

[4] Mahratta MSS.

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in consequence of their domestic struggles and the warfare to the south of the Nerbuddah, had little leisure to interfere with the politics of Hindoostan. Mulhar Rao Holkar on one occasion in the year 1764 joined the Jhats when besieging Delhi, but soon quitted them and returned to the Deccan.

A body of Mahrattas from Bundelcund, or Malwa, took service with Shujah-ud-dowlah in the war against the English in 1765; but, excepting the temporary visit of Holkar to Delhi above alluded to, the Mahrattas had not crossed the Chumbul in force for upwards of eight years. The Abdallee king, after (1761.) the great victory he achieved, bestowed the throne of the Moghuls on the lawful heir, Shah Alum; but as that Emperor was then engaged in the well-known warfare against the Nabob of Bengal and the English, his son, the prince Jewan Bukht, assumed the ensigns of royalty during the Emperor's absence. Shujah-ud-dowlah, Nabob of Oude, was appointed Vizier, and Nujeeb-ud-dowlah Rohillah was restored to the dignity of Umeer Ool Oomrah. After which, Ahmed Shah Abdallee quitted Delhi and returned to his own dominions.

Nujeeb-ud-dowlah remained with the young prince generally at the capital; but Shujah-ud-dowlah first repaired to his own government, and afterwards expelled all the Mahratta Carcoons, whom he still found remaining as collectors of revenue in the Dooab. He next proceeded to Benares, where, having been joined by the Emperor, they advanced together into Bundelcund, took Jhansee,[1] and would probably have driven the Mahrattas from that province; but in consequence of the flight of Meer Cassim from Bengal, Shujah-ud-dowlah, not content with affording him an asylum, espoused his cause against the English, a course of policy which led to his defeat at the battle of Buxar on the 23d October, 1764, when the Emperor for a time placed himself under the protection of the English.[2] A treaty with Shujah-ud-dowlah in August, 1765, restored to him the principality of Oude, which had been subjugated by the British arms, recognized his title as Vizier of the empire, and established an alliance with the Company's government.

The reader may recollect the manner in which the Moghuls, in the time of Aurunzebe, took possession of a province, and their

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen.
[2] Mill's History of British India.

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mode of conducting its administration. To each district there was a Foujdar or military governor charged with its protection and interior order, and a Dewan or collector and civil manager. There were also Soobehdars and Nazims, who were military governors of large provinces, but these were merely gradations of rank, to each of which there was a Dewan. The Foujdar was the active efficient officer, the superiors were mere supervisors. These military governors, when the empire fell into decay, styled themselves Nabobs,[1] and all who could maintain that appellation considered themselves independent, though they embraced every opportunity of obtaining *firmans* or commissions from the pageant Emperor. The English, at the period of Meer Jaffeir's death, had Bengal at their disposal, and the Emperor's person in their power. The youngest son of Meer Jaffeir was made Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa in February, 1765,[2] and the East India Company, previously charged with the military protection of this territory, were appointed his Dewan in August following. The Emperor, Shah Alum, with the assigned revenues of Allahabad and Korah for his support,[3] the only part of the conquered territories of Shujah-ud-dowlah of which the English thought proper to dispose, continued to reside under the British protection, in hopes that they might be induced to send an army to place him on the throne of his ancestors.

In the meantime, the Prince Jewan Bukht remained at the Moghul capital, where Nujeeb-ud-dowlah exercised the entire powers of administration. Sooruj Mull, the Jhat Prince, was gradually extending his power and consequence: the Mahratta officer[4] in Agra accepted his protection and admitted a garrison

[1] To my Indian readers it is very unnecessary to explain that Nuwab is the Persian word, the plural (as more respectful) of Naib, a deputy.

[2] Mill. [The Nawāb, Mīr Jāfar (Meer Jaffeir), was really converted by Clive into a titled pensioner without powers. Clive conducted the administration in the name of the Nawāb, whose authority was vested in two deputies, Muhammad Razā Khān for Bengal, and Mahārāja Shitāb Rāi for Bihār.]

[3] [Besides the two districts mentioned, Shāh Ālam was granted an annuity of twenty-six lakhs of rupees from the revenues of Bengal. In return he was required to resign all further claims on the revenue and to confirm formally the Company's right to the territories in their possession. (*O.H.I.*, p. 503.)]

[4] I cannot discover what officer it was.

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of his troops: he took Rewaree and Ferohnugur from a Beloochee adventurer who possessed them in Jagheer; and at last applied to Nujeeb-ud-dowlah for the office of Foujdar in the environs of the capital. These encroachments were so palpable that Nujeeb-ud-dowlah was obliged to have recourse to arms, and gained an easy and unexpected victory by the death of Sooruj Mull, who was killed in the commencement of the first action.[1] His son, assisted by Mulhar Rao Holkar[2] during the short period the latter was absent from the Deccan in 1764, besieged Delhi, but Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, by means of that secret understanding which always subsisted between him and Holkar, induced the Mahrattas to abandon the alliance and return to Malwa.

Such was the state of Hindoostan when the Peishwa's army crossed the Chumbul towards the latter end of 1769. Their first operations were directed against the Rajpoot princes, from whom they levied ten lacks of rupees as arrears of tribute.

(**1770.**) They next entered the territory of the Jhats, on pretence of assisting one of the sons of Sooruj Mull; as great contentions prevailed amongst the brothers. The Mahrattas were victorious in an engagement fought close to Bhurtpoor, and, after having overrun the country, the Jhats agree to pay them sixty-five lacks of rupees, ten in ready money and the rest by instalments. They encamped at Deeg during the monsoon, and Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, dreading their recollection 'of sons and brothers slain,' opened a negotiation with Visajee Kishen to avert the calamities he apprehended.[3] The Mahrattas are mindful both of benefits and of injuries from generation to generation; but they are not more revengeful than might be expected of a people so little civilized; and in this respect they seldom allow their passion to supersede their interest. Visajee Kishen listened to the overtures of Nujeeb-ud-dowlah with complacency; but Ramchundur Gunnesh and Mahadajee Sindia called for vengeance on the Rohillas. On a reference being made to the Peishwa, he so far concurred in Sindia's opinion, that Nujeeb-ud-dowlah could never be a friend to the Mahrattas; but as they were

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen.

[2] The amount paid for his assistance is not known, but one half of the acknowledged profits, upwards of four and a half lacks of rupees, was credited to the Peishwa. (State Accounts, Poona Records.)

[3] Mahratta MSS. and Bengal Records.

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endeavouring to induce the Emperor to withdraw from the protection of the English, in which Nujeeb-ud-dowlah's assistance might be useful, the conduct of Visajee Kishen was approved.[1] Accordingly Zabita Khan, the son of Nujeeb-ud-dowlah, was sent to join Visajee Kishen; but Nujeeb-ud-dowlah shortly after died, when on his route to Nujeebgurh, in October, 1770.[2] Immediately after this event, Zabita Khan assumed his father's situation at the capital.

The President and Council at Bengal, although it was upon the face of their records that in 1766 Shah Alum had made overtures to the Mahrattas, were not at first apprised of his having renewed the negotiation, and were therefore at a loss to account for the conduct of the Mahrattas in not making themselves masters of Delhi; instead of which they took the route of Rohilcund. The Rohilla chiefs behaved with no spirit; their country was entirely overrun; the strong fortress of Etaweh fell into the hands of the Mahrattas; and the whole of the Dooab, except Furruckabad, was reduced, almost without opposition. The territory of Zabita Khan was not exempt from their ravages; they likewise made irruptions into Korah, and preferred demands upon Shujah-ud-dowlah, which alarmed the English and induced them to prepare for resisting an invasion which they deemed probable.

(1771.)

Shujah-ud-dowlah, however, maintained a correspondence with the Mahrattas the whole time; and the Emperor at last openly declared his intention of throwing himself on their protection. They returned from Rohilcund to Delhi before the rains, and possessed themselves of every part of it except the citadel, where, on account of the prince Jewan Bukht, they refrained from excess, and treated him with courtesy. Zabita Khan would probably have been detained by them, but Tookajee Holkar ensured his safe retreat to Nujeebgurh. The Bengal presidency, at the head of which was Mr. Cartier, represented to the Emperor the imprudence and danger of quitting their protection; but with

[1] Mahratta MSS.

[2] Mahratta MSS., Bengal Records, and Forster's Travels. [An appreciation of Najīb-ud-daula's (Nujeeb-ud-dowlah) character by Mr. Verelst, who succeeded Clive as Governor of Bengal, is quoted by Keene (*Mughal Empire*, p. 86). He lays stress upon Najīb-ud-daula's valour, integrity and strength of mind.]

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sound policy placed no restraint on his inclination, and Shah Alum, having taken leave of his English friends, was met by Mahadajee Sindia, escorted to the camp of Visajee Kishen, under whose auspices he entered his capital, and was seated on the throne in the end of December, 1771.[1] The Mahrattas now determined to wreak their revenge on the son of Nujeeb-ud-dowlah; a design undertaken with the entire concurrence of the Emperor, who bore Zabita Khan a personal enmity, but it was principally instigated by Mahadajee Sindia, the chief director of the councils of Visajee Kishen, Ramchundur Gunnesh having returned to Poona in consequence of a quarrel with his superior. Shujah-ud-dowlah continued his correspondence with the Mahrattas, although he personally declined assuming his post as Vizier whilst they maintained supremacy at the imperial court. But the principal object of Shujah-ud-dowlah, as it had been that of his father, was the subjugation of the Rohilla territory, to which the death of Nujeeb-ud-dowlah paved the way. He had no objections, therefore, to see these neighbours weakened by the Mahrattas, provided he could ultimately secure the conquest for himself; but he also perceived that the result of a permanent conquest of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas would prove the precursor of his own destruction. The Rohillas knew him well, and dreading treachery, Hafiz Rehmut, whose districts adjoined Oude, could not be prevailed upon to proceed to the assistance of Zabita Khan, until assured by Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, the officer in command of the British troops stationed in the Vizier's territory, that no improper advantage should be taken of his absence from the frontier.[2]

Several places were speedily reduced; an ineffectual resistance was opposed to Mahadajee Sindia and Nujeef Khan at the fords of the Ganges, which they crossed in the face of the Rohillas, by passing many of their posts as if they had no intention of fording until much higher up the river, when, after throwing them off their guard, they suddenly wheeled about, dashed down upon one of the fords at full gallop, and crossing over made a great slaughter. The Rohillas, in consequence, seem to have been completely panic-struck. Zabita Khan's territory was reduced

[1] Bengal Records. Mahratta MSS., &c. &c.

[2] See Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons.

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with scarcely any opposition; the strongest entrenchments and even forts were abandoned, before a horseman came in sight.[1] Puttergurh, where considerable wealth amassed by Nujeeb Khan was deposited, fell into their hands, and the Rohilla chiefs were compelled to the very measure which Shujah-ud-dowlah desired; namely, to form a defensive alliance with him against the Mahrattas, for which they paid him forty lacks of rupees, and by which he secured himself from the Mahrattas, strengthened his own resources, and weakened the means of resistance on the part of the Rohillas, on whose ultimate destruction he was bent.[2]

Visajee Kishen returned to Delhi for a short time in the month of June, but the main body of the Mahrattas was encamped during the rains in the Dooab, of which they had taken almost entire possession. The constant applications of Visajee Kishen in urging demands, the eagerness with which his Bramin followers snatched at every opportunity of acquiring wealth, the sordid parsimony of their habits when absent from the Deccan, and that meanness and impudence which are inseparable in low minds, greatly disgusted the Emperor and all who were compelled to tolerate their insolence and rapacity. Their behaviour gave Shah Alum such extreme offence that he was willing to run any risk to rid himself of such allies. Zabita Khan, through Tookajee Holkar, was endeavouring to recover both his territory and his father's rank at court. The Emperor would not listen to the proposal, and he at last engaged his General, Nujeef Khan, to resist the Mahrattas by force. Visajee Kishen was desirous of avoiding extremities and referred for orders to Poona; but an event had occurred there, which, at the time it happened, was less expected than it had been some months before; Mahdoo Rao breathed his last at the village of Theur, thirteen miles east of Poona, on the morning of the 18th November, in the 28th year of his age.[3] He died without issue; and his widow

[1] Seyr Mutuakhereen. The Mahratta MSS. give them more credit than the Moghul historian; but although he is excessively prejudiced against any person in the shape of an Afghan, the Bengal Records are here in support of the Moghul's testimony.

[2] [This treaty between the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh and the Rohillas was signed in June 1772. The sum of forty lakhs was payable on condition that the former took steps to expel the Marāthās from Rohilkhand.]

[3] Mahdoo Rao was born in August, 1744.

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Rumma Bye, who bore him a remarkable affection, immolated herself with the corpse.

The death of Mahdoo Rao occasioned no immediate commotion; like his own disease, it was at first scarcely perceptible, but the root, which invigorated the already scathed and wide-extending tree, was cut off from the stem, and the plains of Panniput were not more fatal to the Mahratta empire than the early end of this excellent prince. Although the military talents of Mahdoo Rao were very considerable, his character as a sovereign is entitled to far higher praise, and to much greater respect, than that of any of his predecessors. He is deservedly celebrated for his firm support of the weak against the oppressive, of the poor against the rich, and, as far as the constitution of society admitted, for his equity to all. Mahdoo Rao made no innovations; he improved the system established, endeavoured to amend defects without altering forms, and restrained a corruption which he could not eradicate.

The efficiency of his government in its commencement was rather clogged than assisted by the abilities of Sukaram Bappoo. The influence of the old minister was too great for the talents of his young master; all actions deemed beneficial were ascribed to the former, whilst the unpopularity, which with some party is inseparable from executive authority, fell to the inexperienced Peishwa, and to Mahdoo Rao in a peculiar degree, by reason of an irritable temper, not always under command, which was his greatest defect. This influence on the part of the minister, a man open to bribery, prevented that respect for Mahdoo Rao to which he was entitled, and without which the ends which he aimed at establishing were obstructed. Until after Rugonath Rao's confinement, Mahdoo Rao was unknown to his subjects: shortly after that event he privately sent for Sukaram Bappoo, told him 'that he found many of his orders disregarded, and that he was but a cipher in the government: whether this proceeded from want of capacity, or diligence on his own part, or any other cause, he was himself perhaps an incompetent judge, but he would put the question to his sincerity, and begged of him to explain the reason and suggest the remedy.' Sukaram immediately replied 'you can effect nothing until you remove me from office:—appoint Moraba Furnuwees your Dewan, when you can be your own minister.'

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Mahdoo Rao respected the penetration which read his intentions, confirmed him in the enjoyment of his Jagheer, and followed his advice. He permitted Moraba to do nothing without his orders; he established a system of intelligence, of which the many exaggerated stories now related in the Mahratta country only prove that in regard to events, both foreign and domestic, he possessed prompt and exact information.

A review of his civil administration, if taken in the abstract, would convey an indifferent idea of his merits: it must therefore be estimated by comparison, by the state of the society in which he was chief magistrate, and by the conduct pursued in the interior management and protection of his country, whilst harassed by the machinations of his uncle's party, and constantly engaged in foreign war. The brief summary which it is here proposed to give, will scarcely allude to the administration of his predecessors, but may convey some idea of the best government the Mahratta country enjoyed under the Hindoo dynasty of modern times.

The root of all the Mahratta systems even now in existence, however much disfigured or amended, whether on the banks of the Myhie and Chumbul, or the Kistna and Toongbuddra, is found in the institutions of Sivajee.

We have seen that Sivajee had eight officers of state; of them it need only be observed, that the supremacy and gradual usurpation of the Raja's authority had also superseded that of the other Purdhans, as well as of the Pritee Needhee. Forms of respect instituted with their rank were maintained; but they were only of importance in the state according to the strength and resources of their hereditary Jagheers, and of a superior description of soldiery, who, on pay much inferior to what they might elsewhere have obtained, still adhered to some of them, with that pride of servitude to their chief, which, by its enthusiastic delusion, has caught the fancies of men in all uncivilized countries and dignified military vassalage. Of all these personages, at the period of Mahdoo Rao's death, Bhowan Rao, the Pritee Needhee, was the most considerable, both for the reasons mentioned and from his warlike character.

In the different departments of the state under Sivajee, every separate establishment, when complete, had eight principal officers; all such officers, as well as their superiors, were styled Durrukdars, and although declared not hereditary at the time of

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their institution, they generally descended in the usual routine of everything Hindoo. Precedent, however, that grand rule of sanction to Mahratta usurpation, soon became, whilst anarchy prevailed, a mere name for the right of the strong, and the title of Durrukdars, like every other claim, was only regarded according to circumstances.

The general distribution of revenue planned by Ballajee Wishwanath was a measure wholly political, but it was ingrafted on the revenue accounts of every village, the ordinary forms of which have been explained in the preliminary part of this work; upon the balance of assessment, or government share, the artificial distribution alluded to invariably followed; although seldom in the uniform manner laid down upon its first establishment in the year 1720. Separate collectors did not always realize those specific shares; but, even up to this day, distinct claims, such as Surdeshmookhee, Mokassa, &c., are frequently paid to different owners, and tend to render the accounts extremely intricate. A fixed district establishment, founded on that of Sivajee, but more or less complete, was preserved until a very late period. Unless in the old Jagheer districts, the appointment of Durrukdars, during the life of Shao, remained in the gift of the Raja. The patronage however of one office or Durruk was bestowed by the Raja Shao, either on Bajee Rao, or on Ballajee Rao immediately after his father's death; the patronage so conferred was that of the Furnuwees; hence in the old accounts of the Peishwa's districts after the death of Shao, all those holding the office of Furnuwees superseded their superiors the Muzzimdars; and thus the Peishwa's Furnuwees became, under the Peishwa's government, precisely what the Punt Amat was under that of the Raja. These two, the Furnuwees and Muzzimdar, were invariably kept up, as were the Dufturdar and Chitnees; but the appointment of Dewan was not general, nor of the Karkanees, Potnees, and Jamdar. Durrukdars were only removable by government, but a number of Carcoons, in addition to the ordinary establishments, were introduced by Ballajee Rao, who were displaced at the pleasure of the immediate chief officer of the district. The useful situation of Turufdar, or Talookdar, was always preserved, but generally under the appellation of Shaikdar.

These details are enumerated, because the arrangement for

the land revenue in Maharashtra is the basis of civil government; and, indeed, the good or bad revenue management of the districts of any country in India is the surest indication of the conduct of the administration.

Under Mahdoo Rao the same heads of districts were continued as had been established by his uncle, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow; except that upon the death of the Sur-soobehdar Balloba Manduwagunnee, who effected the great reforms between the Neera and Godavery, he did not appoint a successor to that situation; but the Sur-soobehdars in the Concan, Carnatic, Candeish, and Guzerat[1] were always continued. The appointment of a Mamlitdar was declaredly for the year, but he was not removed during good behaviour: the amount of his collections varied; generally, however, they were not above five lacks, and seldom below one lack of rupees annually. At the commencement of the season he was furnished by government with a general statement, which contained his instructions, and included the expected receipts, the alienations, and expenses; which last he was not to exceed but upon the most satisfactory grounds. In the detail of the expenses were the salaries, including not only food, clothes, and every necessary, but the adequate establishment and attendants for each of the government servants, according to their rank and respectability. Besides these authorized advantages, there was a private assessment over and above the regular revenue, at which the government connived, provided the Mamlitdar's share did not amount to more than five per cent. upon the actual collections. This hidden personal emolument was exactly suited to the genius and habits of Bramins, who, by a strange, though perhaps not a peculiar perversion, prefer obtaining an emolument in this underhand manner to honestly earning four times as much.

The private assessment was supposed to be favourable to the cultivator, as well as pleasing to the Mamlitdar and district officers. Mahdoo Rao prevented the excess of the abuse by vigilant supervision, and by readily listening to the complaints of the common cultivators; as to the village officers, they all participated, and from them information could only be obtained through some of the discontented hereditary claimants, whose statements were often fabricated and so difficult to substantiate, that the government, much occupied by its great political trans-

[1] There also was a Sur-soobehdar sometimes in Buglana.

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actions, generally made it a rule only to prosecute the chief authorities on great occasions, to take security from interested informants before examining the proofs, and to leave minor delinquency to the investigation of Mamlitdars. It might be supposed that a system so defective, with the door of corruption left open by the connivance of government, would be followed by every act of injustice, oppression, and violence; but the evils fell more on the state than on individuals; and at that time the Mahratta country, in proportion to its fertility, was probably more thriving than any other part of India.[1]

The Mamlitdar, on his appointment, opened an account-current with government, and was obliged to advance a part of the expected revenue, for which he received a premium of two per cent., and one per cent. monthly interest, until the periods at which the collection was expected, when the interest ceased. This advance, which was both a security and convenience to government, and all revenue transactions whatever were managed by the agency of the Soucars, or Indian bankers; but many persons employed their private property in the prosecution of such agency, in which there was often a great deal of speculation, but, with ordinary caution, large returns were obtained with very little risk. Thus the advance of money on the land-revenue became something like national funds, partaking of the benefits of prompt supply, and the evils of fictitious credit.

[1] [This statement is somewhat surprising. Professor J. Sarkar has pointed out that the Marāthā Government neglected the economic development of the country. 'Some of them did, no doubt, try to save the peasantry from illegal exactions, and to this extent they promoted agriculture. But commerce was subjected to frequent harassment by local officers, and the traders could never be certain of freedom of movement and security of their rights on mere payment of the legal rate of duty. The internal resources of a small province with no industry, little trade, a sterile soil, and an agriculture dependent upon scanty and precarious rainfall, could not possibly support the large army that Shivaji kept or the imperial position and world-dominion to which the Peshwas aspired.' He points out that the Marāthā State had to wage war periodically as a normal method of supply, and that this circumstance destroyed both industry and wealth in the invading and invaded countries. (*Shivaji and His Times*, 1919, 486–8.) See also article by R. P. Karkaria in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, xxii. 43 ff., on Lieutenant-Colonel T. B. Jervis (1796–1857). In his MSS. studies on the state of the Marāthā people, Jervis shows that the economic condition of the people at the time of the dissolution of Marāthā rule was very miserable.]

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At the end of the season, when the Mamlitdar's accounts were closed, they were carried by the district Furnuwees to Poona, and most carefully examined before they were passed.

Mahdoo Rao encouraged the Mamlitdars to reside in the districts, keeping their Wukeels at Poona, but when that was impracticable, the affairs of the district were more scrupulously investigated.

The management of the police, and the administration of civil and criminal justice, were in a great degree entrusted to the Mamlitdars. The police magistrates were the Patell, the Mamlitdar, and, where the office existed, the Sur-soobehdar. The Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas were left in the enjoyment of their hereditary rights, but their ancient power was suspended, and though permitted to collect their own dues, they were seldom referred to, except in ascertaining local usages, and occasionally in arbitrating differences. The police, except in the city of Poona, was very imperfect; but considering the defective state of the executive authority, even in the best times of the Mahratta government, and the unsettled predatory habits of so large a portion of undisciplined soldiery accustomed to violence and rapine, it is, at first view, surprising that the lives and properties of the peaceable part of society were so secure. But the military were pretty equally dispersed; every village could defend its inhabitants or avenge aggression; and members who disgraced the community were too much bound by the opinion of their family connections, their own interests, and the power of the village officers, to become entirely lawless. The Mahratta usage, of generally returning during the rains, preserved all those ties; and though it might prove inconvenient to an ambitious sovereign, it greatly tended to domestic order and tranquillity. The great use which the Peishwas made of attachment to *wutun*, and the preference in promoting an officer, shown to those who could boast of hereditary rights, was in many respects a most politic and judicious mode of encouraging a species of patriotism, and applying national feelings to purposes of good government.

In the Mahratta country the most common crimes were thieving and gang robbery, murder and arson. The two first were more common to Ramoosees and Bheels than to Mahrattas, and were punished by the loss of life or limb; murder for revenge was rarely considered a capital offence, and very often, in hereditary disputes,

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a murder, where risk attended it, was considered rather a creditable action. The ordinary compromise with government, if the accused was not a rich man, was three hundred and fifty rupees. The facility of eluding justice, by flying into the territory of some other authority, was the greatest obstruction to police efficiency.

For great crimes the Sur-soobehdars had the power of punishing capitally; Mamlitdars in such cases required the Peishwa's authority. The great Jagheerdars had power of life and death within their respective territories. Bramins could not be executed; but state prisoners were poisoned, or destroyed by deleterious food, such as equal parts of flour and salt. Women were mutilated, but rarely put to death. There was no prescribed form of trial; torture to extort confession was very common; and confession was generally thought necessary to capital punishment. The chief authority, in doubtful cases, commonly took the opinion of his officers; and some Mamlitdars in the Satara country, under both the Pritee Needhee and Peishwa, employed Punchayets to pronounce on the innocence or guilt of the accused; but this system can only be traced to the time of Shao; and though so well worthy of imitation was by no means general, nor are its benefits understood or appreciated in the present day.

In civil cases the Punchayets were the ordinary tribunals, and the example of Ram Shastree tended greatly to their improvement. Excepting where Ram Shastree superintended, they were a known, though unauthorized, source of emolument to the members; no doubt, frequently corrupt and unjust in their decisions: but Punchayets were popular, and their defects less in the system itself than in the habits of the people.

The nominal revenue of the whole Mahratta empire, at the period of Mahdoo Rao's death, was ten crores, or one hundred millions of rupees; but the amount actually realized, including the Jagheers of Holkar, Sindia, Janojee Bhonslay, and Dummajee Gaekwar, together with tribute, fees, fines, contributions, customary offerings, and all those sources independent of regular collections, which in the state accounts come under the head of extra revenue,[1] may be estimated at about seventy-two millions of

[1] The extra revenue, in *the village* accounts, is properly all revenue over and above the land assessment: for example, the tax on merchants, manufacturers, &c. (called moh-turfa); a tax on houses;

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rupees, or about seven millions of pounds sterling annually.[1] Of this sum, the revenue under the direct control of the Peishwa, was about twenty-eight millions of rupees; in which estimate is included Mahdoo Rao's personal estate, kept distinct from the public accounts, but which seldom amounted to above three lacks of rupees, or thirty thousand pounds sterling a year; he was, however, possessed of twenty-four lacks of personal property at his death, which he bequeathed to the state.

From the vast acquisitions of Ballajee Rao, his lavish expenditure, and the numerous Jagheers and Enam lands which he conferred, it is a common opinion in the Mahratta country that he had a greater revenue than any other Peishwa; but he never had time to collect the revenues in many parts of India temporarily subjugated by his armies. The average collections, in any equal number of years, were greater in the time of Mahdoo Rao than in that of his father; although in the season 1751-52, Ballajee Rao realized thirty-six and a half millions of rupees, which exceeded the highest collection ever made by Mahdoo Rao, by upwards of two millions. The state was much in debt at Mahdoo Rao's accession; and although at his death, by reckoning the outstanding balances, and by bringing to account the value of stores and other property, there was a nominal sum in its favour of sixty-five millions of rupees; yet the treasury was exhausted, no part of this amount being available. On a complete examination [2] of the accounts, the government of the Peishwas seems always to have been in debt, or embarrassed from want of funds, till after the period of Bajee Rao's connection with the English.

enam tijaee, or one-third of certain enam lands; a tax on pasturage and profits of grass lands; the offerings of pilgrims at religious fairs (or Jutra), and a great many other items, which are far more numerous, and apparently vexatious, than they are important to the state or grievous to the subject. In the village settlement they were enumerated, but brought to account under one head, *Nukta-bab*. The revenue derived from the customs, on the exports and imports of a village, is frequently included in the village accounts, but of the country generally it is a distinct branch of revenue, as has already been explained.

[1] The Poona rupee is 12 per cent. inferior to the Bengal sicca.

[2] The late Lieut. John M'Leod was employed for several months, assisted by a great many of the most experienced Bramin revenue officers and accountants, in arranging and examining the accounts of the Peishwa's government; and I am much indebted to him and to the Bramins who were in his office for their opinions, and for the valuable abstracts which they from time to time prepared for me.

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The ordinary army of the Peishwa, without including the troops of Bhonslay, Gaekwar, Sindia, or Holkar, amounted to fifty thousand good horse. Neither his infantry nor artillery were considerable; and, after providing for his garrisons, the ordinary number in the time of Mahdoo Rao was about ten thousand, of whom one third were Arabs, and the greater part Mahomedans. It was usual, however, to entertain large bodies of infantry when the Peishwa took the field, but they were always discharged on returning to Poona. The Hetkurees, or Concan infantry, are said to have been preferred to the Mawulees, perhaps on account of the attachment of the latter to the house of Sivajee.[1]

Calculating the contingent which Gaekwar and Bhonslay were bound to furnish, at from ten to fifteen thousand, taking the lowest estimate of Holkar's and Sindia's army at thirty thousand, and allowing three thousand from the Powars of Dhar, the Peishwa could command about one hundred thousand good horse, exclusive of Pindharees.

[1] By an official list it appears that of 449 officers in Mahdoo Rao's army, 93 were Bramins, 8 Rajpoots, 308 Mahrattas, and 40 Mahomedans.

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